THE TARIKH-I-RASHIDI

MIRZA MUHAMMAD HAIDAR, DUGHLÁT

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A HISTORY OF THE MOGHULS
OF CENTRAL ASIA

AN ENGLISH VERSION
Edited, with Commentary, Notes, and Map
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[illegible]

THE TRANSLATION
BY
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[illegible]

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We'll lead you to the stately tent of war,
Where you shall hear the Scythian Tamburlaine
Threaten the world with high astounding terms,

— *Marlowe.*

PREFACE.

Although this is the first time that a translation of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, into English, has been presented to the public, it is necessary to explain that translators and historians have already used the book, to some extent, as a source from which to draw facts for their writings. Not only has its scope and its general purport, as a history of the Moghuls, been familiar to Orientalists for some fifty years, but much of its contents has also been made known, in a more or less scattered way, while its name is frequently found quoted in support of one historical passage or another. And if this is the case in English writings, it is the same when we refer to the works of Continental authors who have occupied themselves with the annals of Central Asia. Yet, though the value of the book has been acknowledged in this indirect manner, no complete translation into any European language has hitherto been made.

The nearest approach to an adequate translation, so far as I am able to ascertain, was that made by the late Mr. W. Erskine of the E. I. Company's service, more than half a century ago, and some fourteen years after the publication of the *Memoirs of Babar*. Mr. Erskine's work, however, has never been put into print, and seems, indeed, to be very little known outside the MS. department of the British Museum. It appears to have been taken in hand in 1840, after his retirement from the Company's service, and to have been completed at the beginning of the next year [1]. It consists of 221 folio pages closely written, and, in one form or another, includes the greater part of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*. But the work varies greatly in character; in some places the author has set himself to translate fully and accurately from the text, and has been at pains to produce a rendering that would seem to be intended for publication; in other places lengthy passages—sometimes whole folios—are

[1] From a note in the margin, it appears that he finished it on the 4th of January, 1841. The MS. is numbered at the British Museum, *Add.* 26,612.

summarised more or less briefly; and in others, again, mere memoranda, or headings, are given to show the drift of the author's narrative; while, finally, considerable sections of the book, at various places, are omitted altogether.

The document, therefore, valuable though it is, can scarcely be regarded as a translation of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*. Rather, it appears to me, after a close acquaintance with it, to have been prepared less with a view to producing a complete English version of Mirza Haidar's history, than for some other and more special purpose. Whether Mr. Erskine ever contemplated publishing the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* in an English dress, there is nothing to indicate, but there are several circumstances connected with the MS. at the British Museum, which lead me to conjecture that it was intended rather as a preparatory study for the compilation of his second important work—*The History of India under the Moghuls* of which the first and second volumes (the only ones ever completed) appeared in 1854. In the first place, the passages, or sections, of the *Tarikh-i Rashidi* devoted to the dynastic history of the Moghul Khans and their transactions, are usually those which are translated in full in the manuscript. Secondly, the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* is not only frequently cited in the two volumes of the history, but, in many parts of them, passages from the MS. are found transcribed word for word, while the author mentions, in his preface, that he has based his knowledge of the Moghuls and their chronicles chiefly on Mirza Haidar's evidence. Indeed, the greater part of Mr. Erskine's introduction is a summary of the Moghul annals as put forward by Mirza Haidar, and by Mirza Haidar alone, for no other Asiatic author deals with the subject in any but a merely incidental way. A third circumstance pointing to the same conclusion is, that bound up in the same volume of MSS. with the fragmentary translation of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, we find a second document, which consists of a similar condensed translation, in Mr. Erskine's handwriting, of the third volume of the *Ikbal Nama Jahangiri* of Mutamid Khan, a work that seems to have been studied with a view to another—probably the fourth—volume of the History of India. Thus it seems very likely that the *précis* (if it may be so called) of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, was drawn up as a preliminary study for the historical works the author was at that time planning; and if this is the case, no better proof could be offered of the care and thoroughness he devoted to the task, for this

document alone seems to have needed nearly a year of labour, while the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* is only one among many Oriental authorities whom Mr. Erskine studied, in the original, and made use of—a fact to which the footnotes of his History clearly testify.

Besides serving the purpose of its own author, the *précis* translation has also been made to contribute much that is valuable to the works of Sir H Howorth, whom little escapes that is authentic and original, however difficult of access In his *History of the Mongols* more especially, Sir H Howorth gathered much information regarding the tribes of Central Asia and the genealogy of Moghul Khans, and was able to throw light on some of the most obscure chapters of Asiatic history, from Mirza Haidar's data, as found in this document. Had it only been more complete, and had the geography and ethnography of Central Asia been known in Mr. Erskine's day as well as they are known now, the *History of the Mongols* would no doubt have contained all the essential parts of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, and little would have been left to occupy the editor of the present translation. But it is precisely during the last fifty years that much has been learned on these subjects, so that a great deal of what was unintelligible to Mr. Erskine, and consequently left untranslated or in obscurity, is now easily filled in, by the light of more modern knowledge.

The only English writer besides Mr. Erskine who has made any extensive use of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, in the original Persian, is the late Surg.-Gen W H. Bellew. In 1878 Dr Bellew accompanied Sir D. Forsyth's mission to Kashgar, and compiled, as a contribution to the official report of the mission, a history of Eastern Turkistan, which is largely drawn from Mirza Haidar's data, for the period covered by the latter's narrative. Dr. Bellew had not set himself the task of translating the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, nor was he concerned with any part of it that did not bear directly on the country to which the mission report had reference. His history, therefore, is a compilation, only, from certain portions of Mirza Haidar's work, and though in some places it contains much detail, it cannot be compared, even as a *précis* of the book, with Mr. Erskine's MS. at the British Museum In some respects—as for instance, the names of places and geographical notices—it is, perhaps, more valuable than that document, for the writer's local knowledge, and opportunities for deriving information from the

natives of the country, gave him a distinct advantage over the earlier translator.

In the same way, Mr. R. B. Shaw, while on duty in Yarkand and Kashgar, took up a section of the book and translated some passages from it, which were published in the *Geographical Society's Journal* for 1870. These do not touch on the history, but relate exclusively to the geography of Eastern Turkistan and its neighbouring regions on the south and south-west. They contain translated extracts from Mirza Haidar's opinions, which are fully and accurately elucidated by Mr. Shaw, according to modern knowledge of the subject and local information.

Another short section of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* is found in Elliot's *History of India told by its Own Authors*—a work that consists of extracts (by various translators) from Asiatic writers, only when these relate to the history of India. The translation, in this instance, is by Professor Dowson, and comprises the one episode of the battle of Kanauj in 1540, when the Afghans, under Shir Shah, won for a time the so-called Moghul Empire of Hindustan. But even this has not been given in full: only the actual account of the battle being thought necessary, by the editor, as an illustration of the events of the period, while some rather lengthy passages, containing the author's views of the policy to be adopted by the Moghuls at that critical moment, have been omitted.

Whether Moorcroft used the book, is not clear from the posthumous narrative of his travels which has come down to us, through Professor H. H. Wilson. He mentions Mirza Haidar's name on one occasion only, and ascribes a statement to him connected with Kashmir, without directly citing his work. If, however, Moorcroft did know the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, he would be, probably, the first Englishman to become acquainted with it, for his reference to it dates from 1822.

In Russia, I believe Professor Grigoriefi used the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* in editing the Russian version of Ritter's *Erdkunde*, and it may be that other Orientalists in that country have also reproduced portions of it in their own language; but in French and German Oriental literature, I do not know that the book is more than referred to, and even that very rarely. I make this statement, however, with reserve, for it is quite possible that extracts may have been published, though I have not met with them.

As regards texts in the original Persian (for Mirza Haidar

wrote in Persian), though not particularly rare in Europe, they are seldom to be obtained, as far as my experience goes, in any Asiatic country. In England, there are three copies at the British Museum, one in the possession of Professor Cowell, at Cambridge, and it would appear that three or four more, at least, are in the hands of private persons. But these are not all of equal value: one, at any rate, of those in the British Museum being a modern Indian copy, marred by many corruptions, while another is not quite complete. The British and Foreign Bible Society own two partial translations into Turki, which they were good enough to place at the disposal of the British Museum, to be used for purposes of collation in preparing the present English version. Neither of these, however, is complete; one of them consists of the Second Part only, and the other of merely a portion of that Part. In the public libraries on the Continent, I am informed that examples are often to be met with, but whether in the original or in Turki, I am not aware.

It appears, in any case, that European collectors have, in a great measure, exhausted the supply that might be thought to be available in one part of Asia or another. In India, I believe that copies exist in some of the libraries of Calcutta and perhaps elsewhere, but a search among the native booksellers, which was made for me in 1891, resulted in finding nothing. In Persia and Afghan Turkistan I have never been able to hear of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, while in the country to which it chiefly refers, and where it would be most likely to be in request, there is reason to think that scarcely any examples are now left; at any rate, all the inquiries that I was able to make from 1880 to 1885, at Yarkand and Kashgar, produced only the Turki fragment alluded to above, as consisting of a portion of the Second Part of the book. In Kashmir, no copy was ever procurable by native inquirers, who endeavoured, at different times, to obtain one for me, yet it seems probable that the more perfect Turki copy in the Bible Society's library, may have been acquired, some twenty or twenty-five years ago, by a civil officer in Kashmir.

For the present translation, Mr. Ross made use, chiefly, of the Persian text numbered *Add.* 24,090, of the British Museum Catalogue, and with this he collated the one marked *Or.* 157, that of Professor Cowell (who very kindly lent it for the purpose) and, in the Second Part, the more perfect of the two

Turki versions belonging to the Bible Society. This last proved a valuable aid in clearing up obscure passages, and in deciphering ill-spelled and badly written names of places and tribes. It is the work of an intelligent man, who knew the countries his author wrote about, and who read what he translated with judgment and discrimination. He constantly interpolates a word or two, or a sentence, in order to make the meaning clearer, and frequently spells the names of places in Turki-speaking countries, with vowel points, and in so clear a way that they can be recognised, if not identified. This is a service few Asiatic translators, or copyists, are able to render to the modern European reader; and the only pity is that the anonymous scholar was unable to do for the Tibetan names, what he accomplished for the Turki ones. He nowhere gives his name, but the end of his work is subscribed by a line as follows: "I completed this translation in the year 1208, Jumád II. 22nd, in the town of Khotan"—*i. e.*, in the year 1845 A.D.

A few words may be necessary to explain how this English version has come to see the light, and how it is that it should have been undertaken by one who has not enough Persian to be his own translator. My attention was first called to the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* as far back as 1877, by my friend the late Mr. R. B. Shaw, who had used portions of it when he himself was living and travelling in the countries it describes. He was enthusiastic in his admiration of the author's intelligence, and of the value of the work as a "guide book" to Eastern Turkistan and the surrounding regions. He had intended, as I always understood, to take up the translation of it after completing his Turki vocabulary; but in June 1870 he died, while on service in Burma, leaving the vocabulary only just finished[1]

For some years after this, I endeavoured to find a copy,

[1] I may remark here, that since completing the present version, and indeed, within the last few weeks, I have been favoured by Capt F. E. Younghusband, and others of Mr. Shaw's friends, with an opportunity of examining some of the papers which he left. Among these are several unpublished extracts from the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, as well as some more complete sections of a rare Turki work called the *Tazkira-i-Khwájagán* ('The Memoirs of the Khwájas') which forms—from a chronological point of view—a continuation of Mirza Haidar's history. The translations from the latter work were evidently intended, by Mr. Shaw, for early publication, but the fragments from the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* appear only to have been preliminary studies destined to serve, at some future time, as a groundwork for a more complete translation.

believing that, with the help of native Munshis, my small knowledge of Persian might be sufficient to produce a practical, working, English version, though by no means a scholarly translation. But where, and when, I could avail myself of native assistance, no text was forthcoming, and it was only on returning to England in 1893, that I became acquainted with Mr. Erskine's partial translation among the MSS of the British Museum. My first impression was that by filling up the gaps in this document, and rectifying the names, etc., a version might be obtained, which would be sufficiently complete to publish under Mr Erskine's name. It soon became apparent, however, that the bulk of the MS was only a summary of the text, and in some places was so brief, that the word "translation" could in no way be made to apply to it. It was also found that in addition to many other omissions—some long, some short—the whole of the lengthy extracts from the *Zafar-Náma* of Sharaf-ud-Din Ali, Yazdi, which the author embodies in the First Part of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, to tell the story of Timur's times, had been left untouched; while certain marginal notes showed that Mr. Erskine had, in many passages, been uncertain of the author's meaning In these circumstances, there seemed no course open but to make a new translation. Accordingly I sought advice in the only quarter where a knowledge of Mirza Haidar's original work was to be found. Dr. Charles Rieu, in compiling his catalogue of the Oriental MSS. in the British Museum, had thoroughly examined the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, and had described its contents, he knew its difficulties and saw, also, how imperfect would be the result of trying to expand and piece together Mr Erskine's document. It was owing to his advice therefore, and through his good offices, that I obtained the assistance of his former pupil, Mr. Ross, to undertake a new translation; and I believe that although Mr. Ross holds a diploma for Persian from the Ecole des Langues Orientales Vivantes of Paris, and has won the Ouseley scholarship, no better guarantee for his proficiency is needed than Dr. Rieu's recommendation. It need hardly be added that in the new translation Mr Erskine's *précis* was extensively used, and that Mr. Ross derived from it much light and assistance.

The work of translation was begun with the year 1894 and took seven months to finish. The method followed was for Mr. Ross to put sections of about five folios at a time into English, generally leaving out obscure or uncertain passages.

Each of these sections was then gone through, in company with Mr. Ross and, usually, with one of the texts at hand. The uncertain passages were then discussed and filled in, or marked off for further investigation; but the revision of the English, and the addition of footnotes, together with the solution of the puzzles in which the book abounds, were subjects left for me to take up at a later opportunity. In editing the English version, my object has been to render the language fairly clear and readable, without so changing the translation as to alter the author's meaning. But this has proved to be not always an easy task, for numerous passages occur where the translation will only bear slight amendments, without impairing its accuracy. As a rule, indeed, the latitude that could be allowed was small, so that it has been necessary to leave many sentences and paragraphs standing in rather awkward phraseology, which it would have been easy—and was even tempting—to improve, had the author's words permitted the license.

As regards the spelling of proper names, it was at first intended that all should be reproduced according to the system in use at the British Museum—*i.e.*, an exact transliteration, where each Persian and Arabic letter which has no single equivalent in English, is distinguished by some accent or diacritical sign. This design, however, could not be followed out for various reasons. Indeed, the work of translation was scarcely finished, when Mr. Ross left England to pursue his Oriental studies on the Continent, and the task of attempting to harmonise the spelling fell to me. I found it impossible, with the time at my disposal, to carry out the original intention, seeing that many of the names would have had to be searched out, afresh, in the vernacular texts—an undertaking that would have involved frequent attendance at the British Museum. I decided, therefore, to write all according to the simple method of Sir W. Jones, or that adopted by the Government of India in their official documents and publications. This system may be, to a certain extent, imperfect, for it does not, in every instance, show exactly what was the Persian or Arabic spelling of the word represented, and therefore is not a complete guide to re-conversion; but it gives, as nearly as possible, the correct pronunciation, while it secures a degree of accuracy sufficient for practical purposes.[1] It has moreover the advantage of

[1] It may be said to consist of accentuating three, in order to give the sound of that letter in *father*; while others were expressed (as Mr. H. H. Ross has tersely put it) 'by the English sounds in "ransquent" and "obey"'.

simplicity, and avoids that air of pedantry which readers who do not occupy themselves with Oriental languages, usually discern in the most perfect system, and which they find repellant. On the other hand, those who are proficient in the languages concerned, do not require to be informed how the great majority of names are written by the original authors. A small number of new and unfamiliar place-names form the only exception to this proposition, but those are usually so carelessly and incompletely written in the original texts, that a critical transliteration can have no great value, even when it is possible to give one.

In endeavouring to throw light on the narrative, and to illustrate the author's statements on subjects connected with the people or the geography of the countries he speaks of, I have used, as far as possible, the authority of writers whose information may be cited, and verified, from works already before the public. Though I am personally acquainted, more or less, with all the tribes and races Mirza Haidar introduces, and with most of the localities, the reader will probably find it more satisfactory to be referred to a published authority, than to rely on the editor's own reminiscences. This remark, however, only applies to a portion of the footnotes and of the Introduction. For all historical matters, reference to acknowledged authorities would, in any case, be needed.

It may be observed that in reproducing Mirza Haidar's lengthy extracts from the *Zafar-Náma*, at the beginning of the book, his transcription was not relied upon. Mr. Ross translated those sections directly from the texts of the work in the British Museum, and only added the Mirza's interpolation (which is repeated in several places) that the country called "Jatah," by the author of the *Zafar-Náma*, was the same with "Moghulistan.' Neither was the very free version of the *Zafar-Náma*, by Pétis de la Croix, used for any purpose beyond the comparison of names, and Mr. Ross's translation will be found, I believe, to be much more perfect than the French one of two hundred years ago. It has been embodied in the

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(*Orient. Biogr. Dict.*, p. vii). It may be added that ordinarily used and well-known names have been spelled, in the Introduction and footnotes, as they are commonly met with in English writings; though in the text they stand as the author has written them. Thus in the text will be found, for instance, *Babar, Dehli, Gang*, etc.; while elsewhere these are as *Babar, Delhi, Ganges*, etc.

text without any break in the numbering of the chapters. Mirza Haidar embodies it in his original manuscript, but it has been printed in somewhat smaller type than the rest of the text, in order to distinguish the difference of authorship.

A few words, only, are needed in explanation of the map. In the first place, its object is to show all the places mentioned in the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, which can surely be identified, and the positions of which can be established. In the second place, it was obviously necessary to lay down all the localities alluded to, on a basis of the best data available, regarding the physical geography of the region concerned. But a map containing only the names mentioned by Mirza Haidar would have had little significance. As a guide to their whereabouts, easily recognised points of some kind were needed, and for this purpose a number of the most ordinarily known, and least irrelevant, names in modern geography, have been used. They are marked at fairly wide intervals all over the included region, and may be regarded, for the most part, as mere "signposts" for pointing to the places spoken of by the author.

It might appear, at first sight, that the map would have been more useful, if the designations of the tribes had been inserted, and marked in such a way as to show the regions they inhabited; also that the boundaries, or approximate limits, of the various countries and kingdoms should have been indicated. But information of this kind it is impossible to give on a single sheet, intended to serve for a period of over two centuries in duration. The whole burden of the history to be illustrated is "mutability"; and a series of maps, instead of one, would be requisite to show the boundaries that existed from time to time, or the moves that occurred among the tribes. It has been found expedient, therefore, to omit all information of a transitional nature from the face of the map, and rather to make it exclusively geographical.

For the rest, everything has been done to render it plain and easy to refer to; and with this end in view, all needless details, both in the matter of names and of physical features, have been avoided. It will be found, I believe, to be the only map which contains most of the names used in historical works relating to Central Asia during the Middle Ages. The original drawing is by Mr. H. Scharbau, and is clear and excellent of its kind.

It is with pleasure that I take this opportunity to acknowledge my indebtedness to several gentlemen who have been good

as to lend me a helping hand, at various stages of my task. To no one am I more grateful than to Sir Henry Howorth, whose interest in the book, from first to last, has been manifested in so many practical ways, that it is perhaps doubtful whether, in its absence, the manuscript would ever have reached the printer. Dr Rieu's good offices I have already alluded to; but I here-with offer him my thanks for the grace and patience with which he rendered them, in part to myself, and in part to Mr. Ross in connection with the technicalities of the translation. My gratitude is also due to Mr. Stephen Wheeler for the valuable advice he has accorded me, and for many references to books and other documents which his extensive reading—perhaps unsurpassed on most Asiatic subjects—enabled him, with great generosity, to place at my disposal. In tendering my acknowledgments to Dr. L. A. Waddell for the favour he has done the reader in adding some notes to Mirza Haidar's chapters on Tibet, I have only to refer to his able and original work on 'Lamaism in Tibet,' to guarantee appreciation of his remarks. I gladly avail myself of this occasion, also, to express my sense of obligation to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, for the material assistance so liberally accorded by him, towards securing the publication of the volume.

Finally, I must echo the author's words when he tells his readers that he knows his book to be full of mistakes. The subject on which I have chiefly to beg the indulgence of the critical is that of the spelling of Asiatic names, though there may be other errors and omissions, due to a want of those minute and repeated revisions of the proofs, that a book of this kind requires. My time on furlough, however, is limited, and as it has been necessary to complete the revisions before leaving England to return to Khorasán, some hurry has been inevitable.

Mirza Haidar also tells his readers that no one but a Moghul can be interested in this history. Let me hope that he may not be entirely right in his forecast. Some few who are not Moghuls may regard the preservation of his work as an advantage, and may find some attraction in it, even in an English dress; but how far these will bear with me editor who knows but little of his author's language, is another question. It may be thought that a scholarly knowledge of the language of a book is essential in one who undertakes to elucidate it, in order

that he may realise the true significance of its scope, and properly understand its design. This may occasionally be the case; but if there be any virtue in the words of the German poet—

> Wer den Dichter will verstehen,
> Muss in Dichters Lande gehen,

I would plead that the present is an instance in which something besides language may help lead to a right interpretation of the author, and to an appreciation of his theme.

N. E.

Oriental Club,
26th March, 1895.

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PART I.

THE TARIKH-I-RASHIDI

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GENEALOGICAL TABLES

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NOTE.

The First Part of the Tarikh-i-Rashidi *is called, by the Author, the* Tarikh-i-Asl, *or 'Real History.' The Second Part he styles* Mukhtasar, *or 'Epitome.'*

The Second Part was written after the Second Part had been completed. This accounts for the Author remarking, in several places in Part I., that he has written certain passages in Part II.; while in Part II. he promises to make certain statements in Part I.

The system adopted in spelling proper names has been explained in the Preface, pp. x and xi., which see.

It has also been noticed in the Preface (p. xii.) that the extracts from the Zafar-Náma *are printed in smaller type than the rest of the text. No difference in type, however, has been made for the extracts from the* Tarikh-i-Jahán Kushá. *Those from the former work (with the exception of the very brief one in Chapter XCIX. of Part II.) were translated from original texts; while those from the latter (though collated with a copy of the* Jahán Kushá) *were translated from the* Tarikh-i-Rashidi, *as Mirza Haidar gives them.*

The ordinary, or curved, parentheses in the text, are the Author's. The light *angular brackets enclose words inserted by the translator or the editor, in order to render a passage complete in English, or to make sense. The* heavy *angular brackets contain words, or sentences, interpolated by the Turki translator, or substituted from his version, and are the outcome of the collation of the Turki text with the Persian. They appear first at page 177 and continue, at intervals, to the end of the book.*

The foot-notes to the text, referring to the translation, and signed R., are those of Mr. Ross. Those in Section IV. of the Introduction, when signed H. H., are by Sir Henry Howorth. Those in Chapters LXXXIX. to XCI. added by Dr. L. A. Waddell on certain Tibetan subjects, are signed with his initials. The rest of the notes are editorial.

TARIKH-I-RASHIDI.

INTRODUCTION.

SECTION I.

THE AUTHOR AND HIS BOOK.

The Poet wandering on, through Arvon
And Ierne, and the wild Ausonian waste,
And o'er the Rhætian mountains which pour down
Indus and Ocnus from their icy caves,
In joy and exultation holds his way,
Till in the vale of Caledonie, . .
. . . . . he finds
His languid limbs.

—*Alastor*.

The object of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, as the author tells his readers, is to preserve the memory of the Moghuls and their Khans, which, at the time he wrote, stood in danger of being altogether lost through the want of a chronicler. It was a race that he knew to be not only declining, but speedily approaching an end; its power was a dream of the past; its numbers were dwindling at a rapid rate, chiefly through absorption into the neighbouring tribes then rising to influence; while he himself had been a witness of the events and an actor in the scenes, which had resulted in the remnant of his people being ousted from their own country, to find an asylum in a strange land. In short, the Moghuls of Moghulistan—the eastern branch of the Chaghtai—had been nearly blotted from existence, while their Khans, though a long course of intermarriage with other races, had ceased to be Moghuls in anything but the name. Mirzá Haidar foresaw, therefore, that there might soon be nobody left to tell the story of a people who, only a few generations earlier, had regarded themselves with pride as the

descendants of Chingiz's conquering hordes, who made themselves feared if not respected, by their neighbours, and who gloried in the independence of the wide steppe-land which was their home. All this had been changed when our author himself an exile and serving a foreign monarch had to constitute himself the historian of their fall. Whether he was able to appreciate the changes that were taking place around him, where they did more than affect his own people, is perhaps doubtful. It may be supposed that he was regarding events from too close a standpoint to be able to judge of their true proportions, but it has become evident to later observers that he had, for the period of his history, a time of gradual but extensive change, which brought results of the greatest importance to the future of a large section of Asia. Mr. Erskine, the historian of the rise of the Moghul dynasty in India has pointed to this period, as that which gave Transoxiana to the Uzbegs, Moghulistan to the Kirghiz, and India to the Moghuls —but to the descendants of a branch of the Moghuls quite separate from that of Moghulistan.[1]

In Central Asia it was a period full of incident: wars were on foot on every side: states were being overrun and cities besieged, while rulers rose or went down, almost from day to day, according to their fortune in war or intrigue. The princes and the descendants of exiled ruling families, together with most of the Khans and Begs of the various tribes, found themselves forced to take a side, either in support of their house or their relations, or in self-defence; and in many cases they seem to have changed sides with as little consideration for the rights and wrongs of the cause, as when they first took a part in the quarrel. When they were strong they attacked a neighbour with or without reason; if successful, they enjoyed, usually, a short period of bloody revenge and debauchery, but soon had again to "mount"—as the phrase was—for a new campaign; if beaten, they fled to some other neighbour, and if not put to death by him, waited, in exile, till a turn of fortune's wheel should afford a fresh chance of aggrandizement or plunder. "In the space of about 120 years," writes Sir H. Yule, "no less than thirty descendants or kinsmen of Chaghatai are counted

[1] It will be seen, however, that Mirza Haidar invariably speaks of the ruling house which we know as "the Moghuls of India," by the name of *Chaghatai*, which is, of course, correct. He reserves the name of *Moghul* to designate his own race—*i.e.*, the descendants of the Moghuls (or Mongols) of Mogholistan. The subject will be explained further on in this Introduction.

to have occupied his throne; and indeed revolutions, depositions, murders, and usurpations seem to have succeeded each other with a frequency unusual even in Asiatic governments.' [1]

Here, then, were times that could hardly fail to make a historian of any soldier of fortune, who happened to have a taste for recording the events of his own life. Babar, the first of the Moghuls of India, and our author's cousin, especially answered to this description, and left behind him a picture of his age which is almost, if not quite, unique among the works of Asiatic authors. He has been represented as at once a soldier, a historian, and an autobiographer, and his kinsman, Mirza Haidar, may justly be described in the same way. Babar, however, was a better autobiographer than Mirza Haidar, and he was incomparably a greater soldier, as history proves. But, on the other hand, his cousin may be fairly acknowledged the better historian. While Babar made history incidental to his own memoirs, the reverse was the case with Mirza Haidar. The Mirza wrote the history of his race and family with a definite purpose; and when he came to his own days, he wove in his personal adventures as those of an actor and participator in the events he was recording making the one illustrate the other; so that it may, with truth, be said that his life belongs to his history.

Though they differed in remote origin, Mirza Haidar was, to all intents and purposes, of the same nation and country as Babar; yet he wrote in Persian, while the latter wrote in the Chaghatai Turki (as the modern name is), current then, as now, all over Central Asia. Babar was a descendant of Amir Timur (or Tamerlane), and was, consequently, on one side of his family, more a Turk than a Moghul, for Timur belonged to the Barlás, a Turki tribe of distinguished lineage. Following the common usage of the day, however, Mirza Haidar would have called Babar a "Chaghatai," while the latter would have spoken of his cousin as a "Moghul." Mirza Haidar came of the Dughlát tribe—a sub-division, or sept, of the true Moghuls of Chaghatai's line—and one that was accounted about equal, in point of nobility, to the Barlás. By the end of the fifteenth century the members of all the Moghul and Chaghatai ruling families had become much scattered, and mixed in blood, through frequent intermarriages with aliens. Many of them had, for several generations, lived in Turki countries, where they had become

[1] *Cathay and the Way Thither*, p. 523.

Turks in manners and language. So much was this the case with Babur and his kindred, that he had come to look upon himself as more of a Turk than a Moghul, and in his Memoirs mentions, more than once, his aversion and contempt for the Moghul race.[1] The Dughlát had remained more distinctively Moghul, though among its members also, much intermixture with Turki tribes appears to have taken place. Thus the Turki in which Babur wrote his Memoirs must have been the natural language of Mirza Haidar also, who probably knew little or nothing of the Moghul tongue, and in his capacity of Musulman, would have despised it as something appertaining to infidels and barbarians. But however this may be when he wrote in Persian, he was certainly using a foreign language, and it is for this reason, perhaps, that his style is wanting in the simplicity which (it is said) characterises that of Turki writers, a simplicity that Babur loved, and impressed upon his son, Humayun, as an accomplishment to be cultivated.[2]

That the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* was not written for effect, or for the indulgence of a taste for literature, need hardly be remarked after what has been said above. The work is in earnest one, and the author, no doubt intended that it should be, before everything else, a clear and compact exposition of the facts he had set himself to chronicle. On the whole he has been successful, and has produced a record that, in point of usefulness, will bear comparison (as far as can be judged from translations) with most of those of Asiatic authors who have occupied themselves in the same field, from the thirteenth century to the seventeenth.[3] His task was not an easy one, for much of the history of the times is complicated and obscure, and would require ingenuity and method to present it to the reader with perfect clearness. All was change and disorder. Princes and members of

[1] He sums up his sentiments regarding them in some verses, which, translated, run as follows:

It is the Moghuls who are ruined Angels, it is said, and ...
And were the name Moghul writ in gold, it would be ill done.
Because of the pride and ... the Moghul harvest.
The Moghuls [illegible] with it is external

—(*Memoirs*, p. 11.)

[2] "You certainly do not excel in letter writing, and fail chiefly because you have a great desire to show your acquirements. In all future you should write unaffectedly, with clearness using plain words, which would cost less trouble both to the writer and the reader." (*Id.* p. 302.)

Mr. Keene has remarked that it has "valuable accompaniments in the numerous tables of [illegible], which illustrate in very pop[illegible]" (*Hist. of India*, p. 11.)

reigning families wandered and married in every direction and their houses dovetailed into one another in a manner almost calculated to set at defiance any method of narration, however systematic: the limits of countries were nowhere fixed, while, unlike in any other part of the world, many of the nations dealt with were nomads, who sometimes migrated *en masse* from one region to another, or sometimes were found divided in their political subordination, as well as in their abodes. Even the names of the countries were not defined; and in some cases the tribe and the region it occupied, were confused under one name. In others, the country and the chief town were not distinguished, while in some, again, a place or a people might be known by different names to different neighbouring nations. The author who could construct from these confused materials an intelligible and fairly consecutive narrative, can scarcely be blamed if his reader should occasionally be perplexed in linking the various incidents together, or in distinguishing between some of the actors who took part in them. More especially should he be treated with leniency, when it is considered that what was clear to him at the time, and on the spot, must necessarily bear an entirely different complexion when viewed by the Western reader, after a lapse of more than three hundred years, and after all the changes that have taken place in the interval. It may be said that the art of the historian consists in overcoming these difficulties, and in leaving behind him a narrative that will be clear for all time, but this would be too much to expect from an Asiatic author, even though he might be an experienced writer, and not, as in Mirza Haidar's case, a roving adventurer or soldier of fortune, exposed to all the vicissitudes of the times. To the most practised among them, systematic arrangement and clearness of statement, as we understand the terms, are unknown, and even if they thought it worth while to consider the convenience of the readers they knew of, they could hardly have contemplated their works being studied by foreigners, from countries of which they had scarcely heard even the names.

Still, after making every allowance, it must be admitted that Mirza Haidar's book has its shortcomings, when viewed as a practical history. His flights of unmeaning rhetoric are, unfortunately, frequent, if scarcely so extravagant as those of most Persian writers. He constantly breaks out into verse, also, though he usually indulges in this form of ornament

parenthetically- by way of declamation and thus only interrupts the course of the narrative, while not marring its sense. His sentences again, are often involved and his meaning not always apparent This is more especially the case where he uses the *ratio obliqua*, and where he puts speeches into the mouths of his characters; but when he confines himself to the direct relation of an event, such as the siege of Yangi-Hisar or the battle of Kanauj, his descriptive power is excellent, and the picture it presents is all that can be desired. On the whole, it may be said that for an author who takes credit to himself (as the Mirza does in his prologue) for being a past master in the art of making verses and in the "epistolary style," his writing is not obscure as Asiatic writings go; and though rather frequent repetitions are found in some of the historical sections, this is a fault on the right side, and causes less embarrassment than when gaps occur in the narrative.

These points relate more particularly to the author's style, but the chief imperfections in the work lie deeper. Perhaps those most to be deplored, are the weakness of the chronology and the looseness with which numerals and measurements are used. The former is a serious blemish, but as it is most marked in the early parts of the history, where the faults can be, to some extent rectified, by reference to Chinese and other annals, it is not of vital consequence. A great part of his information having reached him by means of verbal tradition, passed down through three or four generations, the dates, above all would tend to suffer; while, generally, it may be supposed that Mirza Haidar had scarcely realised, as did Sir Walter Scott, that "tradition is as frequently an inventor of fiction, as a preserver of truth." The second defect is greatly to be regretted, as many interesting passages relating to military operations, the tribes, cities, ruins and curiosities are greatly diminished in value, from the want of accuracy in the figures recorded. The tendency, generally, is to exaggerate freely. A third, but less important deficiency, is the one partially alluded to above i.e., the want of systematic arrangement into divisions, or sections, the absence of which is the cause of the frequent repetitions that occur, and the involution of one subject with another.

The scope and character of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* may be briefly summarised in much the same way as Dr. Charles Rieu, the learned Keeper of the Oriental Manuscripts at the British

Museum, has described it in his official catalogue.[1] It may be regarded as the history of that branch of the Moghul Khans who separated themselves about the year 1321, from the main stem of the Chaghatai, which was then the ruling dynasty in Transoxiana; and it is the only history known to exist of this branch of the Moghuls. The original, or western line—that of Transoxiana was at that time declining in power, and through internal dissensions and administrative decay, was rapidly approaching a final dissolution. The princes of the branch then thrown off, became masters of Moghulistan (or Jatah, as it was called at that period) and of all Eastern Turkistan, and continued as a ruling dynasty for more than two and a half centuries. The book is divided into two parts, called *Daftar*, the first of which is entirely historical, while the second contains reminiscences of the author's life and notices of Chaghatai, Uzbeg and other princes, with whom he was acquainted.

The first Part, or history proper, was written in Kashmir in 1544 and 1545, and was completed about February, 1546, or five years after his installation as regent of that country. It includes, however, a later addition, in which 953 of the Hajra (4th March, 1546, to 21st February, 1547) is mentioned as the current year. For the earlier periods it deals with, it is based on the traditions handed down to the author chiefly by his older relatives, combined with the statements of Sharaf-ud-Din, Yazdi in the prolegomena of the *Zafar-Náma*, and, for the later periods, on his personal recollections. It contains a record of two distinct and parallel dynasties (1) that of the Khans of Moghulistan, beginning with Tughluk Timur, who reigned from 1347 to 1362, and whose father, Isán Bugha, was the first to separate from the main Chaghatai stem; and (2) of their vassals, the Dughlát Amirs of Eastern Turkistan, one of the earliest of whom, Amir Bulaji, the author's ancestor, had raised Tughluk Timur to the Khanship In the second period, the family of the Khans divided into two branches, one of which, superseding the Amirs of Kashghar (or Eastern Turkistan), continued to rule over Moghulistan proper and Eastern Turkistan, with their capital at Kashghar, while the other became rulers of the provinces eastward of Aksu (known as Uighuristan), and had their seat of government usually at

[1] Catalogue of the Persian MSS in the British Museum, by Ch. Rieu, Ph.D., 1879, vol. i., p. 187. But I have chiefly partially followed D. Rieu's analysis of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*.

Turán. The author concludes his account of each with a short sketch of their reigning representatives, at the time of writing

The second Part, which has more than twice the extent of the first, and contains Mirza Haidar's record of his life and times, was the first in point of date. The author wrote it in 1541-42, and, as he states in the *Prologue*, with a view to preparing himself for the more arduous task of historical composition.[1] It begins with his birth and concludes with an account of his second invasion of Kashmir, when, by a battle fought on the 2nd August, 1541, he became master of the country. This Part includes also some rules of conduct for kings, drawn up at the request of the author, by his spiritual guide, Maulána Muhammad Kázi, whose death, in 1515, is recorded in the preceding passage; while another moral treatise by a holy Shaikh, Shaháb-ud-Dín Mahmud, styled Khwája Nuna, is inserted in full.[2]

The author is usually known as Mirza Haidar, and in this way he styles himself, though his full name and designation would be Mirza Muhammad Haidar, Dughlát, Kurkán. By some European writers, his usual appellation has been reversed, and he has become Haidar Mirza. In some parts of Asia the distinction would be a wide one; for when "Mirza" is placed before a name, it means merely "Mr." or "Esq.," and has about the same signification as the word "Khan," when used by Persians of the better class, and by Hindustani Musulmans of all classes, at the present day. When placed after a name, it is equivalent to "Prince," and is so used only by persons belonging to a reigning family. In the case of our author either would be suitable, seeing that he was a prince of the branch of Moghul Khans who were, at that time, rulers of the Kashghar province. But his grandfather, who had been one of these rulers, had borne the same names, and seems always to have been styled with the word Mirza at the end, Muhammad Haidar Mirza. It may be as well, therefore, to draw as clear a distinction as possible between him and his grandson. The latter tells us, too, that he was known to his associates by the

[1] This should be borne in mind in reading the text, for in Part I. the author frequently alludes to what he *has written* in Part II.; while in Part II. he *promises to* make mention of certain events in Part I.

[2] As these two documents do not properly belong to the history, they have not been included in the translation.

style of *Mirza Haidar*, and as he himself [redacted] it, the words may safely be placed in that order.

In recording his own descent, Mirza Haidar describes himself as the son of Muhammad Husain Kurkán, son of Muhammad Haidar Kurkán, son of Amir-i-Kabir Said Ali, son of Amir Ahmad, son of Khudadad, son of Amir Bulaji. He was born in the year of the Hijra 905 (1499-1500 A.D.)[1] at Tashkand, the capital of the province then known as Shásh where his father, Husain, had been made governor some six years before, by Mahmud, the titular Khan of Moghulistan and Kashghar. The others named in the pedigree were all Amirs of Kashghar, while the earliest of them, Bulaji of the Dughlát tribe, is remembered as being the first of the line to become a Musulman. It was on the side of his mother, Khub Nigár Khánum, that our author was related to the Emperor Babar. She was a daughter of Yunus, Khan of the Moghuls, and a younger sister of Kutlugh Nigár Khánum, the mother of Babar.[2]

Mirza Haidar began his life in the midst of strife and adventure. His father—a treacherous and intriguing man—had been convicted of a mischievous plot against Babar at Kabul, but had been pardoned on account of his blood relationship. Shortly afterwards he had fallen into the hands of Shahi Beg Khan (otherwise Shaibani Khan), the Uzbeg leader, and had incurred that chief's suspicion also, but once more he was permitted to escape, and repaired to Herat, then the capital of Khorasán. His intriguing nature, however, being thought by Shahi Beg Khan to be dangerous even at a distance, he caused him to be put to death there, after a short time, by emissaries whom he sent for the purpose from Transoxiana. Muhammad Husain had taken with him into exile some members of his family, among whom was our author, then quite a child, and it appears that after his father's murder, some of the retainers of the family, believing the son to be doomed to a similar fate, had carried him off to Bokhara, and had placed him in concealment there. In 1508, when about nine years of age, he was taken in charge by one of these faithful friends, called Maulána Muhammad (formerly his father's *khálifa*, or religious guide) who determined to save the child from the death that awaited him at the hands of the relentless Uzbegs, and contrived to escape with him from the city. After a difficult and exciting

[1] The year 905 H. began 8th August, 1499.
[2] See the genealogical table of the house of Chaghatai, *infra*, p. 49.

flight across the hill tracts of Kh atl'n and Kuhâb, in the course of which they several times narrowly escaped falling into the hands of hostile Uzbegs, they succeeded in crossing the Oxus into Badakhshán. Here one Khan Mirza, a cousin and dependent of Babar, was at the time the reigning chief, with his capital at Kila Zafar on the Kokcha. He received the fugitives with kindness, and they remained a year with him, when Babar sent to summon them to Kabul. On their arrival Mirza Haidar was made a member of the Emperor's household, and seems to have been treated with much consideration. Within a few months, however, Babar had to march northwards against the Uzbegs, whose main force was then at Hisar, and his young cousin accompanied the army. The next two years were stirring times, and Mirza Haidar, if not too young must have learned much of warfare, as it was conducted in those days in Central Asia.

Babar's first two attempts on Hisar failed, but, on being joined by a large body of Persians from Khorasán, his third advance resulted in a victory which gained him the possession of Kunduz, Khatlán, and Khuzám. Taking advantage of the reputation they had established, and of the defeat and death of Shahi Beg, which had just then (1510) taken place in a battle with the Persians near Merv, the allies lost little time in making an attempt on Samarkand, the capital of Transoxiana. They marched first on Bokhara, where the inhabitants opened their gates to them, and afterwards to Samarkand, which they found undefended, the Uzbeg leaders having fled on their approach. Here Babar was received with enthusiasm by the people, and was virtually master, for a time, of the greater part of Central Asia. With his young guest in his following, he remained in Samarkand for some months, when a strong combination of Uzbeg tribes, compelled him and his Persian allies once more to take the field—though this time with very different results. They advanced against Bokhara, which had in the meantime been seized by the Uzbegs, but were repulsed, and shortly afterwards were disastrously defeated at the battle of Ghajdiwán, some distance to the north of the city. The alliance with the Persians came to an end and Babar retreated to Hisar, where he was surprised by an attack made by a body of Moguls in the service of the Uzbegs, and again experienced a crushing defeat. He then retired to Kabul, but Mirza Haidar had now left him. After the retreat from Samarkand, his uncle,

Sultan Ahmad the Khan of Moghulistan, having written several times to ask Babar's permission for the boy to be sent to him, at last obtained it, and Mirza Haidar, "led away by youthful impatience," as he himself writes, availed himself of the Emperor's consent, unwillingly given, and followed his uncle to Andijan, then the capital of Farghana.

It was about the beginning of the year 1514 that Mirza Haidar arrived at Andijan, and almost immediately afterwards entered the service of his kinsman Sultan Said Kh[illegible] (the son of Sultan Ahmad), who had just then been conducting an expedition against the Uzbegs in Tashkand, but had returned to Andijan on the enemy evacuating their positions. During the following summer, however, the Uzbegs recovered themselves and marched with a large force to lay siege to the Farghana capital. Sultan Said convened a council of his chiefs, who were unanimously of opinion that they were unable, without allies, to contend against the power of the Uzbegs, they believed themselves to have a fairer chance of success by undertaking an invasion of Kashghar, and wresting that province from Mirza Abú Bakr, who then held it. The resolution was accordingly adopted, and before the Uzbegs had time to enter the country, the Khan with all his Amirs, their families and baggage, set out from Andijan and advanced towards Kashghar, by a route leading through Moghulistan. This Mirza Abú Bakr was of the line of Dughlát Amirs, and was regarded by the Khans of Moghulistan as a usurper. He was an active and able soldier, though a cruel tyrant, and during his long rule, had made himself master of nearly the whole of Eastern Turkistan, besides several of the neighbouring countries. In 1511 he had invaded Farghana, but had there received a check by coming into conflict with Sultan Said, from whose forces he experienced a severe defeat at the battle of Tutluk, near Andijan. It was this victory over the usurper, that emboldened Sultan Said and his Amirs to attack him again in his own stronghold. Their enterprise resulted in a complete success. Kashghar was taken in 1514, while Yangi-Hisar, Yarkand, and the remainder of the cities of Eastern Turkistan fell shortly afterwards. Abú Bakr, driven an exile to Ladak, was murdered on the road, and the line of Moghul Khans was re-established in Moghulistan and Eastern Turkistan.

Mirza Haidar, though now only fifteen years of age, was raised by his cousin the Khan to a high position, and his life of activity

may be said to have begun about this time. For the ensuing nine een years, during which Sultan Said's reign lasted, the Mirza served him in various capacities, but chiefly as a soldier; and it was only after the Khan's death, which occurred while returning from an expedition against Ladak in 1533, that he abandoned Kashghar and transferred his services to the Chaghatais in India. He not only took part in Sultan Said's wars against the Kirghiz and Uzbegs in Moghulistan, and against other tribal enemies, but was entrusted with important commands in distant expeditions. The first of these was an invasion of the hill country, then known as Bilur, or *Bolor*, in 527. The expedition was nominally under the command of the Khan's eldest son, Rashid Sultan, but seeing that our author acted as a sort of tutor, or governor, to this young prince, it seems that he had much to do with the conduct of the campaign. Bolor may be described, roughly, as all the small hill states lying south of the Hindu Kush between Baltistan on the east and Afghanistan on the west—as the limits of these countries are now accepted. Thus it included Hunza, Gilgit, Chitral, and probably most of the petty states sometimes known as "Yaghistan." *There appears to have been* no cause for the invasion, other than that the inhabitants were not Musulmans; but considerations of this kind did not weigh with the Central Asian Khans, and Sultan Said, as the author tells us, had always been ambitious of gaining glory by waging wars against "infidels." The Bolor states were accordingly overrun and plundered during the whole winter, and the expedition returned to Kashghar in the following spring.

In 1529–30 the Khan undertook in person a campaign against Badakhshán, but sent Mirza Haidar in advance to begin operations. *The Mirza records that he laid waste the environs of* the chief town, Kila Zafar, and when the Khan arrived, his men had only to carry off what little had been left. The object of this expedition was to gain possession of the districts on the Upper Oxus—Wakhán, Shighnán, etc.—which had been conquered by the late Mirza Abú Baki, and which Sultan Said, in consequence, considered himself the heir to. But the chief of Badakhshán was a relation and nominee of Babar, who took a view of the matter entirely opposed to that of Sultan Said, and threatened to support the chief. As Babar had now recovered, in India, the influence he had lost in Transoxiana, a letter from him to the aggressive Sultan Said, seems to have been sufficient

to cause the Kashghar forces to be withdrawn [redacted] the Pamirs

But it was in 1531 that Mirza Haidar undertook his most important service for Sultan Said Khan. This [redacted] the invasion, first of Ladak, then of Kashmir and Baltistan, and afterwards of Tibet proper, or the country known to Europeans under that name[1]—an invasion as culpably aggressive [redacted] the raid into the Balor states. There was much paganism, he tells us, in Tibet, and the Khan, always animated by a love of Islam and a desire to carry on holy wars, was led by his pious aspirations to conquer that infidel country It was not the first time that Ladak had been wantonly overrun from the side of Turkistan Mirza Abú Bakr, during his long reign, had once at least, carried his arms into Ladak, while it would appear, from what Mirza Haidar records, that several parties had been sent to plunder the country since the accession of his patron, Sultan Said, to the Khanate. Very little is known of these earlier invasions, beyond the mere mention of them by Mirza Haidar, and by the author of the *Haft Iklim*,[2] who, however, obviously derived his information from the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*. That all were unprovoked and prompted by a more craving for plunder, however disguised under the mask of religious zeal, may be assumed with moderate confidence None of them, including that of Sultan Said and Mirza Haidar, appear to have prospered, or to have made much impression on the inhabitants, who have preserved their old religion and manners to the present day; and though they have, in modern times, fallen politically under the Hindu yoke of the Dogras, they still keep up their ancient connection with Lassa, in all matters concerning their Buddhism and social customs As Mirza Haidar says little about the fighting in Ladak, it is probable that the inhabitants offered only a feeble military opposition to the invaders, but trusted rather to the rugged nature of their country, the severity of the climate, and to the weapon common to most of the yellow races—passive resistance—to free them eventually from their enemy. And they were indeed successful. After subduing Ladak, [redacted] rapid march was made into Kashmir, where, to begin

[1] Mirza Haidar, like all natives of Central Asia, used the name *Tibet* to signify Ladak, but he applies it also, on some occasions, to the territory ruled from Lassa, or Tibet proper, as understood in modern times. (See notes, pp. 185 and 186.)

[2] See Quatremère's extracts from this work, in the *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Biblioth. du Roi*, xiv., p. 484.

with, some easy victories were won, but treachery and discontent having appeared in the Moghul camp, Mirza Haidar had, after a few months' occupation, to fall back on Ladak, leaving Kashmir, to all intents and purposes, independent.

Sultan Said Khan, hoping to share in the glories of the "holy war," had followed his lieutenant into Ladak, but his constitution, undermined by excessive drinking, proved less vigorous than his religious zeal, and the attenuated air of the Ladak passes had nearly proved fatal to him on the journey across. He recovered, however, sufficiently to lead a portion of his force into Baltistan, while Mirza Haidar was engaged in Kashmir, but after passing a winter there, distracted by cold and hunger, he too had to retreat into Ladak, and very shortly afterwards, set out on his return to Kashghar with a portion of the army. This second journey across the heights, achieved for him what the first had so nearly accomplished. He died on the Sugot Pass, from the malady known as "dangiri," or mountain sickness, and was at once succeeded by his eldest son, Abdu Rashid.

The death of the Khan in no way checked the course of the "holy war," for his second son, Iskandar Sultan, and many other Amirs, remained with Mirza Haidar, who now (July, 1688) started on an expedition to "earn merit" by destroying the great temple at Lassa—an exploit, he tells his readers, that had never been achieved by any King of Islám. He appears to have marched for about a month's journey towards the south-east, over some of the highest table-lands in Asia, to the region which gives rise to most of the great rivers of India, and to within a few days' journey of the Tibetan border of Nipal. His total force is nowhere stated in figures, and apparently it was divided into at least two, or perhaps three, columns. One of these was attacked by a force of "men armed with short swords," sent by "a Rai of Hind" to the assistance of the Tibetans—a statement that appears to point to a body of Nipali tribesmen, armed with their national weapon, the kukri. The inference is that the Moghuls were beaten in at least one fight with these people. Yet Mirza Haidar continued his march towards the capital, until he arrived at, and plundered, a place he calls Astábrak (or Astákbark), which was represented as being within eight days' journey of Lassa. No map or book of any date, now available, seems to contain this name or any variant of it, but if the estimate of eight marches from

Lassa be correct, and those marches are intended for the long Tibetan post-stages, the invaders would still have been some 300 miles, or more, distant from their goal. However this may be, the mortality among his horses, want of supplies, and the general distress caused by cold and the high elevation, obliged the Mirza to abandon his enterprise at this point, and to set out in retreat towards Ladak. His experience, indeed, was almost exactly that of the Dogra general Zoráwar Sing who, in 1841, made an attempt to conquer the western provinces of Tibet for his master, Rájah Gulábh Sing of Kashmir. Of fighting there was little in either case, except against the climate and conditions of the country, and in both instances these adversaries proved victorious.

In the early months of 1534 Mirza Haidar returned defeated, and with a mere remnant of his force, to a position of safety in Ladak. Of those who were left even, many deserted him here to find their way back to their homes across the mountains. Yet, broken and almost helpless as he was, the chiefs of Upper Ladak received him and his men with hospitality, and even assisted him in getting together a force with which, the next year, he proceeded to attack and plunder the western districts of the country, known as Purik, Suru, and Zangskar. His success in all these forays was very doubtful. He seems to have been able to do little more, during the first year, than keep his men and animals from starving, while in the second year (1535) he had again, from sheer distress, to fall back on the neighbourhood of Leh and throw himself on the mercy of the strangely tolerant Ladak chiefs. His followers, under these conditions, became discontented if not mutinous, and began to desert him; while he received such evil tidings from Kashghar, that the "holy war" against the Tibetans at length came to an end.

Rashid Sultan (otherwise Abdu Rashid Khan) had begun his reign at Kashghar, by putting to death many of his own relations, and among them the author's uncle, Sayyid Muhammad Mirza, whom he suspected of plotting against him in favour of the late Khan's younger son, Iskandar. These events seem to have made a deep impression on Mirza Haidar's mind, for he alludes to them with bitterness, more than once in the course of his narrative. His uncle had served Sultan Said faithfully for many years, and had done much arduous work for him, while Mirza Haidar himself had been the chief agent in extending

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the Khan's kingdom and power. But besides this he had been companion and instructor to two of the Khan's sons, and when the elder of these marked the commencement of his reign by acts of ingratitude and bloodshed, it is scarcely surprising that he should be deeply hurt, and should recall his foolish years afterwards, in his history.

Hence, fearing that he might meet with the same treatment as his uncle and others of his family if he returned to Kashghar, he had to seek for a refuge. It was impossible to stay longer in Ladak, while all the direct roads to India and Kabul were in the hands of those whom he had lately been chastising and plundering, in the name of religion. With the daring of despair, he determined to try and reach Badakhshán with the handful of adherents that remained in his service, by turning off from the usual track between Ladak and Yarkand, at a point called Ak-Tagh, to the north of the Karakorum Pass; and after following the course of the Yarkand river for some distance, to gain Ráskám, the southern Pamirs, and Wakhán. This adventure apparently almost hopeless under the conditions in which he attempted it—he accomplished successfully, accompanied by about twenty followers, though not without much hardship and suffering. The winter of 1536-7 he spent in Badakhshán, the following summer he retired to Kabul, and shortly after to Lahore, where he was received by Babar's son, Kámrán Mirza, and found himself as he tells us, raised from the depths of distress to honour and dignity.

Kámrán was at that time engaged in a struggle for territory with the Persians, and had, soon after our author's arrival, to proceed to the relief of Kandahar, which was being besieged by Sám Mirza and by Shah Tahmásp, the sons of Shah Ismail, the Safavi, but before setting out he appointed his guest to the governorship of those parts of India (the whole of the Punjab) which belonged to him, and in this capacity Mirza Haidar resided for over a year at Lahore, "collecting taxes, suppressing revolt, protecting the frontiers, and establishing Islám." It was shortly after Kámrán's return to the Punjab, (1538) that Humayun had sustained a severe defeat in Bengal at the hands of Shir Shah Sur, the Afghán leader, who was now advancing towards Agra by the left bank of the Ganges. A large part of Humayun's army having accompanied him to Bengal, he made an appeal to Kámrán and his other brothers to send assistance to Agra, while he himself hurried northward. Kámrán, after

some hesitation, consented, and moved first to Delhi and then to Agra, with an army of 20,000 men, and in company with our author. More dissensions took place among the brothers, Kámrán repented of his decision to support the Emperor, and putting forward bad health as a reason, determined to return to Lahore, while Shir Shah was yet on the far side of the Ganges. He endeavoured to persuade Mirza Haidar to return with him, but the Mirza decided on patriotic grounds, and from that time forward (1539) became an adherent of Humayun, who treated him with great honour and called him "*brother*, after the Moghul fashion."

The disastrous battle of Kanauj soon followed.[1] Humayun's force numbered some 40,000, but was less an army than a huge undisciplined mass, commanded by Amirs who had no intention of fighting the Afghans. Mirza Haidar appears to have acted as a kind of general adviser or chief of the Emperor's staff, but he mentions incidentally that he also led the centre division.[2] The confusion and corruption that prevailed on the side of the Chaghatais he describes with much candour, and clearly shows that the battle was lost before it had been fought. Whatever his position in the army may have been, he seems to have done his best to advise and support his master, and finally joined him in his flight to Agra,[3] and thence to Lahore. His narrative gives, in a few words, a vivid picture of the crowd of refugees that were assembled at the Punjab capital, their state of panic, and the divided and interested counsels with which the Emperor was perplexed. Mirza Haidar advised that the Chaghatai Amirs should occupy separate positions along the lower hills, from Sirhind to the Salt Range, where the army might be reorganised in safety and, on a favourable opportunity presenting itself, might be used with effect to regain possession of India. He himself would undertake the reduction of Kashmir, a task he hoped to accomplish in so short a time that the Emperor

[1] 17th May, 1540, or 10 Muharram 947 H.

[2] Abul Fazl (according to Price) implies that Humayun, in person, commanded the centre, while the right and left wings were led by a brother and a nephew, respectively. (*Muham. Hist.* iii, p 781.)

[3] The historian Jauhar mentions that during a brief halt made at Fatehpur Sikri, Humayun, while sitting in a garden, was shot at by some unseen person, and that "two attendants" having been sent in pursuit of the would-be assassin, both returned wounded. Mr. Erskine (following apparently the *Akbar-Nama* of Abul Fazl) mentions that one of the wounded "attendants" was Mirza Haidar. (See Jauhar's *Tazkirat ul Waki'at*, [illegible] by Stewart, p 24; and Erskine's *Hist. of India*, ii, p 104.)

and his brothers might send their families thither, and seems, for them at least, a refuge from all enemies. But the Mirza's advice was of no avail; for though Humayun seems to have been inclined to listen, he was overborne by other councillors.

While acting at Lahore as Kámrán's delegate, Mirza Haidar had been approached by certain chiefs of Kashmir who were at variance with the native prince then reigning in their country, and who, on being worsted by him, had found a refuge in the Punjab. They endeavoured to procure, through Mirza Haidar's influence, the assistance of a body of Kámrán's troops, to invade their own country and expel the obnoxious ruler. The scheme seems to have commended itself to the Mirza's judgment, and after some delay he was able to gather a respectable force, which he placed under the command of one Bába Chuchak, one of the most experienced officers in the service of Kámrán, with instructions to accompany the Kashmiri chiefs and restore them to the possession of their State. The Bába, however, found pretexts for evading the execution of these orders, and the expedition proved a failure. After the retreat of the Chaghatais from Kanauj to Lahore, these chiefs renewed their appeals for assistance, and it was during the discussions that took place there as to the general line of action to be adopted, that Mirza Haidar impressed on Humayun the advantage of seizing the opportunity to gain a footing in Kashmir. He had learned from his previous incursion into that country, while in the service of the Khan of Kashghar, the value of its position and resources, and calculated that, with a reasonable force, he would require only two months to subjugate it and make it a suitable asylum for the Emperor and his family, together, if necessary, with the remains of the Chaghatai army. Shir Shah, on the other hand, with the wheeled carriages and the artillery, on which his strength mainly depended, would not, the Mirza reckoned, be able to reach the outer hills in less than four months, and his troops would be exhausted by the effort.

Though these plans were not taken advantage of by Humayun (who continued his retreat to the Indus), he permitted them to be put into practice by Mirza Haidar. The Mirza was given a small body of troops, and was sent forward from Lahore to join the Kashmiri chiefs, in whose company he was to enter the hills of their country, and to be followed, at intervals, by two of Humayun's officers, called respectively Iskandar Turkí and Khwája Kalán. When all had assembled above Jhilam, and

the force had begun to ascend the passes leading to the valley of Kashmir, dissensions arose among the commanders Khwája Kalán, with his men, first separated himself from the expedition, and the Tupchi shortly afterwards followed him, leaving Mirza Hindal to prosecute the undertaking with no more than a handful of retainers in his own pay, and a few more who had joined him on the personal authority of the Emperor. With this following he determined to advance, and on the 21st November, 1540, crossed the Punch pass and descended into the valley. His calculations proved correct: he met with no resistance from the chiefs or people, but obtained possession of the country without striking a blow.

It is curious how little our author relates about his invasion and administration of Kashmir, or of the affairs of that country during the eleven years that his regency lasted He was to all intents and purposes king of the State, while the value of the territory and the importance of its position, from a military point of view, at the juncture when he found himself its ruler, were well known to him, for he had impressed them urgently on Humayun only a short time before Yet all he has to say of the period is summed up in two short chapters at the end of his history; though he devotes much more space to the events that were happening at the time across the passes. It was in Kashghar and Yarkand that his nearest relatives and his friends were living—most of them in suffering and danger—and that his political enemies were ruling, on lines that he regarded as dangerous, and subversive of the power and prosperity that he had himself helped to build up. It seems evident, indeed, that to the end of his life, his mind was chiefly occupied with the affairs of what may be called his own country, and communications between his friends and himself seem to have been kept up to the last, while he felt himself to be more or less an exile in Kashmir. So meagre is his story of this period of his life, and so abruptly broken off, that from the year 1540 onwards, I have had to follow chiefly the accounts of Abul Fazl, the historian of Akbar, and of Firishta Both of those authors wrote within an interval not very remote from that which they chronicle, and that the events they deal with must have been fresh in the memories of their informants.[1]

[1] See for Abul Fazl, Price's *Muham. Hist* iii. pp. 787–862; Jarrett's *Ain-i-Akbari*, p. 390; Erskine's *Hist.* ii., pp. 361–68 To Firishta, Briggs, iv., pp. 497 *seq*, and Mr. C. J. Rodgers' Extracts, in *J.A.S.B*, 1885, pp. [illegible] *seq*

Kashmir had, for some time previously, acknowledged no one supreme ruler, except those set up as mere nominal representatives of the old line of kings. Several native chiefs exercised the real authority, in various parts, and at this particular time were supporting, as a pageant, a prince whose real name was Názuk Shah.[1] Whether Mirza Haidar began by joining issue with this personage we are not informed, but it appears rather that he took him under his protection. It is related, however, that one Kichi Chak, the principal of those chiefs through whose representations Mirza Haidar had been originally induced to undertake the reduction of the State, very shortly deserted his benefactor. He perceived, says Abul Fazl, that his own schemes would be defeated by the establishment of Mirza Haidar's power, and "with the natural perfidy inherent in the character of the Kashmirians, suddenly withdrew from the *country to seek the protection of Shir Khan*" [*i.e.* Shir Shah]; with the result that a force of 2,000 Afghans was immediately despatched by the Shah, to conduct the petitioner back to his country. A threat of invasion by Shir Shah and his Afghans was sufficient to deprive Mirza Haidar of all his Kashmiri allies, and he had to retire to an inaccessible part of the country, with a few of his own followers, where he led a precarious and unsettled life for about three months. At last, on the 2nd August, 1541 (8 Rabi II 948 H.) he gave battle to his enemies, who were computed at 5,000 combatants (including natives and auxiliary Afghans), and defeated them with great loss, the Afghans retiring to Delhi while the Kashmiri malcontents fled to the outer hills. By this victory, the author rendered himself undisputed master of the whole of Kashmir.

A period of tranquillity followed, but was destined to last only till the year 1543, when the fugitives beyond the borders, having combined their forces with those of some of their relatives, *marched on Srinagar for the purpose of subverting* Mirza Haidar's government. They were completely routed, however, and again took refuge in the outer hills. Not long afterwards, the Mirza himself took the offensive against Ladak, and is said to have reduced several of its districts to subjection. Only one of these is named by Firishta, who writes it "Looshoo"—a name impossible to identify, unless it can be regarded as a corruption

[1] The name appears in text as found in the Histories of both Abul Fazl and Firishta, but Mr. Rodgers mentions that all the coins bear *Nádir* in place of *Názuk* (p. 111).

[2] Erskine, ii, p. 825.

of "Suru." During his absence on this expedition, an epidemic disease broke out, which carried off the three discontented chiefs who had, up to that time, been his most persistent opponents. Their removal afforded him again a period of peace, which lasted for about two years, when he proceeded to attack the province of Kishtawár. One Bandagán Koka was sent forward in command of a portion of the force, while Mirza Haidar followed at a distance. Bandagán Koka came up with the enemy on the banks of the Kishtawár river, and after two engagements, was defeated and killed, together with a number of his men. The remainder of his force fell back on the division of the Mirza, who, however, does not appear to have followed up his intention of subduing the province The next year, 1548, he is reported to have turned his attention first towards Little Tibet (or Baltistan), then to Tibet (or Ladak) again, and subsequently to Rajaori and Pakhli In all these provinces he is said to have succeeded in his objects, and to have added them, finally, to his Kashmir dominions

In 1549 an occurrence is recorded, which nearly brought our author once more into conflict with the Afghans of Hindustan In 1545 Shir Shah had been succeeded by his son, Islám Shah (otherwise known as Salim Khan), against whose rule the Niázi tribe of Afghans, then settled in the Punjab, rose in rebellion After being worsted by Salim in the plains, they fled towards the hills and took refuge in the Kashmir province of Rajaori. Here they were received by the descendants of those Kashmiri chiefs, who had so persistently opposed Mirza Haidar's rule, up to a few years previously. Intrigues were entered into between these and the Niázi, but in the meantime Salim, pursuing the latter, arrived at the foot of the hills near Nau Shahra in Rajaori, while Mirza Haidar advanced to block the road from the side of Kashmir. According to Firishta, a peaceful arrangement was come to between the various parties, Salim was appeased on certain hostages being made over to him, and returned to Delhi, while the Kashmiri partisans, abandoning their plans, some joined Mirza Haidar, and others accompanied Salim to his capital. A different version of this affair (it may be noted) is given by Abdulla, the author of the *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, who records that a fight took place between the Niázi and a force sent by Mirza Haidar to prevent them from entering Kashmir, and the writer locates this encounter, not in Rajaori, but in the district of Banihál. The Kashmiri force is represented as

gaining a complete victory, while Mirza Haidar is said to have propitiated Salim Khan, by sending him the heads of the slain Niázi as a peace-offering Which of these two accounts is the more correct, it is not easy to judge, but it seems that Mirza Haidar had, about this time, some transactions with the Afghan Shah of Hindustan, and may possibly have felt it necessary to propitiate him. At any rate, Firishta relates that he sent ambassadors with presents to Delhi in 1550, and that Salim, in return, deputed an envoy with horses, muslins, etc., to Srinagar. What brought about this exchange of courtesies, or what came of it, the historian does not state

In the same way, the events of the ensuing year, 1551, relating to Mirza Haidar's death, are to some extent at variance The only two historians (as far as I am aware) who record them in any detail are Abul Fazl and Firishta; but, as the former seems somewhat uncertain of his facts, the account of the latter may perhaps be more advantageously followed.

General Briggs' version of Firishta records, quite briefly, that Mirza Haidar had appointed one Kirán Bahádur, a commander of Moghul horse, to the government of the district of Bhimbal.[1] The measure gave great offence to the inhabitants, who resisted Kirán's authority, and eventually proceeded to attack him. Mirza Haidar, in order to support his officer, put himself at the head of his Moghuls, and marched towards the scene of the disturbance. On the road, a night attack was made upon his camp, the Moghuls were defeated, and he himself was killed by an arrow in the course of the fight. The exact date of the event in 1551 is nowhere recorded, but it would appear to have taken place on one of the last days of Ramzán, or about the beginning of October.[2] In Mr. Rodgers' version, the circumstances are related in much greater detail, but some of the particulars are not quite intelligible. The substance, however, is the same, and the account makes it appear that the locality where Mirza Haidar fell, must have been somewhere near Báramula on the Jhilam. It points also to his death having been caused through being accidentally struck by an arrow, discharged by one of his own men, in the darkness.

During the ten years (counting from the battle of 2nd August, 1541) over which Mirza Haidar's regency extended, he is said,

[1] The names are given elsewhere in Firishta as Kirá Bahádur and Bhimbal. The latter station is probably to *Bhember* below Naushahra

[2] The Hijra year is 958, which began 9th January, 1551.

in the *Akbar-Náma*, to have devoted himself, when not actively engaged with his enemies, to the restoration of the province and the improvement of its resources. He found it in a state of ruin and desolation, and raised it to a land abounding in cultivation and flourishing towns; he extended the frontiers also, and ruled with moderation and justice. Yet the austere Abul Fazl takes him to task for devoting too much of his time and attention to music, and thereby becoming forgetful of the dangers that surrounded him. Still more he blames him for continuing the government of the State in the name of the puppet Prince, Názuk Shah After his military successes, it was his duty, the historian considers, to read the prayers and strike the coins in the name of "his imperial benefactor then struggling with adversity;" while there was no necessity to cultivate the attachment of the native rulers. Yet he is obliged to admit that when Humayun had returned from exile in Persia, and had repossessed himself of Kabul, Mirza Haidar at once conceded to him the honours due to a sovereign

How far Abul Fazl's estimate of Mirza Haidar's character is just one, may be open to question In the first place, it was not entirely to music that he devoted the interval of well-earned repose that he enjoyed in Kashmir It was during these years that he wrote the *Tarikh-i-Rashdi*—a work which, strange to say, Abul Fazl makes no mention of. Yet it is evident, from incidental allusions to dates in the body of the book, that this task occupied no little of the Mirza's time. To judge by the number of authors he cites, or speaks of, in the course of his history, he must have collected a good number of books about him, and the study of these may perhaps have occupied more of his leisure than the lute or the zitára. Among them, it may be noted, was a copy of the "Memoirs" of his cousin Babar, which, in all probability, he had obtained while in India at the court either of Humayun or of Kámrán; and, no doubt, it was the first copy ever utilised for historical purposes. Secondly, as regards the imputed infidelity towards the Chaghatai Emperor, it should not be forgotten that the historian of Akbar was writing after events had seemed to justify his view. At the time when Mirza Haidar administered Kashmir in the name of Názuk Shah, Humayun was a refugee in Persia, dependent on the uncertain friendship of Shah Tahmásp, and it must have been quite a matter for speculation whether he would ever return, or if, indeed, any member of the house of Baber

would again occupy the throne of Hindustan After completely subjugating Kashmir, and defeating the troops that Shir Shah had sent against him, there seems to have been no reason, but loyalty to the Ghaghatais, why the Mirza should not have set himself up as king of the State.

His action in recognising the native puppet may fairly be regarded as one of self-denial—a temporary measure, undertaken while waiting to see whether his patron might not return, and claim his own kingdom in India. As events fell out, he did return, though not till January 1555, or nearly four years after our author's death Step by step, he made himself master of the principal districts of Afghanistan, regained Kunduz and Badakhshán, and disposed of Kámrán Mirza, together with other enemies of his house. But as early as 1545, when, with the aid of Shah Tahmásp, he had wrested only Kandahar and Kabul from his rebellious brother, and while still far beyond the limits of India, Mirza Haidar transferred to Humayun the nominal sovereignty with which he had invested Názuk Shah. He sent an envoy to Kabul, to inform his patron of these proceedings and to invite him to Kashmir. His letters were full of expressions of loyalty and attachment, and, in pressing his invitation, he pointed out that the country he had subdued would serve as an impregnable position, from which the Emperor might pour down his troops for the conquest of Hindustan—an enterprise which he urged him to attempt without delay.[1] He is recorded, moreover, by Abul Fazl himself, to have read the prayers and to have struck the coins in Humayun's name at about this period; while unanswerable evidence as regards the coinage is to be found, to this day, among the specimens of the money of Kashmir, which have come down to us In the British Museum there is a silver coin of Kashmir, bearing the name of Humayun and dated 952 or 953[2] of the Hijra (1545 or 1546) Mr. Rodgers also describes two coins of Humayun which were struck, in Kashmir, in the year 953, and another bearing a date subsequent to 950, but on which the third figure is illegible. This last one, however, contains in the field a letter *ha*, which Mr. Rodgers believes may stand for the initial letter of the name *Haidar*. In any case, the dates that are decipherable not

[1] Task no. ii, pp. 116–7, on the authority of the *Akbar-Nama*.

[2] Hardly a correct reading, but perhaps the intent; for one is sometimes faintly about the third figure See S. L. Poole, *Cat Coins of Mohammadan States of India*, p. xlvii.

only fall within the period of Mirza Haidar's regency, but they are good evidence that he regarded Humayun as his sovereign, while at the height of his own power in Kashmir, although no coins are known which show that he so regarded him previous to his recovery of Kabul.[1] Neither the coins nor the documentary history of the period, however, are completely worked out, and until the tales that both have to tell are exhausted, it would perhaps be premature to conclude that, even prior to the subjugation of Afghanistan in 1545, Mirza Haidar may not have afforded testimony, in one form or another, that he regarded himself and his puppet king as, alike, dependants of the Chaghatai Emperor.

Thus, whatever faults the Mirza may have had, disloyalty to his chiefs can hardly be accounted one of them. He served his first master, Sultan Said Khan, with devotion till the end of the Khan's reign, and when forced by the barbarities of his successor, Rashid Sultan, to seek safety for his life with the Chaghatais in India, he served them likewise with good faith, as long as he lived.

Besides Abul Fazl's and Firishta's, the notices of Mirza Haidar's life, among the writings of Asiatic authors, appear to be few. Several quote his history, and even copy from it extensively, but only two, as far as I have been able to ascertain from translations, make any mention of his personality. Jauhar, in his *Memoirs of Humayun*,[2] does no more than briefly allude to his master's faithful lieutenant. The author of the *Tarikh-i-Dauda*, cited above, calls him "a youth of a magnanimous disposition," but vouchsafes no more.[3] Amin Ahmad Rázi, however, has devoted a few sentences to him in his geographical work, the *Haft Iklim*, an important extract from which was translated into French by Quatremère, and published in 1848.[4] Ahmad Rázi tells us that Mirza Haidar "was endowed with an excellent character and a rare talent for elegant composition in verse, as well as in prose. To these

[1] The date of Humayun's recovery of Kabul varies somewhat in the accounts of different native authors, but Mr. Erskine adopted that of 10 Ramzán 952, or 15th November, 1545 (*Hist.* i., p. 325) so that it is possible that those coins may have been struck, as Mr. S. L. Poole suggests, to commemorate that event. (*Loc. cit.*)

[2] The *Tazkirát ul Wakiát*, trans. by Major Ch. Stewart, 1832, mentioned on p. 17.

[3] See Elliot's *Hist. India*, iv., p. 497.

[4] *Notices et Extr.*, etc., xiv., pp. 474–89.

gifts of nature, he added those of extreme valour, and all the qualities that constitute a great general Having been sent into Kashmir by Sultan Abu Said Khan,[1] he penetrated into this province by the road of Kashghar and Tibet [Ladak] and entirely subdued it. He entered it also a second time from the side of India, and establishing his residence in Kashmir, formed it into an independent principality . . . . He was author of the historical work entitled the *Tarikh-e-Rashidi*, which was named in this way after Rashid Khan, sovereign of Kashghar. This book enjoys universal esteem." Ahmad Rázi then appends some verses of the Mirza's, as a specimen of his poetic genius.

Among Europeans, Mr. W. Erskine is perhaps the only original author who has touched on Mirza Haidar's personal characteristics or attainments; even he does so only very briefly, though in several passages he praises his work in the highest terms He sums him up as "a man of worth, of talent, and of learning."[2] For his own part, he naively tells us that he had many accomplishments, and though most of those he names were of a more or less mechanical order, others, at least, show a taste for authorship, and make us picture him a man of some imagination. Taking into consideration the life he led—his adventures, sufferings, discomfitures, and escapes—and the age and countries he lived in, he may be accounted also a man of learning. At any rate, he was a patron of the learned whom he came in contact with, and seems to have taken an interest in their teachings, as well as in the books he knew of; though it may be open to question, perhaps (from a European point of view), how far he used them to the best advantage for historical purposes. Yet, withal, he was a bigoted Musulman and a fanatical Sunni, as his remarks about the transactions of Babar with the Persian Shias, after the capture of Samarkand in 1511, clearly indicate. And his bigotry took many curious forms, as, for instance, his approval of the hypocritical proceedings of Sultan Said Khan, his refraining to trace his pedigree beyond the date of Amir Bulaji, because Bulaji's ancestors were not Musulmans, and his pious invocations on the Moghul Khan, whose religious zeal and enlightenment led him to drive horseshoe nails into the heads of his subjects, to induce them to become Musulmans. In short

[1] The Khan's name is successively written in this way, but it is incorrect. The word *Abu* is redundant

[2] *Hist.* ii, p 38

he belonged to his times, and herein lies the chief value of all that he has left on record.

The reader, however, will form his own judgment of the author's character and worth What may safely be said is that his history carries with it a conviction of honesty; while he himself, though a soldier of fortune, was, as shown by the advice he tendered to Humayun, and by his administration of Kashmir, no more Dugald Dalgetty of the East.

SECTION II.

THE LINE OF CHAGHATAI.

Think, in this batter'd Caravansarai
Whose Doorways are alternate Night and Day,
How Sultán after Sultán with his Pomp
Abode his Hour or two, and went his way
—*Omar Khayyám*

The story of the conquests of Chingiz Khan, and the partition of nearly the whole of Northern Asia among his descendants, has been so often told, that no useful purpose would be served by recounting it again in this Introduction. Only those phases need be briefly sketched, which form the basis of Mirza Haidar's history, or which help to elucidate the course of events immediately preceding it. Though the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* embraces many wide regions and deals with many tribes and nations, its chief scenes are laid within the appanage of Chingiz's second son Chaghatai, and it is, before all things, a history of part of the Chaghatai branch of the Mongol dynasty. This is the branch, moreover, which hitherto has remained the most obscure of all those of the family of Chingiz Khan. The other divisions of the empire founded by the great conqueror, have all found abundant historians, not only in China and Mongolia, but among the Musulman writers of Western Asia and among Europeans. The great works of Deguignes, D'Ohsson, and Howorth, though designed to tell the story of all the Chingizi branches, have failed, as yet, to complete that of the house of Chaghatai. The two older authors frankly avow the want of materials, [illegible] their reason for leaving this section of their field almost untouched, while Sir H. Howorth, though he is understood to have completed his researches in it, has been prevented by other circumstances, from giving to the world his much desired volume on the Chaghatais.

Perhaps the nearest approaches to histories of the Chaghatais are to be found, (1) in an excellent paper entitled *The Chaghatai Mughals*, by Mr. E. E. Oliver, in the Journal of the Royal

Asiatic Society,[1] where the writer has summarised, in a consecutive manner, most of that which can be gathered on the subject, from European sources and from translations of Asiatic authors, and (2) in Erskine's *History of India under Baber and Humayun*. The learned translator of Babar's *Memoirs* had read widely among the Musulman authors, and compiled, in his last work, a more complete epitome of Chaghatai history, from original sources, than is to be found in any other European writings—unless possibly in those of Russian Orientalists, whose books, indeed, are sealed to most European readers. The source from which Mr. Erskine chiefly drew his information was the *Tarikh i-Rashidi*, which he not only studied, but, as we have seen in the Preface, partially translated in a summarised form. The *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, however, does not begin at the beginning of the Chaghatai history, but at an arbitrary point, dating nearly a hundred years after the allotment of his empire by Chingiz Khan, and at the period when the Khans of Moghulistan, having separated themselves from those of Máwará-un Nahr, a distinct history of their branch became possible. In order, then, to furnish a foundation for Mirza Haidar's chronicle, it is necessary to fill in, however briefly, this gap of a hundred years, and, in doing so, to take a rapid glance at the two allotments which bordered on that of Chaghatai Khan—the one on the west and the other on the east for the affairs of all three are, to a great extent, interwoven at certain periods.

In assigning his dominions to his four sons, Chingiz Khan appears to have followed an ancient Mongol custom The sons of a chief usually ruled, as their father's deputies, over certain nations or clans, and at his death each received, as an appanage, the section of the population which had been under his care. Thus the distribution was rather tribal than territorial, and the tribes, which were in most cases nomadic, sometimes shifted their abode, or were driven, by enemies, to migrate from one district to another. These movements, as a fact, do not seem to have occurred very frequently, nor to have altered the position of the main body of the people to any great extent. It will be more convenient, therefore, and far more intelligible, to state the distribution of Chingiz's dominions, as far as possible, in territorial terms

Juji, or Tushi, the eldest son of Chingiz, died some months

[1] Vol xx, New Series, pp. 72, *seq.*

before his father, and therefore, never became supreme Khákán[1] in the regions he governed; but they descended intact to his own son and successor, Batu, as an appanage direct from Chingiz. The centre of this dominion may be taken to be the plains of Kipchak, but it comprised all the country lying north of the lower course of the Sir Daria (the Sihun or Jaxartes) and of the Aral and Caspian seas—"wherever the hoofs of Mongol horses had trampled"; it included also the valleys of the Volga and the Don, and some wide-spread regions on the north shore of the Black Sea; while towards the north it extended beyond the Upper Yaik (or Ural River) into Western Siberia. On its southern and south-eastern confines, this appanage of the Juji line marched with that of Chingiz's second son, Chaghatai, whose central kingdom, Máwará-un-Nahr, or Transoxiana, was situated chiefly between the rivers Sir and Amu (the Jihun or Oxus), but included, in its extension towards the north-east, the hill ranges and steppes lying beyond the right bank of the Sir, east of the Kipchák plains, and west of lakes Issigh-Kul and Ala-Nor. Towards the east, the Chaghatai domain took in the greater part of the region now known as Chinese (or Eastern) Turkistan, Farghána (or Khokand) and Badakhshán; while towards the south it embraced Kunduz, Balkh, and, at the outset, Khorasán—a country which, at that time, spread eastward to beyond Herat and Ghazni, and southward to Mekrán. This was, perhaps, the most extensive appanage of all, and within its limits were to be found the greatest variety of races and tribes, and the greatest diversity of modes of life. It comprised, on the one hand, some of the richest agricultural districts, peopled by settled inhabitants, far advanced in Asiatic civilisation, and some of the most flourishing cities in Asia; while, on the other hand, some of the rudest hill tribes, or Hazáras — they were called then, had their homes in the

[1] As the word *Khákán* will often be met with in the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, it may be explained, here, that the difference between it and the simple form of *Khán* was originally one of degree. *Khákán* was a form of *Kaán* which was, originally, the peculiar title of the supreme sovereign of the Mongols, while the subordinate princes of the Chaghatai, and other Chingizi lines, were styled only *Khan*. After the highest title degenerated, and was used by many besides the sovereign, as will be observed in the course of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*. Marco Polo always wrote *Kaán*, and applied the title to Kublai, the Mongol Emperor of China. The meaning of *Khákán*, Sir H. Yule considered to be "*Khan of Khans*," or the equivalent of the modern *Khán-Khánán*. (See Marco Polo, 2nd ed. pp. 5, 10; also Dr. Terrien de Lacouperie in *Babylonian and Oriental Record* for December, 1888.)

southern highlands, and large tracts of barren steppe-land were occupied by almost equally primitive nomads, who drove their flocks from hill to valley and valley to hill, in search of pasture, according to season.

Eastward, again, of this "middle dominion," it often formed, came that of Oktai (or Ogodai), the third son of Chingiz Khan. His allotment was the country of the original Mongols with that of the tribes immediately around it, while he was also heir to his father's capital, Karakorum, and to the supreme authority over the Mongol people. On its western confines his dominion bordered, at first, on that of Chaghatai, in the country since known as Jungar or Zungaria[1]—a region that, for want of more exact boundaries, may be roughly described as lying north of the Tian-Shan, from about Urumtsi on the east, to the river Chu on the west, and having for its middle line the upper course of the Ili river. This region became the subject of much contention among the descendants of Oktai and Chaghatai, in the latter half of the thirteenth century, and as the house of the former declined, the greater part of it, if not the whole, appears to have gradually merged into the territories of the Chaghatai Khans; while the clans that inhabited it, were dispersed among the tribes of Transoxiana and Kipchak, and their chiefs lived in obscurity under the Khans, or conquerors, for the time being.

Chaghatai himself appears to have been a just and energetic governor, though perhaps rough and uncouth, and addicted to the vice, common among the Mongols, of hard drinking. At any rate, he was animated by the soldier-like spirit of his father, and succeeded in keeping order among as heterogeneous a population, as a kingdom was ever composed of. In 1282, for instance, when sedition showed itself at Bokhara, he acted with promptitude, if with severity, and saved his country from a far-reaching calamity. He was, in all probability, an old-fashioned Mongol, for we read that he stood by the Yasák, or code of laws instituted by Chingiz Khan, and that he showed little favour to what was, at that time in his dominions, the comparatively new and rising religion of Islám. He must, however, have been fairly tolerant, for it is recorded that his minister for Transoxiana, was a Musulman, called the Jamilat-ul Mulk, and that mosques and colleges were founded during his reign. But if Chaghatai did not lean towards Islám, neither does it appear

[1] *I.e.*, the country of the Jungar, or Zungar—the *left-hand*—Kálmáks.

that he ever inclined towards Christianity, though that religion, as practised by the Nestorians, must have been familiar to him It existed in his own dominions and in those of his brother Oktai, *who seems to have been thoroughly tolerant, and to have* encouraged at his capital, Karakorum, every form of worship, besides the enlistment in his service of men of all religions a circumstance which had, as will be seen later, an important bearing on subsequent history.

Chaghatai's own capital was at Almáligh, in the valley of the Upper Ili, near the site of the present Kulja, and consequently in the extreme east of his dominion. His reason for fixing it in that remote position, instead of at Bokhara or Samarkand, was probably one of necessity. His Mongol tribesmen and followers — the mainstay of his power—were passionately fond of the life of the steppes: the only existence worthy of men and conquerors, was that passed in the felt tents of their ancestors, among the flocks and herds that they tended in time of peace, and led with them on their distant campaigns. The dwellers in houses and towns were, in their eyes, a degenerate and effeminate race;— the tillers of the soil, slaves who toiled like cattle, *in order that their betters might pass their time in* luxury. They would serve no Khan who did not pass a life worthy of free-born men and "gentlemen rovers"; and Chaghatai and his immediate successors probably saw, as his later descendants are described by Mirza Haidar to have seen, that the one way of retaining the allegiance of his own people, was to humour their desires in this respect, and live, with them, a nomad's life.

Chaghatai died in 1241, after a reign of about fourteen years, and within the same year the death of Oktai occurred at Karakorum. Thus two out of four of the chief divisions of the Mongol empire were suddenly deprived of their sovereigns, with the result that nearly the whole of the successors of Chingiz were set disputing for the succession. "Among the most violent regards party spirit and warlike temper," writes Mr. Oliver in his summary of this period, "were some of the representatives of Chaghatai. For the time being, it ended in Turakina, Oktai's widow, being appointed regent; but there were set up lasting disputes among the rival claimants, and the seeds of much future mischief were sown. For long after, the disputes regarding the succession to the throne of the great Kaán became inextricably mixed up with the affairs, more

especially of the eastern part, of Chaghatai's Khanate, and it is impossible to give an intelligible account of the latter without occasional references to the former."[1]

Little is known of the way in which Chaghatai disposed of his kingdom at his death, and there appears to be no mention, anywhere, of his having followed the ancestral custom of his house in distributing it among his descendants. He is recorded to have left a numerous family, but to have been succeeded by a grandson, and a minor, named Kara Hulaku, while his widow, Ebuskun, assumed the regency. This statement, however, seems to apply to Turkistan, Transoxiana, and the adjacent regions: at all events not to Kashghar, Yarkand, Khotan, Aksu, and the southern slopes of the Tian Shan mountains—or, in other words, to the province south of the line of the Tian Shan, which is called, in our times, Eastern Turkistan. As regards this province, Mirza Haidar tells us that it was given by Chaghatai, presumably at his death, to the clan or house of Dughlát, whose members were reckoned to be of the purest Mongol descent, and one of the noblest divisions of that people. We shall hear more of this clan and the province they ruled, farther on; but the important point to notice here, with reference to subsequent events, is that the Dughláts were made hereditary chiefs, or Amirs, of the various districts of Eastern Turkistan, as far back as the time of Chaghatai, for it is chiefly on this incident that hinges the permanent division of the Chaghatai realm into two branches, at a later date.

Ebuskun's sway was a short one, for as early as 1247 Almáligh was attacked by Kuyuk, the son and successor of Oktai, and she was deprived of her power. For a time, disorder prevailed throughout the Khanate; but Kuyuk seems to have had sufficient power to set up one Yasu (or Isu) Mangu, who, being himself a worthless debauchee, governed the country through the agency of a Musulman Wazir, called Khwája Bahá-ud-Dín. Kuyuk died within three years of his accession, and was followed, as supreme Khakán, by Mangu, who, in 1252, restored Kara Hulaku and Ebuskun to their former dignities. Bahá ud Din and Yasu Mangu were now, in their turn, removed, the former being put to death at once. Kara Hulaku died within a few months of his restoration, and after his death we hear no more of Ebuskun. Hulaku's throne passed over to his own widow—one Orgánah Khatun—whose first act was to [illegible] Yasu Mangu,

[1] Oliver, pp. 90, 91.

under some compact, which appears to have been made for his riddance, between her predecessor and the Khakán Mangu.

Orgánah is described as possessing much beauty, wisdom, and influence, and as long as Mangu lived she was allowed to reign in peace. But he died in 1259, when a war of succession to the supreme Khakánate broke out between his brothers Irtukbuka and Kublai. In this strife, the Chaghatai princess appears to have taken no part, but she suffered nevertheless, for in 1261 she was driven from Almáligh by Algu (a great-grandson of Chingiz), who had been nominated by Irtukbuka to rule in her place, and to bring over the Chaghatai forces to assist him in his war with Kublai. Algu, however, betrayed his patron, who, abandoning Karakorum to his rival Kublai, marched against Almáligh, whence Algu had to fly for safety, first to Kashghar and Khotan, and finally to Samarkand. Irtukbuka spent the winter of 1263 in Almáligh, devastating the district and putting to death many of Algu's followers. By these excesses he weakened his own army and resources to so great a degree, that he had to submit to Kublai and make peace with Algu, stipulating to retain for himself a portion only, of the eastern part of the Chaghatai Khanate. These transactions brought about not only a reconciliation between Algu and Orgánah, but a marriage. Both, however, died within a few months, and Irtukbuka, having done homage to Kublai, by prostrating himself at the door of Kublai's tent, the latter remained supreme from Peking to Transoxiana, and acquired the title of Khakán. He was the "Great Kaán" of Marco Polo.

But a rival was beginning to show himself in the person of Kaidu, a grandson of Oktai. This prince was plotting, in western Kipchák, for the assistance of his uncle Batu, in asserting his claim to the province of Turkistan—the north-western division of the Chaghatai Khanate—and probably also for the region then becoming known as Moghulistan, which lay immediately to the eastward of Turkistan, and comprised the Zungar country, already alluded to. At the death of Algu, Kublai nominated Mubárak Shah, a son of Algu and Orgánah, to the Chaghatai succession, but immediately afterwards is said to have appointed, as his vice-regent, another great-grandson of Chaghatai, named Borák (or Barák), to support Mubárak Shah in resisting Kaidu. So far from assisting the young Khan, Borák drove him from the throne, made common cause with Kaidu, and for a time exercised joint sovereignty

with the latter over Transoxiana. But jealousies were not long in showing themselves between the allies, and quarrels ensued which were only partially composed at a *kurultai*, or conference of the chiefs of the tribes, held in Turkistan in 1269, when certain points were agreed on, the most important being "the implied recognition of Kaidu as the rightful Khakán of the Moghuls, which from this time was extended by the Chaghatai Khans both to him and his son Chapár."[1]

Borák now proceeded to indemnify himself by invading Khorasán, but his campaigns resulted in nothing but defeat, and eventually he retired to Bokhara, where he died, or was perhaps poisoned, in 1270. "His reign," says Mr. Oliver, "had extended only to some four years, but they were years of misery and destruction to some of the fairest lands and most prosperous cities on the Zarafshán. His death delivered them from at least one cowardly tyrant and persecutor, though they still continued to suffer from the fratricidal wars that constantly raged between the rival chiefs of the lines of Oktai and Chaghatai, and the unhappy citizens had even more reason than Venice of old for invoking 'a plague on both their houses.'

"Borák's death left Kaidu sole master of the western portion of the Khanate. The dispossessed Mubárak Shah and other chiefs took the oath of allegiance to him, thus rendering him a still more dangerous rival of Kublai. In 1270 (668 H.), much to the indignation of the sons of Borák, he nominated Nikpai, a grandson of Chaghatai, chief of the tribe, but in less than two years Nikpai seems to have revolted, been killed, and succeeded by Tuka Timur, another scion of the house (*circa* 1271, or 670 H.), who, in less than two years more, was ousted by Davá, the son of Borák (*circa* 1273, or 672 H.) Davá had made up his quarrel with Kaidu, his claims having been constantly urged by the latter's son Chapár. His reign was the longest ever enjoyed by a descendant of Chaghatai, and the Khanate might have hoped for some peace from an alliance between the rival houses, but unfortunately a third firebrand appeared on the scene. Abáká, the Il-Khán of Persia, who had always acknowledged Kublai as the rightful Khakán in opposition to Kaidu, and who had never forgiven Borák's invasion of Khorasán, was only watching his opportunity, and his Wazir, Shams-ud-Din Juvaini,[2]

[1] Oliver, p. 96.

[2] This Wazir was brother of Ala-ud-Din Ata-Mu.c, Juvaini, the historian and author of the *Tarikh-i-Jahán Kushai*—a work that will be often alluded to farther on.

had only to draw his attention to a favourable omen, to start him for Bokhara, which he entered about 274 (672 H.), plundering burning, and murdering right and left"[1]

Daví reigned for some thirty-two years and was almost constantly at war. He possessed himself of Otrár, and from that stronghold, as a base, made several expeditions into India, ravaging the Panjáb and Sind, and making a diversion at times between 1266 and 1301 Peshawar, Multán, Lahore, and Delhi. In the meantime, Kaidu had involved himself in wars of long duration with the Khakán Kublai, and as those took place shortly before the time of Marco Polo's travels through Central Asia and China, detailed accounts of some of them have been handed down to us in his narrative. Those wars extended, from first to last, over a period of some thirty years, and were not even concluded in 1294, when Kublai died and was succeeded as Khakán by his grandson Uljaitu.[2] The credit indeed of finally overthrowing Kaidu is due rather to this prince, and moreover it was not Kaidu alone whom he subdued, but Daví also, for this last, on his return from a campaign in India in 1301, seems to have allied himself with Kaidu and to have assisted in the wars against the Khakán. Kaidu's death followed quickly on his final reverse, and must have occurred in 1302, about His son Chapár, backed by the influence of Daví, obtained the recognition of his succession to the Khanate of the eastern division of the country, and both having sent envoys to Uljaitu bearing professions of submission, a period of peace should, it might appear, have been established. But this was not the case. Within a year of Kaidu's death, Daví and Chapár fell out, and the latter was defeated in a battle fought between Samarkand and Khojand. This engagement was followed by several others, victory falling sometimes to one side and sometimes to the other, until at length the Khakán Uljaitu routed Chapár and obliged him to submit to Daví

The death of Daví occurred in 1306, and he was succeeded by his son Kuyuk, who lived only two years, and was in his turn followed by a descendant of Chaghatai named Talikú. This prince is said to have adopted the Musulman religion, and in consequence to have been put to death by his own officers, who raised in his place, one Kabak, a son of Daví Kabak was

[1] Oliver, pp. 97, 98.
[2] Properly "Timur Uljaitu," the Temur-mut, or Strong Tamga, of the Chronicles

installed in 1309, and was at once attacked by Chapái, in alliance with several members of the house of Oktai. The allies were beaten in a number of fights, and eventually fled for refuge to the territory of the Khakán (now Kuluk,[1] ■ nephew of Uljaitu), while their dominions were appropriated by the house of Chaghatai, the clans who inhabited them becoming in part its subjects and in part those of the Kipcháks. ■ With Chapái," says Mr. Oliver, "the house of Oktai disappears, though representatives came to the front for a brief period again in the persons of Ali and of Dánishmanjah, while Timur (Tamerlane), after displacing the family of Chaghatai, selected his puppet khans from the Oktai stock'[2] Within ■ year of his installation, Kabak made way for an elder brother, who ascended the throne of the Chaghatai under the name of Isán Bugha, though his historical identity (in connection with this name at least) is somewhat uncertain He provoked the Khakán into war, and was beaten almost at the outset of his rule, afterwards he invaded Khorasán with ■ like result, and was finally forced to fly from the country, before the combined forces of one of his brothers and of the seventh Il-Khán, or King of Persia. This occurred in 1321, when Kabak seems to have resumed the throne which he had abdicated twelve years previously.

It was about this time that a permanent division occurred in the realm of Chaghatai, the two parts being known by the general names of Máwará-un-Nahr (or Transoxiana) and Moghulistan (or Jatah), though there were other provinces attached to each section. The story of the Khans of the former branch, roughly sketched above need not be followed further, as the history of Mirza Haidar, which chiefly concerns us, belongs to the other or eastern division, and is told by him, a descendant of its princes, in full. It is only necessary to remark with regard to Máwará-un-Nahr, that from the time of this division forward, the fifty years that remained till the great Amir, Timur, made himself master of the land, confusion and discord prevailed During those few years the names of fifteen Khans appear in the lists—some of them not even of the Chaghatai line—together with some periods of anarchy when no name occurs. The rise of Timur was the turning-point from decadence to power in Máwará-un-Nahr, but at the same time, the death-blow to the original line of Chaghatai He reduced the country to order,

[1] Hai Shan, or Wa Tsang, in the Chinese annals.
[2] Oliver, p 105.

and ruled with uncontrolled power, though he left to the Khans, whom he set up or pulled down at pleasure, certain dignities and privileges which were nothing more than nominal.

We have seen already, how near the empire of Chaghatai came to being divided during the wars of Kaidu. This Prince was, as far as can be gleaned, one of the ablest of the Oktai line, and an active and determined soldier. During his struggles for supremacy, he held a large tract of country carved chiefly out of the Chaghatai appanage, though taken partly from that of Oktai. It is not clear what were the limits of the territory he held thus temporarily, and indeed it is probable that no actual limits were ever acknowledged. In all likelihood his power extended chiefly over certain tribes who were nomads, or dwellers in tents, and thus in the habit of moving their abodes when expedient; such movements, too, may have been more frequent than usual about Kaidu's period, for the tribesmen must have been constantly entangled in the prevailing wars, and subject therefore, to the changes of fortune of those with or against whom they had to serve. His dominion, consequently, would have been more tribal than territorial in its extent. At any rate it would seem that during Kaidu's last days—the period when he was allied with Borák—his power reached from the Tálás River and Lake Bálkásh on the west, to Kara-Khoja (between Turfán and Hami) on the east, and that it thus included nearly the whole length of the Tian Shan mountains, together with the Zungar country on the north and Kashghar, Yarkand, Aksu, etc., on the south of them. Although this wide tract never fell permanently to him or his race, his temporary hold over it seems to have assisted in making it out as a self-contained eastern division of the Chaghatai realm, and the greater portion of it—all that lay to the north of the Tian Shan—acquired, about this time, the name of Moghulistan, or vulgarly "Jatah." It was, above all parts of that realm, the land of the purely nomad Moghul (or Mongol) tribes, as distinguished from the settled populations of Turkistan, Farghána, and Má-varáa-un-Nahr on the one hand, and the mountaineers of Hisar, Karatigin, Badakhshán, etc., on the other. It was the land to or from which the tent-dwelling population could migrate, and carry with them their only wealth—their flocks and herds—when safety or other interests demanded a move; and it became, moreover, as Mirza Haidar's history will show, a sort of refuge for the defeated and discontented among those tribes and the

neighbouring nations, and the country that the true Moghul loved to call his own.

Thus, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, when the Khans of Chaghatai were rapidly declining in power, and could scarcely maintain themselves in their central kingdom of *Mávará-un-Nahr*, this eastern division, or Moghulistan, appears scarcely to have felt their sway. The hereditary Dughlát Amirs who, as we have seen, had been set up by Chaghatai, governed in detail, with more or less power, in the different cities and districts of the region south of the Tian Shan (or Eastern Turkistan), and left scarcely a trace behind them in any history but that of one of their own clan—Mirza Haidar. They acted in the name of the Chaghatai Khan of the time, and though nominally hereditary, they seem in practice to have held office very much *at the pleasure of the tribesmen whose affairs they administered*; while the popularity of each one probably depended more on the degree of independence he was able to secure for the small section that regarded him as its chief, than on his hereditary rights. Still in the early days, the power of some of them must have been considerable, and it seems to have risen in degree, as that of the Chaghatai Khans declined. They fought among themselves as a matter of course, and the people suffered, no doubt, from the consequent disorder. It would be quite natural *therefore that Isán Bugha, a Moghul by descent, when forced* to retire from Mávará-un-Nahr, should turn his steps towards Moghulistan, and its companion province south of the mountains.

Just at this point the histories of the period are discordant. As remarked above, the identity of Isán Bugha is to some extent uncertain. He is known to have been a son of Davá Khan, and is believed to have had some brothers. Abul Gházi Khan, the historian King of Khwárizm of the seventeenth century, speaks of him as "Il Khwája, surnamed Isán Bugha." On the other hand, Khwándamir makes Isán Bugha continue to reign over the western branch of the Chaghatai until his death, and alludes to one Imil Khwája (apparently another son of Davá) as having established himself in Moghulistan.[1] It is possible that Imil, or Il, may denote one and the same person;[2]

[1] See Abul Gházi's *Hist. des Mongols*, transl. by Desmaisons pp. 161–5, and Khwándamir's *Habib us Siyár*, transl. by Defrémery in *Journal Asiat* 4me Série, tom. xix., pp. 270 and 280.

[2] Erskine notes (*Hist.* i., p. 37) that in the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* he is called *Ais* or *Isán Bugha*; in the *Shajrat*, p. 378, and by Price (*Muham. Hist.*,

but however this may be, if the usually accurate Abul Gházi be followed, we learn that: "As there remained no longer in Kashghar, Yarkand, Alah-Tágh or Ughuristan, any prince descended from Chaghatai Khan, whose authority was acknowledged, the Moghul Amirs held a council, at which it was decided to summon Isán Bugha from Bokhara; and they proclaimed him Khan of Kashghar, Yarkand, Alah-Tágh and of Moghulistan."[1] This would make it appear that Isán Bugha was still reigning in Máwará-un-Nahr when summoned by the Dughlát Amirs, but the point is doubtful, for we have just been told that he had fled to Moghulistan. In any case, the dates of the two events agree, for the disappearance of Isán Bugha from Máwará-un-Nahr is recorded by one author to have taken place in 721 H. (1321 A.D.), and this is just the year when he is said, by the other, to have been summoned to Kashghar and made Khan of Moghulistan, with (it may be assumed) its dependencies.

Thus, although the chronology and even some of the events of the times are uncertain, the final division of the Chaghatai Khanate appears to have taken place in or about the year 1321, and it resulted in two separate lines of Khans being established which were never afterwards united. The western branch was, a little later, superseded by Timur, whose descendants, through Babar, gave the ruling house to India, which has gone, for three centuries, by the name of "Moghul"; though, as we shall see from Mirza Haidar's narrative, it was, in its early days, known — and perhaps more correctly — as the "Chaghatai." The history of the eastern branch — that of the true "Moghuls" of Central Asia — we may now leave to be told, in detail, by our author; but — thus line was several times broken, or subdivided, and — the subject is a complicated one, it may aid the reader to give (immediately below), in the form of an epitomised statement, a general view of the succession of the Moghul Khans from the time of Isán Bugha onwards. It is extracted almost entirely from Erskine's *History of India*,[2] and was com-

[1] Desmaisons, p. —

[2] Vol. i., Appendix B.

piled by him from the *Tarikh i-Rashidi*, but it contains some emendations from the Chinese history of the Ming dynasty, translated by Dr. Bretschneider, for the period immediately succeeding the reign of Khizir Khwája, and a few other alterations besides.

It is about this period that Mirza Haidar's chronicle at its weakest, and it is also a period where some of the best of the Musulman authors fail us. The *Rauzat Safá* of Mir Khwánd and the *Zafar-Náma* of Sharaf-ud Din, both differ from the *Tarikh i-Rashidi*, and the Ming history is at variance with all three. Thus between Khizir Khwája and Vais Khan, the *Rauzat us Safá* and the *Zafar-Náma* show two reigning Khans of Moghulistan, and the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* also gives accounts of two only, though the names in the last mentioned work are not the same as in the other two histories.[1] But the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, in another place, relates that six Khans, including Khizir Khwája and Vais, were raised to the throne by the Dughlát Amir, Khudáidád, thus placing four between them. These Khans are—

Shams-i-Jahán,
Nakhsh i-Jahán,
Muhammad,
Shir Muhammad,

and the author states them in this order; that the three which correspond with the names of those given in the Chinese histories, do not fall in the same succession. Again none of the Musulman authors supply the date of succession for any of the intermediate Khans whom they mention. The Chinese annals show three Khans for the period between Khizir Khwája and Vais, and furnish the year of succession for each of them, besides giving dates of other contemporary occurrences, which indicate that a particular Khan was reigning at a particular time. The annals chiefly refer to tributary missions and appeals for assistance addressed to the Chinese Emperor, but it is precisely such occurrences as these that the Chinese chroniclers record with care and exactness. Their dynastic histories are believed to be not always trustworthy, but they are, at any rate, compilations, more or less methodical, from State documents and are not based merely on tradition, as are most of the Musulman

[1] As the *Haft Iklim* copies from the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, and does not copy completely, it need not be referred to as an authority. (See *Not. et Extraits*, xiv., pp. 474 *seq.*)

histories. As more records of events and dates, therefore, the Chinese accounts are likely to be the best guides; and I should be inclined to substitute their data, regarding this period, for those of Mirza Haidar. I have, however, shown both in amending Mr. Erskine's epitome, as will be seen (at p. 46). A full extract from Dr. Bretschneider's translation of the Chinese history is also appended immediately below.

The three lists just spoken of, stand as follows:—

(A.)—*The Rauzat us Safá*[1] *and the Zafar-Náma.*[2]

(1.)	Khizir Khwája	died 1399
(2.)	Muhammad Khán	No date
(3.)	Nakhsh-i-Jahán	„
(4.)	Vais Khán	„

(B.)—*The Chinese Annals of the Ming dynasty.*[3]

(1.)	Khizir Khwája	died 1399
(2.)	Shams-i-Jahán	„ 1408
(3.)	Muhammad Khán	„ 1410
(4.)	Nakhsh-i-Jahán	„ 1418
(5.)	Vais Khán	„ 1428

(C.)—*The Tarikh-i-Rashidi.*

(1.)	Khizir Khwája	died 1420
(2.)	Shams-i-Jahán	No date
(3.)	Nakhsh-i-Jahán	„
(4.)	Muhammad Khán	„
(5.)	Shir Muhammad	„
(6.)	Vais Khán	died 1428-9

Of the two dates furnished by the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, the one indicating the year of Khizir Khwája's death is certainly incorrect, for there is evidence to show, in addition to the concurrence of the authorities named above, that this Khan did not reign up to the year 1420. The portion of the *Matla' Asaadin*, of Abdur Razzák, translated by Quatremère,[4] though it contains no list of these Khans, makes mention of ambassadors having been sent to Shah Rukh, of Mawará-un-Nahr, in

[1] Price's *Muham. Hist.*, iii., p. 300.
[2] Pétis de la Croix, *Hist. de Timur Bec*, iii., p. 318.
[3] Bretschneider, *Med. Res.*, ii., pp. 231, 239.
[4] *Notices et Extraits*, vol. xiv., p. 200.

819 H. (1416), by Nakhsh-i-Jahán, who is described ■■ ■ son of Shama-i-Jahán of Moghulistan; thereby implying, it would seem, that Nakhsh-i-Jahán was reigning in that year in Moghulistan. This date accords with the Chinese indication for the accession of Nakhsh-i-Jahán—or the year when he would most probably have despatched envoys to his neighbours. The same work[1] mentions also that in 823 H. (1420) Shah Rukh's ambassadors, then on their way to China, learned that disorder prevailed in Moghulistan in consequence of Vais Khan, who was then reigning, having attacked Shir Muhammad Oghlán. This statement stands by itself, but it has some resemblance to that of Mirza Haidar, who relates that between Vais Khan and "Shir Muhammad Khan there arose great disputes." It also appears, from the *Matla' Asaadin*, that in 1425 Shir Muhammad held powers of some kind in Moghulistan, though he may not have been the reigning Khan. It is stated, at any rate, that in that year Mirza Ulugh Beg, who was ruling in Máwará-un-Nahr, undertook an expedition into Moghulistan and defeated Shir Muhammad. Yet, according to the Chinese, Vais Khan was then reigning, he having slain Nakhsh-i-Jahán in 1418. On the subject of Shir Muhammad, therefore, the *Matla' Asaadin* and the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* would ■■■ to be at one, in so far that they both name him ■■ living at ■ period immediately previous to the accession of Vais, though neither states precisely that he was a reigning Khan of the dynasty.

As I have placed in juxtaposition above, the lists of reigning Khans, according to the various authorities, it may be useful also to show how they vary in their statements regarding the sons of Khizir Khwája, some of whom reigned, though some did not.

Thus the *Rauzat us Safá* has—

(1.) Shama-i-Jahán,
(2.) Shir Ali,
(3.) Shah Jahán Oghlín

The *Zafar-Náma* gives:—

(1.) Shama-i-Jahán,
(2.) Muhammad Oghlán,
(3.) Shir Ali,
(4.) Shah Jahán,

[1] *Notices et Extraits*, p. 388.

while the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* mentions :-

(1.) Muhammad Khan,
(2.) Shams-i-Jahán,
(3.) Nikdsh-i-Jahán,
" } "and others."
"

The passage taken from Dr Bretschneider's version of the Ming history runs thus[1]:

"After Yung-lo acceded to the throne he sent an envoy with a letter and presents to the King of Bie-shi-ba-li.[2] But at that time Hei-di-zh-ho-djo had died, and had been succeeded by his son *Sha-mi-cha-gan*. The latter sent in the next year an embassy to the emperor, offering as tribute a block of nude jade and fine horses. The envoy was well treated and rewarded. At that time it had happened that *An-ho Te-mu-rh*, Prince of Hami, had been poisoned by *Oai-li-chi*, Khan of the Mongols, and Sha-mi-cha-gan made war on the latter. The emperor was thankful, and sent an envoy with presents to him, exhorting the King to be on good terms with *Lo-to*, the Prince of Hami.

"In 1406 Sha-mi-cha-gan sent tribute, and the emperor accordingly despatched *Liu Te-mu-rh*, a high officer, with presents to Bie-shi-ba-li. In the year 1407 Sha-mi-cha-gan presented three times tribute. His envoys had been ordered to solicit the assistance of Chinese troops for reconquering Sa-ma-rh-han, which country, as they stated, had formerly belonged to Bie-shi-ba-li. The emperor sent his envoys, *Pa Tan* and *Li Ta*, together with Liu Te-mu-rh, to Bie-shi-ba-li to inquire cautiously into the matter. The envoys presented silk stuffs to the King, and were well received. They returned home in the next year, and brought the intelligence that Sha-mi-cha-gan was deceased, and his younger brother, *Ma-ha-ma*, had succeeded him. The emperor then sent the same envoys once more to Bie-shi-ba-li, to offer a sacrifice in memory of the late King and bestow presents on Ma-ha-ma. When, in 1410, imperial envoys on their way to Sa-ma-rh-han passed through Bie-shi-ba-li, they were well treated by Ma-ha-ma, who in the next year despatched an embassy to the Chinese court, offering fine horses and a *wen pao* (leopard).

[1] *Med. Researches*, ii., pp. 230-12.

[2] Bie-shi-ba-li: the Chinese name for Moghulistan, as will be seen lower down.—[W.]

[3] According to the *Zafar-namah*, Khizir Khodja died in 1300. . . .

"When this embassy returned, they were accompanied by *An*, who carried gold embroidered silk stuffs for the King. At that time an envoy of the *Wa-la* (Ciats) complained that Ma ha ma was arming for making war on the Wa la The emperor sent to warn him. In 1413 Ma-ha-ma sent one of his generals with tribute to China. He reached Kan Su Orders had been given to the civil and military authorities to receive him honourably.

"In the next year (1414) people returning from the *Si-yu* brought the intelligence that Ma-ha-ma's brother and another had both died in a short interval. The emperor sent again *An* to Bie-shi-ba li, with a letter of condolence. When Ma ha ma died he left no son. His nephew, *Na-hsi shi-dji han*, succeeded him, and in the spring of 1416 despatched an envoy to inform the emperor of his uncle's death. The emperor sent the eunuch Li Ta to offer a sacrifice in memory of the late King and confer the title of *wang* (King) on his successor. In 1417 Na-hei-shi-dji-han sent an embassy to inform the emperor that he was about to marry a princess from *Sa-ma rh-han*,[1] and solicited in exchange for horses, a bride's trousseau. Then 500 pieces of variegated and 500 of plain white silk stuff were bestowed on the King of Bie-shi ba-li as wedding presents

"In 1418 an envoy, by name *Su-ko*, arrived from Bie-shi ba-li, reporting that his sovereign (Na-hei shi-dji han) had been slain by his cousin, *Wai-sz*, who then had declared himself King. At the same time Wai sz with his people had transferred their abode to the west, changing the former name of the empire (*Bie-shi-ba-li*) into *I-li-ba li* The emperor said that it was not his custom to meddle with the internal affairs of foreign countries He bestowed upon Su-ko the rank of *tu tu ts ien shi*, and at the same time sent the eunuch Yang Chung with a mission to Wai-sz, conferring on the King, [illegible] presents, an arrow, a sword, a suit of armour, and silk stuffs. The chieftain *Hu dai-da*[2] and more than seventy other people of I-li-ba li all received presents. Subsequently Wai-sz sent frequently tribute to the Chinese court,[3] as did also his mother, *So-lu-tan Ha-tun* (Sultan Khatun).

[1] The Mohammedan authors do not record this marriage.

[2] This seems to be the Amir *Khodaidád* of Kashgar, a [illegible] of great influence in Moghulistan. . . . The embassy of Shah Rok to China in 1420 met the Amir Khodaidad, who then enjoyed great authority [illegible] the country of Mog'ul'istan

[3] The embassy of Shah Rok saw an envoy of Awis Khan, by name *Batu Timur Anka*, in Peking, in 1421.

"In 1428 Wai-sz died, and was succeeded by his son, *Ya-sien bu-hua*,[1] who also sent repeatedly tribute to China. Tribute was also offered by *Bu-sai-in*, the son-in-law of the late King.

"*Ya-sien bu-hua* died in 1445, and was succeeded by *Ye-mi-li-hu-djo*.[2] The latter sent camels as tribute, and also a block of rude jade weighing 3800 *kin*, but not of the best quality. The Chinese government returned for every two *kin* of jade one piece of white silk.

"In 1457 a Chinese envoy was sent to *I-li-ba-li* with presents for the King, and in 1459 again.[3] It was then settled that I-li-ba-li was to send tribute every three or five years, and the number of the people in the suite of the envoy should not surpass ten men. Subsequently embassies from that country were seldom seen at the Chinese court."

Epitomised Account of the Khans of Moghulistan.
(*Chiefly from Mirkhond.*)

Isán Bugha Khán seems to have been called into Moghulistan about A.H. 721 (A.D. 1321), and to have reigned till 730 (1330).

An Interregnum

Tughluk Timur Khán, son of Isán Bugha, born about 730, began to reign 748 (1347), died 764 (1363).

Usurpation of Amir Kámar-ud-Din. It was against him that the expeditions of Timur into Moghulistan were directed — A.H. 768 94 (1367 1392).

Khizr Khwája Khán, son of Tughluk Timur, raised to the throne in 791, before Kámar-ud-Din's death. He reigned till 802 (1399), and was succeeded by his son,
Shams-i-Jahán, who was succeeded by his brother,
Nakhsh-i-Jahán, who was succeeded by his brother,
Muhammad Khán, who was succeeded by his son,
Shir Muhammad Khán, who was succeeded by his nephew,
Sultan Vais Khán, the son of Shir Ali Oghlán, the brother of Shir Muhammad. Sultan Vais was killed 832 (1428 9).[4]

[1] *Isan Buka* II. of the Mohammedan authors . . .

[2] *Imil Khwája.* This Khan is not mentioned by the Mohammed authors. The two dates should probably be reversed.—[Ed.]

[4] According to Chinese annals, the portion of the list bracketed above, should stand:—

Khizr Khwája	died	1399
Shams-i-Jahán	"	1408
Muhammad Khán	"	1410
Nakhsh-i-Jahán	"	1418
Vais Khán	"	1428

Each of these appears to have succeeded immediately on the death of his predecessor.

On the death of Vais there was a division among the Moghuls, some adhering to Yunus Khán, the eldest son of Vais, others to Isán Bugha II., the younger son.

West

Yunus Khan, who was expelled 832 (1429), returned 860 (1456), and regained the western part of Moghulistan Hostilities were maintained between the eastern and western Moghuls till the death of his grand nephew, Kabak Sultan, when he reigned without a rival.

In the latter part of his life, the remoter tribes of the steppes, displeased with his fondness for towns, separated from him, and acknowledged his second son, Sultan Ahmad, or *Alácha Khán, as then Khán so that* the kingdom was again divided into two during his lifetime. He died 892 H (1487).

Sultan Mahmud Khan, Yunus' eldest son, succeeded his father in Tashkand and as chief of the western tribes He was defeated by Shaibáni Khán in 908 (1502–3), lost Tashkand and Samárkand, and was finally put to death by Shaibáni in 914 H. (1508–9).

East

Isán Bugha II., raised to the throne in 832 H. (1429), and through life *supported by the eastern Moghuls*, died 866 (1462),[1] was succeeded by his son

Dust Muhammad Khán, who ruled in the eastern districts (Uighuristán, etc.), died 873 (1468-9).

Kabak Sultan Oghlán, his son, ruled for a time about Turfán, or Uighuristán, when he was murdered.

Sultan Ahmad Khán, second son *of Yunus, governed the eastern* Moghuls in Aksu and Uighuristán He was generally known as Alácha Khán—"the slaughtering Khán." He was bent on making himself absolute ruler of the steppes, destroyed the chiefs, and curtailed the power of many of the tribes. Defeated by Shaibáni Khán in 908 (1502–3), he died of grief in 909 (1503–4).

The death of Sultan Ahmad was followed by many civil wars and much anarchy in Moghulistan. His elder brother, Sultan Mahmud, invaded his dominions from the west. Sultan Ahmad's numerous sons contended with one another. Several sections of the people, and among others the Kirghiz, separated from the main body. The anarchy and civil wars lasted some years. The country was overrun by Abá Bakr (a Dughlát) of Kashghar, by the Kalmáks and the Kazáks. The whole of the tribes of Moghulistan never again united under one head. Two Khanates and the confederation of the Kirghiz-Kazáks seem to have arisen out of the ruins of the Khanate of the Moghuls. Sultan Mansur, the eldest son of Sultan Ahmad,

[1] According to the Chinese accounts Isán Bugha II. died in 1445, and was succeeded by one Ye-mi-li-hu jo (Ismá-il Khwája) a personage who does not appear to be mentioned by any of the Muhammadan historians

established himself in Aksu, Turfán, etc., and a new Khanate arose in Kashghar and the western provinces.

West.

Sultan Said Khan, Eelsen of Sultan Ahmad, in Rajab 920 (September 1514) on eleven years after his father's death, recovered Kashghar, and expelled Ali Baki Mirza. He died 1 Zilhajah 939 (June, 1533), and was succeeded by his son, Abu Bakr Khan, who died 973 (1565–6), and was succeeded by his son, Abdul Karim.

East

Muhammad Khan, Sultan Ahmad's [illegible], was acknowledged and ruled in [illegible] and the eastern provinces [illegible], Moghulistán. He died in 950 (1543), having good [illegible] with his father, and [illegible] by himself, he was succeeded by his son, Sa'id Khan.

Meanwhile in the steppes of Moghulistan, the Kirghiz established themselves under Khans of their own, and in process of time, formed a kind of federative union with the Kazák Uzbegs, which has, in some degree, lasted to the present day, and has been called "the three hordes of Kirghiz."

Amirs of Kashgharia, or At et Sharif, who were contemporary with the Khans of Moghulistan.

Amir Tulik, *Ulushgi* (or chief of the tribe) of the Moghul Khans, contemporary with Isan Bugha I., succeeded by

Amir Bulaji, his brother; raised Tughluk Timur to the throne; succeeded by his son,

Amir Khudáidád, who is said to have reigned about ninety years in Kashghar. He succeeded his father, probably soon after the year 718 H. (1.47). In his time Amir Kamar-ud-Din, his uncle, usurped the Khanship of the Moghuls, and for a time also (it would appear) that of the greater part of Alti Shahr. The chronology of Amir Khudáidád's life is very uncertain. *He was succeeded by*

Amir Sayyid Ali, grandson of Khudáidád (by his son Amir Sayyid Ahmad). Sayyid Ali reigned about twenty-four years—838 to 861 H. (1485 to 1457) · and was succeeded by his sons,

Sáma Mirza, in Yarkand, who expelled his brother from Kashghar, and reigned seven years. He died 868 H. (1463–4)

Muhammad Haidar Mirza in Kashghar, whence he was expelled by his brother.

Muhammad Haidar Mirza, on his brother's death, succeeded. He is said to have reigned twenty-four years in all, or eight years with imperfect authority and sixteen years with full

authority. In 885 H. (1480) he was expelled by his nephew and stepson, Abá Bakr.

Abá Bakr Mirza, son of Sániz, reigned in all forty-eight years. The years of his reign are probably reckoned from the date of his taking possession of Yarkand, about 873 H (1468 9). He was finally defeated and expelled by Sultan Said Khan, the third son of Sultan Ahmad Khan (Alácha Khan), who changed the dynasty. *See Khans of Moghulistan, above.* Abá Bakr was murdered 920 H.

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* It may perhaps help to make matters clear as regards the dates, if I append here, a list of the western branch of the line of Chaghatai Khans (those of Máwará-un-Nahr or Transoxiana), extracted from Mr. Stanley Lane Poole's *Muhammadan Dynasties* (p. 242).

		A.H.		A.D.
1. Chaghatai	Began to reign	621		1227
Kara Hulaku	„	639	—	1242
3 Isu Mangu	„	645		1247
. Kara Hulaku (*restored*)	„	650		1252
4. Orgánah Khátun	„	650	—	1252
5. Algu	„	659	=	1261
6 Mubárak Shah	„	664	—	1266
7. Barak Khan	„	664	—	1266
8 Nikpai	„	668		1270
9 Tuka Timur		670		1272
10 Daví Khan	„	c 672	=	1274
11. Kunjuk Khan	„	706		1306
12 Taliku	„	708		1308
13 Kabak Khan		709		1309
14 Isán Bugha	„	709		1309
. Kabak Khan (*restored*)	„	c 718		1318
15 Ilchikadi	„	721	=	1321
16. Daví Timur	„	721	=	1321
17. Yumashirin	„	722		1322
. Sanja ?	„	730–1?	—	1330-1?
18 Imáshai	„	734		1331
19. Buzun	„	c 735		c 1335
20 Isun Timur	„	c 739	—	c 1339
. Ali (of Oktai stock)	„	c 741		c 1340
21 Muhammad	„	743		c 1342
22. Kazán	„	744		1343
Danishmanja (of Oktai stock)	„	747	=	1346
23 Buyan Kuli	„	749	—	1348
		—760		—1358

Anarchy and rival chiefs until the supremacy of Timur in 771 A.H. = 1370 A.D.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE DUGHLAT AMIRS.



Babdághán

Urunbu

An un named Amir

Kamar-ud Dín — Shams-ud Dín — Shaikh Daulat

Muhammad Shah — Sayyid Ahmad — Others

Sayyid Ali

Sámz Mirza — Muhamd. Haidar Mirza

Omar Mirza — Abá Bakr — Sayyid Muhámmd.

Jahángir — Turúngir — Bustúngir — Sultán Muhamd. — Others

Muhamd. Husain

Muhamd. Haidar (*The Author*) — Abdulla Mirza — Muhamd. Shah

GENLALOGICAL TABLE OF THE HOUSE OF

2 Kara Hulaku
+
4 Oiganah

Mubinak

11 Kunjuk

Pulád

21 Muhammad

Adil

13 Kabak

14 Lajin Bugi

Ilkás

Mahmud

Ln Badal hsháh { Sultan Mul mud Sultan
Shah Muh mud Sult n

(1) Mansu (2) Iskandar

Mu lam mad Shah Kha

Abdul Latif Ab l K m Al d Rahm Ab

Abdully

Ismail

Omar Timur

Jahangir

Nakibsultan

S. Ghulam

NOTE—The early part of this Table (down to [illegible] is given in Mr S Lane Poole's *Muhammadan Dynasties* [illegible] See Sect II of the Introduction.

The numbers (where not in parentheses) indicate the reigning [illegible] Sect II of the Introduction.

SECTION III.

[redacted] LAND OF THE MOGHULS.

His eye might there command wheiever stood
City of old or modern fame, the seat
Of mightiest Empire, from the destined walls
Of Cambalu, seat of Cathaian Can,
And Samarchand by Oxus, Temui s throne,
To Paquin of Sinæan Kings, and thence
To Agra and Lahor of great Mogul. . .

Paradise Lost, Bk XI.

The area over which Mirza Haidar's history extends is [redacted] wide one. Expressed in the geographical terms of our times, it may be said to deal with Western Turkistan, Bokhara, Farghána, the Russian province of Semirechensk (or the seven rivers), th Chinese province of Ili (or Zungaria), Eastern Turkistan, Tibet, Ladak, Baltistan, Gilgit and the neighbouring states, Chitral, Wákhán, Badakhshán, Afghanistan, Kashmir, and Northern India; while references are frequently made to countries lying even beyond these regions. But it is [redacted] history, especially, of the eastern branch of the Chaghatais—*i. e.*, the Moghuls proper —and, therefore, the chief scene of action lies [redacted] and immediately around their home-land. The situation and extent of this region are not difficult to describe, but it is far from easy to give a name to it as [redacted] whole.

Its limits were not very clearly defined at any period, and were seldom the same for twenty years at a time, while even the names of "Jatah" and "Moghulistan," by which [redacted] portion of it was known, are now not only obsolete, but have hitherto been subject to some doubt regarding the exact locality to which they were applied Moreover, there was at no time any one name in use, which served to designate the entire Khanate. Mirza Haidar usually speaks of 'Moghulistan,' and 'Kashghar,' but it is not always clear whether, by 'Kashghar,' he means only the city and district of that name, or the entire province of *Alti Shahr*—the Six Cities[1] of Eastern Turkistan [redacted]

[1] The six cities were Kashghar, Yangi Hisar, Yarkand, Khotan, Ush Turfán, and Aksu. Dr Bellew informs us that Maralbashi [redacted] sometimes added to the list, when *Alti Shahr* became *Yati Shahr*, or [redacted] cities. (*Yarkand Report*, p. 185.) The name [redacted] probably of Khokan li origin, and belongs to the present century.

region which, he tells us more than once, was, when combined with Farghána, termed *Mangal ei Sagah* or "Facing the Sun."[1] This territory would almost exactly correspond to the provinces of Farghána and the Chinese Turkestan of modern times, less the districts of Kashgar, Yarkand and Ilami in the extreme east, or in other words to Farghána and Alti-Shahr. But even if we were to give the entire country the double name of "Moghulistan and Mangalai Sayah," there would still remain some difficulties of definition. At first sight it would appear that the author describes the limits very exactly; but this is not quite the case, and for two reasons. In the first place, he sets forth the provinces that composed it on several occasions, but does not always make them the same. The other is that, in common with all Asiatics who attempt to describe an area, he names a district or a geographical feature as a boundary, but does not mention who her it should be included or excluded—whether the limiting district, range or lake lay beyond or within the area he is describing. In addition to these uncertainties there is also the inconsistency that Farghána, as a whole, was seldom included within the actual possessions of the Khans of Moghulistan. They always regarded it as theirs by right, but they rarely held more than a few positions, or districts, within its limits and even those they were usually unable to keep for any length of time. Practically, therefore, Farghána can scarcely be held to have formed a part of their dominions, although it may have been comprised in the geographical term "Mangalai Sayah." With this reservation, however, and in order to show what the author describes, it would seem as well that Farghána should be included nominally with Moghulistan and Alti-Shahr; so that, after making due allowance for the fluctuations that occurred at different periods, the following may be regarded (as nearly as possible) as a statement of the extent of the dominions of the Moghul Khans, from about the middle of the fourteenth century to the middle of the sixteenth.

There was no central division, but the province of Moghulistan proper—or Jeti, as it was also called during the early part of that period—being a "steppe" or pastoral country, and the homeland of the dominant tribe, was therefore the principal division. Its western boundary marched with the province of Shásh, the modern Táshkand, which seems to have contained

[1] For some remarks on this name, see note, p. 7.

the whole of the lowlands of the valley of the Sir, from a little above Khojand to about the Arys tributary, and included such towns as Sháhrukhia, Táshkand and Sairám Immediately to the east of this level agricultural stretch, rise the hills which separate it from the valley of the Upper Tálás, and it [illegible] this line of hills, or uplands, which seems to have stood usually, and in a general way, for the boundary of the Moghuls To the north of Shásh lay the province of Turkistan, with the Káratau hills between it and the Lower Tálás, and here again the hills appear to have been the western limit of the nomad tribes. Turning towards the north-west, a line drawn from the Káratau to the southern extremity of Lake Balkásh, and continued again from its other extremity to the Tárbágatai mountains, may be taken roughly to have been the frontier in that direction. We hear, at any rate, of no transactions of the Moghuls, as a tribe, anywhere to the north west of the Balkásh, nor do we trace them anywhere to the north of the Imil river, which is fed from the Tárbágatai mountains, except when flying before Timur's avenging army in 1389 and 1390, they crossed the range into the valley of the Irtish. But this was an occasion when danger led them to seek refuge beyond the bounds of their own country From the Tárbágatai range, the limiting line would probably bend south-eastward to [illegible] point at the northern foot of the Tian Shan, near the present Urumtsi; but this is somewhat uncertain. All that is clear [illegible] that the tract now known as "Zungaria" (or the land of the Zungár, or Jungár, Kalmáks) formed a part of the Moghul dominion, but how far precisely, "Zungária" extended towards the east, there is nothing to show. Probably it included Lakes Ebi Nor and Ayar Nor, and had for its central feature the upper course of the Ili river. On the south, the main range of the Tian Shan, as far west [illegible] about the head of the Nárin river, divided Moghulistan from Kuchar, Aksu, etc., while westward, again, the water-parting ranges between the Nárin and Lake Issigh-Kul, continued up to the heads of the Tálás, would seem, approximately, to have been the line of separation from Kashghar and Farghána.

The boundaries of Alti Shahr were better defined by natural features than Moghulistan It may be said, generally, to have embraced the whole of the system of the Tarim, together with some of the upper waters of the Sir. On the north it marched with the southern limit of Moghulistan, [illegible] described above. On

the east it included the town and district of Kuchar (which was usually a dependency of Aksu), and probably the region of Lake Lob; while it excluded Kanshahr- then known as Chálish and all to the east of it, which constituted as we shall see a province that bore the ancient name of 'Dighuristán.' On the south, along the whole length of the country, the mountains *forming the scarp of the* Tibetan highlands the Kuen lun and the Altyn Tágh shut it off from all beyond. Towards the west the Pamirs generally speaking constituted its extreme limit, till those abut northward on the southern confines of the valley of the river Sir; for those uplands, then as now, seem to have divided the Kashghar district from Farghána. What the precise limits in the Pamir region were, there is nothing to indicate, but in speaking of Sirigh-Kul, Mirza Haidar implies that that district, at least, lay within the province of Alti-Shahr, and for a time also, we find Wakhán and Shighnan described as territory dependent on Kashghar, though this was not usually the case.

But if those were approximately and usually the limits, it does not follow that they were, on the one hand never overstepped, or on the other, that the area they included was always held intact. As a matter of fact, they varied considerably from time to time. Before the rise of Timur, for instance, invasions, by the Moghuls, of Shásh, Turkistan and even Máwar-un-Nahr were of common occurrence, while at times in their later history, they extended their sway over districts in the east which did not properly belong to Alti-Shahr. In the same way, when the affairs of their neighbours were in the hands of strong rulers, portions of Moghulistan were cut off for a time, and numbers of the inhabitants seem to have had no scruple in joining the service of the successful conqueror of the time being.

The section known as Moghulistan differed widely, in most respects, from its companion province on the south. It was a land of mountains, streams and lakes, of upland pastures and steppes, of wooded valleys and even forests; for while it lay north of the regions which can only become productive if reached by the monsoon from the southern seas, or if irrigated by the art of its inhabitants, it was yet *far enough from* the blighting snows and sunless days of Siberia, to be in most parts clothed with natural verdure of some kind. Its altitudes were moderate, and its climate, therefore, as Mirza Haidar describes

it, cool and invigorating, though to Europeans, accustomed to live within the modifying influence of the sea, it would appear to be subject to extremes of temperature. Deserts in the proper sense of the word—sandy or stony wastes, with little or no vegetation or water—nowhere existed, except on the extreme north-western confines, and wherever the word 'desert' occurs in the text, when referring to Moghulistan, it is because the author has used the Persian or Turki equivalent, though the real meaning would be 'the open country,' or the 'country devoid of towns and cultivation'—the 'steppe'—a feature which no English word will describe.

However this may be, it was a land in every way suited to the habits and customs of a sparse population of nomadic graziers and shepherds, and it accordingly evolved, or at least attracted, a race whose requirements it fulfilled. But the peaceable pursuits of raising flocks and attending herds were not the only avocations of a people with the traditions of the Moghuls. Perhaps their chief requirement was a land whence they might raid on their settled and more wealthy neighbours, and whither, if beaten, they could retire and find a refuge—a land, in short, so inaccessible and unproductive to all but themselves, that it formed, at once, a base for their own description of warfare, a secure retreat, and an inhospitable waste for the pursuing enemy; for where they moved, the whole resources of the country—the food supplies, the transport, the shelter—moved with them, and were used to meet their wants alone. There could have been no forts or towns or immovable property, worthy of the name, for an invader to destroy, and no stationary population, left undefended, upon whom he might wreak his vengeance; for the women and children and the aged all formed part of the expedition, and were doubtless employed or disposed of, in much the same way while the tribe was on the march, as while at home in their own encampment. In times of peace or rather of inactivity—they probably bred, besides the camels and sheep, which were their principal food-producers, large numbers of ponies, for it was on these that all depended, when wars or forays were on hand. Mobility must have been the quality they relied on more than any other, both in attack and retreat, and we find them baffling their enemies more by their movements than by their fighting power. Indeed, fighting in its proper sense must have been with them, as with most of their neighbours, a pursuit very sparingly

indulged in. We read, it is true, of armies counted by hundreds of thousands, and of pitched battles when thousands were killed on either side, but apart from the facts that populations such as those in question could not have put such numbers of fighting men in the field, and that numbers among Oriental nations at all times used as mere figures of speech, it is remarkable that where a particular battle or other special incident is described in detail, there are usually indications that the numbers engaged were very small indeed.

This must have been more especially the case with the tribes of Moghuls and the other nomads who allied themselves with them, after the first quarter of the sixteenth century. During Amir Timur's reign, the Moghuls under Kamar-ud-Din, one of their best leaders, seem to have been always beaten when met by the Amir's troops, yet they were never thoroughly repressed until the great conqueror had put forth all his strength and resources in following them up, in separate bodies, to the farthest confines of their territory. His problem was not how to beat the Moghuls in battle or to invade their country, but how to catch their mobile forces in sufficient numbers, to make an impression on the nation at large; while, on their part, the Moghuls never seem to have attempted an incursion into Timur's dominions, except when he and his troops were engaged in prosecuting a war elsewhere. Later, the same difficulty occurred to Ulugh Beg Mirza who only succeeded in dealing them a heavy blow, through the accident of a piece of treachery on the part of one of their own people, by which he was afforded an unlooked-for opportunity. And later again—within the sixteenth century—when the Kirghiz and Kazaks had to a great extent supplanted the Moghuls in what had been the latter's own land and the nominal Khans of the country (Sultan Said and his successor) had their headquarters at Kashghar, it seems evident, though Mirza Haidar says little about it, that the tactics of the nomads left them practically masters of the situation. Yet even in those days, when brought to battle, they are said usually to have been beaten. Perhaps the only power which the Moghuls stood in fear of, after the days of Timur, was that of the Uzbegs, when these were first rising to power. Under Shaibani Khan the confederated tribes of Uzbegs still possessed the characteristics and qualities of nomadic nations, and it is not a little remarkable that the Moghuls, so far from dealing with them as they were accustomed

to do with others in the low countries enlisted under Shaibáni in large numbers, and assisted him against the more civilised forces of Babar and the Khorasáni Mirzas. They seem to have feared to measure themselves with those who could use their own tactics against them, or fight them, indeed, with their own weapons.

In many places in Mirza Haidar's history, as well as in the *Zafar-Náma* and other books, mention is made of the 'cities' or 'towns' of Moghulistan; but as the same words must necessarily be used when speaking of the settled countries of Máwará-un Nahr, Turkistan, and Alti-Shahr, they are somewhat misleading terms to apply to the *auls*, or encampments, of a nomadic people. One native writer, whose book dates from the first half of the fourteenth century, presents, in a few words, a telling picture of Moghulistan in his day or part of Turkistan as it was then still called. "Since the region has been devastated by the arms of the 'Tatars,'" he writes, "it is inhabited only by a scanty population. According to what I have been assured by a man who has travelled through the country, there is nothing to be seen in Turkistan but ruins, and more or less obliterated remains. From a distance one sees a well-built village, the environs of which are covered with beautiful verdure; but on approaching, in the hope of meeting with some inhabitants, there are found only houses completely deserted. The population is composed entirely of nomads- that is, of shepherds and graziers who never occupy themselves with cultivating the land or sowing crops. There is no other verdure but that of the steppes, which grows naturally."[1] That towns, in the true sense of the word, had existed in the land is thus correct, but they had been built when others possessed and governed it, and before it had become the home of the Mongolian nomads. The Uighurs, a Turki tribe of considerable cultivation by comparison, had owned the greater part, if not the whole, of the country up to less than a century prior to the rise of the Mongols, and were probably the founders of several towns of more or less importance, while the whole of Moghulistan had, during the interval, been occupied by the Kara Khitai, whose people, although perhaps much mixed with nomad tribesmen, seem also to have been capable of building cities and carrying on cultivation. The advent of the Mon-

[1] See the *Mushtak-al-Absár* of Shaháb-ud-Dín, transl. by Quatremère in *Not. et Extr.* xiii, p. 267.

golian hordes, however, under Chingiz and his successors, put an end to all such practices, and from that time till the date when Mirza Haidar's history closes (and probably for long after also), the country reverted to a purely pastoral condition. When, therefore, we read of the cities of Tarāz, Bilāsaghun, Aimal, Bishbālik, Almāligh etc., within the Moghul period, it can hardly be that Moghul cities are intended, but rather encampments—some of them, perhaps, central in situation and well inhabited - standing on or near the sites of the remains of those places.

In the more advanced of the countries conquered by the Mongolian armies— in Persia, Māwarā-un-Nahr, Turkistan etc. —no obliteration or even systematic destruction of towns (except in the course of the wars), and no reversion to a nomadic level, seems to have taken place; but the difference in the case of Moghulistan was that, in that country, the nomadic tribesmen of the steppes immediately to the eastward

the true Mongolia- pressed in, and appropriating the land for their own habitation, took root, while in the other countries they settled as rulers only. Those of the Mongols who, after the first invasion, stayed in the acquired countries with their governing Khans or chiefs, probably intermarried, after a time, with the settled population, and were soon absorbed; while in what became known—and partly for this very reason as 'Moghulistan,' or the 'land of the Mongols,' the invaders found a suitable home, and establishing themselves as one of the nations of the soil, became, for a time at least, the dominant one. As generations passed, they tended, no doubt, to lose their identity by intermarrying with other races already sparsely inhabiting the region, but in this instance their absorption would be a slow process, as compared with the few left among the overwhelming populations of the lower countries in the west. The *aul* was probably a tribal community, and the number of the Moghuls was perhaps greater than that of their neighbours, while the life of the steppes rendered a certain degree of isolation inevitable. All these circumstances would combine to retard a fusion of races, though it may not, as far as the evidence goes, have obviated it in the end

Here, then, no cities sprang up, while those already in existence soon fell to ruin. But the Musulmān writers, who constantly confuse the words for 'city' and 'country,' and

even 'nation,' would be unlikely to draw any distinction between a built and permanent town, and an encampment of felt tents—an *urdu* or an *aul*, as the Turki words are. In several cases Mirza Haidar mentions towns of Moghulistan as existing in the form of ruins only, and he is explicit on this point. But he nowhere describes one as an inhabited centre at his own time, though it is only reasonable to suppose that he would, at least, have made some mention of them had they existed, in the same way that he speaks of, and even describes, those of Alti Shahr. The *aul*, or collection of felt tents, pitched without order or any view to permanency, near the banks of a stream, and in the centre of some district where pasture was near at hand, was probably the nearest approach to a town at the period our history belongs to. Here, possibly, a square or oblong shed of brown mud bricks, ornamented with yaks' tails antelopes' heads, and rows of small, coloured flags, may have stood to represent the *urdu* proper, or reception-room and court-house of the chief; while round it were scattered the dome-shaped tents of willow laths, covered with sheets of felt—all grimy and greasy—and ready at any moment to be taken down by the women of the tribe, and packed, with the rest of their domestic belongings, on the backs of the camels. Of forts, walls, or streets there could have been no sign. In the daytime, the ground on which the encampment stood would have been black with the dried droppings of sheep, a foot in depth, which, whirled into the air by the west wind, would pervade, with its pungent smell, the valley for a mile round, and cover everything, even the surface of the river, with a film of black. By the evening, this unsavoury carpet would be overlaid by thousands of sheep, driven in from the neighbouring glens and packed close, in scarcely separated flocks, for the night, while outside these, long rows of camels would kneel at their tethering-ropes, and groups of shaggy ponies stand fastened to the doors of their masters' tents. Near at hand, it may be, some ruined walls or weather-worn mounds pointed to the remains of an Uighur town, or fort, destroyed hundreds of years ago, and having no more connection with the life of the people of the *aul* than have the ruins of an Elizabethan castle, or a Norman keep, with the inhabitants of a neighbouring county town in England at the present day.

Encampments such as these would not only leave no trace of where they stood, but even their names would be unlikely to endure in history. Such were, no doubt, At-Báshi, Kuchkar,

Jungál, Jud Kuzi, and others, so often spoken of in the Second Part of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, and several more that are mentioned in the *Zafar-Náma* and the *Tarikh-i-Jahán Kushái*, now impossible to identify. They were typical of the Moghuls as a race— of a nation devoid of constructive instincts, destined only to follow the landmark placed for them.

The period subsequent to the conquest of Chingiz's successors was one when disorder and intolerance prevented European travellers, who might have left a descriptive hand them, from traversing the country of the Moghuls; but a side light is shed on the subject by a brief mention in Rubruk's narrative of his visit to Mangu Kaán (Chingiz's grandson) at Karakorum in the year 1253, and consequently only just at the outset of the establishment of the Mongols in the region in question. Karakorum was then the Mongol capital: it numbered among its inhabitants many Chinese, Uighurs, and other comparatively cultivated people, and was, presumably, if not the only permanent Mongolian town, at any rate by far the best of them. Yet the walls only measured about a mile in circumference, and Rubruk relates of it: "You must understand that if you set aside the Kaán's own palace, it is no as good as the borough of St Dennis; and as for the palace, the abbey of St Denis is worth ten of it! There are two streets in the town, one of which is occupied by the Saracens, and in that is the market-place. The other street is occupied by the Cathayans who are all craftsmen. . . . There are also twelve idol temples belonging to different nations, two Mahummeries, in which the law of Mahomet is preached, and one Church of the Christians at the extremity of the town. The town is enclosed by a mud wall and has four gates [1] The Chinese travellers of the fourteenth century give no description of the inhabited cities of Moghulistan which they passed through, though one of them, Chang Ch'ó (who seems to have had an eye for irrigation) mentions briefly that at Almáligh there were reservoirs in the market-places, "connected by running water." Further westward also, in the valley of the Chu, he remarks that the country was intersected in all directions by canals which irrigated the fields, while numerous ancient walls and other ruins were seen which he attributed to the days of the Kitan or the Kara Khitai.[2] But all those marks of civilisation had been swept away in Mirza Haidar's time, as he himself implies in his description of

[1] See Yule's *Marco Polo*, i, p. 218
[2] See Bretschneider, i, pp. 127, 129

the antiquities of that part of the Khanate which, he says, was formerly known as 'Kara Khitai.'

In attempting to make clear the condition of Moghulistan and the neighbouring regions of Central Asia, perhaps the chief perplexity is experienced in unravelling the nomenclature of places and people. The names of countries and towns not only changed with time, but different nations applied, frequently, a different designation to one and the same place. Thus, names often arose at a certain period, were employed by writers for a time, and again fell out of use. The Mongols, for instance, during their ascendency, gave names of their own to many places which, after the decline of their power, became obsolete. In the same way, the conquests of Timur seem to have given birth to names that are peculiar to that period alone, and were perhaps only in vogue among those connected with the conqueror's court or his armies. This circumstance, in addition to the habit of applying nicknames to tribes and nations, may account for many of the difficulties that surround the identification of names mentioned by various authors, and should act as a warning, in the case of the tribes, not to attach too readily a racial significance to every name that is met with.

To the Chaghatais of Máwara-un-Nahr and the west, Moghulistan was known in the 13th and 14th centuries, by the name of *Jatah*, and though this was only a term of depreciation, or a nickname (as will be explained below), it is employed in the gravest way by several Persian authors of the Timuri period, whose works have become standards of historical reference. What is perhaps more curious to remark is, that the name of Bishbáhk, which so often occurs in mediæval histories and travels, and in the Chinese historical annals, is that by which the Chinese know the Khanate of Moghulistan, during the earlier part of the period over which Mirza Haidar's history extends. This name had originally no connection with the Moghuls or their dominion, but was a survival from the days when the region had belonged to the Uighurs. Properly it was the name of a city only, which had been built by the Uighurs, and, having become their capital, had lent its name to the whole kingdom. The meaning, in Turki, is 'Five Cities,' and seems, possibly, to have indicated the capital of the five divisions, or provinces, into which the country of the Uighurs, at that time, (about the middle of the ninth century) was divided; or otherwise, it may have meant that the tribe was divided into five

sections, in the town (as one authority has it) into five quarters.[1] However this may be, the Chinese knew the country by its Turki name (which they sometimes translated into its Chinese equivalent—Wu-chêng), while they gave the city itself the Chinese style of Pei-ting, or 'Northern Court'; and subsequently (only in the fifteenth century) changed that of the whole country from 'Bishbálik' into 'Ili-bálik.'

The town of Bishbálik was situated on, or near, the site of the modern Urumtsi, and the country of which it was the chief place, extended to the westward and north-westward, as well as beyond the southern slopes of the Tian Shan. Like the rest of this part of Asia, it fell into the empire of Chingiz Khan, and, after his death, passed to his son Chaghatai. Later again, in the time of the Chinese Mings, the official historians of that dynasty described the limits of the region in such a way, as to leave no doubt that the country they termed Bishbálik was, indeed, Moghulistan "Bie-shi-ba-li," says the *Ming Shi*,[2] "is a great empire in the Si Yu [countries of the west]. It is bordered on the south by Yu-tien Khotan], on the north by the country of the Wa-la [the Oirát Kalmíks], on the west by Si-ma-rh-han [Samarkand], and to the east it is contiguous with Hue-chou [Kara Khoja]. It is distant [probably the *urdu* of the Khan is meant] from Kia-Yu-Kuan in the south-east, 8700 li. It is believed that Bie-shi-ba-li occupies the same tracts as, in ancient times, Yenki or Kui-tsz."[3] As a description of the land and people, the Ming history adds:—

"The country of Ili-ba-li is surrounded by deserts. It extends 3000 li from east to west and 2000 li from north to south. There are no cities or palace buildings. The people are nomads living in felt tents, and exchanging their abode, together with their herds, in accordance with the existence of water and pasture land. They are of a fierce appearance. Their common food is flesh and *kumis*. They are dressed in the same fashion as the Wa-la."

Many embassies are recorded in the *Ming Shi* as having

[1] See Bretschneider, i., p. 258. But Mr. Watters, in giving his information, it seems from Chinese sources, counts Bishbálik, or Urumtsi, as one of the "Five Cities," and mentions Yenki (new Karashahr) and Kuitze (the present Kuchar) as two of the others. The remaining two he does not specify. (*China Review*, xx., No. 2, pp. 98, 113.)

[2] Bretschneider, i., pp. 225 *seq.*

[3] These two ancient kingdoms, explained by Dr. Bretschneider to have existed below the Gurbantunt, and to be generally identified, by the Chinese, with the modern Karashahr and Kuchar.

passed between Bishbálik, or Ili-bálik, and the Chinese capital, which make it appear that the Khans of Moghulistan and the Dughlát Amirs paid tribute to China. Whether the position of tributaries was imposed upon them by superior force, or whether, ■ is far more probable, the missions were sent to cultivate the friendship of a powerful neighbour, and to profit by an exchange of presents, is nowhere intimated; but the result remains, that from the time of Khizir Khwája, about the year 1391, down to the reign of Isan Bugha II. in 1456, each successive Khan (as we have seen in Section II.) sent one or more tribute-bearing missions to the Ming court. After the latter date, it appears to have been settled that 'Ili-bah' was to send tribute every three years, but no further mention is made of any special mission, and it is possible that not long afterwards, the growing weakness of the Mings caused the custom to fall into disuse.

It may be thought strange, perhaps, that Mirza Haidar's history nowhere speaks of intercourse with China, or mentions that the Moghul Khans performed these acts of homage to her Emperors. Whether he omitted any allusion to them, from a feeling that the payment of tribute was derogatory to his ancestors, or whether he thought the subject not worth recording, must remain a matter of conjecture. In all likelihood the latter was the reason, as we shall see, further on, when referring to similar missions from Uighuristán. The proceeding was, presumably, looked upon as a mere form, or indeed a farce, and therefore attracted no attention on the part of the historian. Still, his silence on the point cannot be taken to disprove the statements of the Chinese, for these are explicit and persistent, and can hardly be otherwise than correct as records of bare facts. What is remarkable, however, is that the same Khans and Amirs who were bowing the knee to China, whether in good faith or otherwise, had no hesitation in measuring their strength with so great ■ soldier as Timur. The fact that his power was near and visible did not inspire them with respect, or deter them from raiding into his territory and otherwise provoking his vengeance But the Chinese, then ■ now, seem to have possessed the art of attracting the outward forms of submission from distant States, though they had no power to exact the reality.

Passing now across the mountains to the south-east, an entirely different land and people present themselves, in the province that may be most appropriately and correctly called *Alti-Shahr*, or the 'Six Cities' of Eastern Turkistan. Here the

low ranges and open valleys of the steppes, are changed for gigantic mountains on the one hand, and sandy deserts on the other; the *aul* of felt tents for the town of brown mud-bricks and close-packed beams; the grazing grounds and hill-side torrents for cultivated fields and irrigating canals; while, above all, the thriftless, irresponsible nomad is replaced by the cultivator and artisan, with all the elements of stability that their industry confers upon a people. Though the area is large, the culturable and habitable spots in it are, out of all proportion, small. One modern traveller describes it as a huge desert fringed by a few small patches of cultivation. Another tells us that a bird's eye view of the country would show a huge lake desert, surrounded on three sides by barren mountains, along the bases of which would be seen some vivid green spots, showing out sharp and distinct like streaks of green paint on a sepia picture. At the western end, the cultivation is of greater extent and more continuous than in the eastern half, where the oases are small and separated from each other by stretches of desert, which increase in length as the traveller passes eastward; while the eastern extremity is desert pure and simple. The oases, however, are fertile enough in themselves, for every drop of the water brought down by the streams from the mountains, is drawn off into irrigating canals, and made to reach as far as possible toward the desert, for agricultural purposes.

All except the shifting sands of the central waste, appears to require only water to render the ground fertile; but water is precisely the boon that is withheld. Though the monsoon clouds roll in every summer across the mountain passes on the south, they seldom do more than threaten the cultivator, who watches them in the hope of rain. Indeed, rain but rarely falls, and a Chinese traveller of ancient days[1] has recorded the incredulity of the people, when told that water for cultivation fell from heaven, onto the favoured soil of his country, and rendered it independent of melted snow from the mountains. They laughed, and cried: "How can heaven provide enough for all?" Snow may be less of a rarity, but so dry is the atmosphere, that when it fall occurs, it evaporates after a few hours, and leaves the surface of the ground scarcely moistened.

That a land of this nature should support only a small population, and be too poor, as Mirza Haidar tells us, to maintain an army on its own produce, is not surprising. Whether

[1] Sung Yun, in 518 A.D. See Beal's *Si-Yu-Ki*, i., xc.

its weakness as a State is owing to this or to whatever other cause, it has always been an easy prey to invaders, and has seldom had a native ruler within historic times Its population has been a Turki one for ages past, and the Uighur branch of that race may be regarded (as far as historic times are concerned) as the original owners of the soil, and the parent stock of the bulk of the present inhabitants.[1] That in later times, at least, they were not an aggressive race appears evident from the little we hear of them, and that they had some capacity for crafts and literature seems also to be established. No doubt the tendency of such a people would be to live peaceably under any government strong enough to repel external enemies; — that when Mirza Haidar tells us that Alti-Shahr was "free from the discord of men and the trampling of hoofs, and became an asylum for the contented and the prosperous," he is probably drawing a picture of the country not only true of his own time, but one that serves for several centuries both before and after it.

During the periods that the Dughlát Amirs and Moghul Khans held sway, we hear of expeditions being sent to overrun Badakhshán, Ladak, and other weak States, but these were evidently undertaken by foreign rulers with their foreign troops, and not by the people of the country; indeed, we come much more frequently upon records of invasions which they themselves underwent at the hands of various enemies, such as the Arabs, the Mongols, the Kara Khitai, and even the Kalmáks. In the raids of the Moghuls into Western Turkistan and Máwará-un-Nahr, in their wars with Timur and Ulugh Beg, and their long campaigns with the Uzbegs, it is probable that the natives of Alti-Shahr took little part, for they are never mentioned as combatants. They had, in short (and have still), all the attributes of a lowland and unwarlike people, whose wealth excites the cupidity of aggressive neighbours, but the nature of whose country and customs prevent them from becoming themselves aggressive.

It would be interesting to learn what the armies were composed of, that invaded, in the reigns of Abú Bakr and Sultan Said, Badakhshán, Chitral, etc., Ladak, Tibet and Kashmir. In all likelihood the numbers were very small—to be counted in some instances by hundreds rather than by thousands—while most of the men were probably mercenaries from countries

[1] Comp Klaproth, in Timkowski's *Voy. à Peking*, i., p. 392, and Radloff in Petermann's *Mittheilungen*, 1866, Heft iii., p. 97.

other than Alti-Shahr. Mirza Haidar nowhere specifies the races which furnished the rank and file of those forces. When entering on the conquest of Kashghar in 941, he gives an analysis of the chiefs of Sultan Said's army, nearly all of whom were Moghuls of various clans, or members of tribes who had long previously thrown in their lot with the Moghuls, and the number of tribal followers that each chief brought with him is specified in each case. If the figures given are correct and as they are not mere round numbers, they appear as if intended to be exact, it is evident that the tribal following which each chief could muster was a mere handful, for the total of the tribesmen mentioned does not approach that of the entire army of 4700 men, as he states it.[1] The remainder must have been mercenaries and adventurers who were, no doubt, to be found in abundance all over Central Asia in those times, in the persons of Kipchâks, Turkomans, Afghans, Kâshis and what not. On this occasion, too, a great effort was being made and a prize worth winning was at stake; the army was raised, moreover, in Farghâna and Moghulistan, and not in peaceful Alti-Shahr. Thus it was probably a much more numerous one than those afterwards employed on distant expeditions beyond the mountains, though it may be fairly conjectured that the composition was very similar in all cases. In the expedition of Sultan Said against Ladak, Kashmir and Tibet in 1532, the author puts the total of the army at the round figure of 5000 men, but in this instance he gives none of the minute particulars that he records with regard to the 4700 and their supports, who invaded Kashghar. The round number is likely, therefore, to be one of the many similar exaggerations in which his book abounds; or it is improbable that as large a force would have been thought necessary for this enterprise as for the wresting of Kashghar and the whole of Alti-Shahr from so formidable an enemy as Mirza Abû Bakr. He tells us, it is true, that Ladak was incapable of supporting the Khan's army, but this might have been the case with even half 5000 men and their complement of horses.

Perhaps the most noteworthy feature of this land of the Six Cities, and the one that has chiefly struck the imagination of

[1] This force was, however, only the army actually operating against Kashgar, Yangi-hissar, etc., to the number mentioned, but to equip it would undoubtedly call from Moghulistan and the baggage, though as regards the number of these, he gives no information.

both ancient and modern writers, is the central desert with its moving sands and buried towns. It is referred to in Chinese writings of more than 2000 years old, by travellers who gave the region the name of *Lau Sha*, or 'Moving Sands,' from its chief characteristic and most obvious peculiarity;[1] and it was made known to Europeans through the graphic accounts of it which Marco Polo left on record. The phenomenon of the shifting sands could hardly have escaped Muza Haidar, and the story he tells of the overwhelming of Katak, with its mosque and minaret, is one of the best pieces of description in his book It is almost an exact counterpart of that told by Hiuen Tsang in the eighth century, of a town between Khotan and Pima (Pain?) which was said to have been overwhelmed by the same agency, some hundreds of years previously. In this case, neglect in the proper worship of a Buddhist idol was the cause, while in the latter one the Musulmans detected the wrath of God The earlier calamity too, is said to have been predicted by a pious Arhát seven days before it occurred. At first a great storm of wind arose, which carried sand and soil before it, while "on the seventh day," continues the narrative, "in the evening, just after the division of the night, it rained sand and earth and filled the city . . . . The town of Ho lo-lo Kia ■ now a great sand mound. The kings of neighbouring countries, and persons in power from distant spots, have, many times, wished to excavate the mound and take away the precious things buried there; but as soon as they have arrived at the borders of the place, a furious wind has sprung up, dark clouds have gathered together from the four quarters of heaven, and they have become lost."[2]

Similar stories are in the mouth of nearly every native of the country down to the present time, and several have been recorded by Dr Bellew and Sir Douglas Forsyth. These travellers themselves visited some of the sand-buried ruins in the neighbourhood of Yangi Hisár One of them was the fort of a Uighur chief called Tokhta Rashid, which had been destroyed about the eleventh century by Arsalan Khan, and afterwards overwhelmed by the sand Another was the Mazár, or shrine, of one Hazrat Begum, which had been first swallowed up, and again, at ■ later date, left free by the receding dunes. The neighbourhood of the latter ruin is described ■ "a perfect sea

[1] See Bretschneider, ii., pp. 18, 141.
[2] Beal's *Si-Yu-Ki*, ii., pp. 323–4

of loose sand, advancing in regular wave lines from north west to south-east. The sand dunes are mostly from ten to twenty feet high, but some are seen like little hills, full a hundred feet high, and in some spots higher. They cover the plain, of which the hard clay is seen between them in patches, with innumerable chains of two or three or more together, in a line and following in successive rows one behind the other, just like the marks left by wave ripples on a sandy beach, only on a large scale. Towards the south-east these sand dunes all present a steep bank in the shape of a crescent, the horns of which slope forwards and downwards, in long arms, to the ground . . . " The process of submergence, Dr. Bellew found to be usually a very gradual one, until the symmetry of the dune, becoming broken by an *obstructing object, its loose materials subside*, and thus overwhelm the obstruction. In the instance of one of the buildings inspected, it was found that "a chain of three crescentic lunes, side by side, had advanced in line across the plain, till one of the outer crescents had struck the walls of the court of the tenement, and growing up, had, in time, overtopped, and thus overflowed and filled its area by its downfall; whilst the other two crescents at its side, continuing their unobstructed course, maintained their proper form uninjured."[1] The rate of progression the writer was unable to determine, as it depends on the varying force of the propelling power, the slope of the land, and the obstructions on its surface. The operation, however, is the same as in the well-known instance of Yeoles church on the coast of Norfolk, only on a larger scale. By 1880 the whole of the church, except a portion of the tower, had been buried; by 1892 the tower had nearly emerged again, while in 1902 the whole building rose free from the level of the strand, the dunes having passed to its landward side.

The phenomenon thus seen in operation, explains how the town of Kitak, and others mentioned by Mirza Haidar, became engulfed, and confirms the stories still current in Eastern Turkistan of ruined towns, or buildings, now and then appearing for a while and being again submerged.[2] In the extreme east of the country, the sandy desert is found at its worst, and it is in connection with this quarter that most of the tales of weird horrors have their origin. How deeply the superstitions

[1] *Journ. R. Geo. Soc.*, 1877, pp. 9-11.

[2] Mirza Haidar and the Chinese travellers, to whom I owe, to a great extent, the facts on which these observations are based, all agree in stating that violent storms

mind of the Asiatic may be impressed by these wastes of moving sands, and how little reason there [redacted] to wonder at the stories of ghosts, demons, and visions with which he has invested the region, may be judged by General Prejevalski's vivid description of it "The effect of these bare yellow hillocks," he writes, "is most dreary and depressing when you are among them, and can see nothing but the sky and the sand; not a plant, not an animal is visible, with the single exception of the yellowish-grey lizards (*Phrynocephalus Sp*) which trail their bodies over the loose soil and mark it with the patterns of their tracks. A dull heaviness oppresses the senses in this inanimate sea of sand. No sounds are heard, not even the chirping of the grasshopper; the silence of the tomb surrounds you."[1]

Hiuen Tsang's description scarcely varies from that of the Russian traveller 'These sands," he says, "extend like a drifting flood for a great distance, piled up or scattered before the wind. There is no trace left behind by travellers, and oftentimes the way is lost, and so they wander hither and thither quite bewildered, without any guide or direction So travellers pile up the bones of animals [redacted] beacons There is neither water nor herbage to be found, and hot winds frequently blow When these winds rise, both man and beast become confused and forgetful, and then they remain perfectly disabled At times, sad and plaintive notes are heard and piteous cries, so that between the sights and sounds of this desert, men get confused and know not whither they go Hence there are so many who perish on the journey But it is all the work of demons and evil spirits"[2]

And if the superstition of the Asiatic is moved by the mystic scenes of the desert, his cupidity is also stirred by the legends of buried riches which the submerged cities are supposed to

of wind It is, [redacted] doubt a fact that a high wind [redacted] quantities of impalpable dust into the air, and that much of this gradually falls to the ground again when the storm subsides In this way the dust showers are known which have been recorded by the Georgian traveller Dashkoff, in 1795, and by Mr W H. Johnson, who visited Kiotan in 1865 But these showers cannot be held to account for the disappearance of towns, or even buildings, in the sudden and wholesale manner [redacted] held by Asiatic authors Their action would be extremely gradual, and could [redacted] only submerge a building after operating for centuries, while that of the sand-dunes [redacted] accomplish it in a few years. (See, for Dashkoff, *Geogr. Mag* 1876, p 150 Johnson in *J R. G. S* 1867, p 6 Atkinson p 11)

[1] Prejevalski, *Kulja to Lake Lob*, pp 169–1

[2] Beal's *Si-Yu-Ki* ii., pp. 324–5

ontain. Traditions lose nothing from age or from being often repeated, and no doubt, the stories of hidden treasures are now —and, indeed, were in Mirza Haidar's time ancient enough to acquire a very strong influence on numbers of the population. From time to time ornaments, vessels, images, and coins of great curiosity are unearthed, but little value to the finders, whose only interest lies in the worth of the metal they are made of, can scarcely be great. Perhaps the only systematic exploitation of the ancient sites, ever undertaken, is that of Mirza Ali Bakr, Amir of Kashghar, so fully described by our author. It may be dated about the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century, and we may infer that nearly everything of intrinsic value was brought to light, while much that was of antiquarian interest was destroyed, so that when, at some future time, civilised explorers come to investigate the ruins, and find little to reward their labours they may feel themselves indebted to the cupidity of Mirza Ali Bakr for their disappointment. The tales which the author tells of the riches accumulated by the Mirza, may safely be regarded as, in a great measure, fabulous; but it is precisely tales such as these that have given rise to the inflated estimates of buried wealth so common in the country, even at the present day.

Here and there valuable records of the past may still be forthcoming from the submerged towns, like those obtained in 1874, by Sir D. Forsyth, who enumerates a figure of Buddha of the tenth century, a clay figure of the Hindu monkey-god Hamman, and Hindu women's ornaments, all pointing to that close intercourse with India which we know, from other sources, to have existed in times before Muhammadanism prevailed and crushed it. He also obtained several Greek coins of great antiquity and interest. Among these is mentioned especially one of Antimachus, dating about 170 B.C., and another, of Menander, from about the year 120 B.C., while a third, an iron one of Hermæus, might, it was thought, prove even older than either of these. But it is not necessarily among the ruins buried by the shifting sands, that relics of remote ages will be found. Very ancient remains are known already to exist at various points along the southern spurs of the Tien Shan, though nothing has yet been ascertained as to the age they belong to. It was near the town of Kuchar, the ancient Kuiza of the Chinese, that Captain Bower found the famous birch-bark manuscript, written in Sanskrit and dating from

the fifth century, while he also points to ruins of cities which, though buried beneath the present level of the country, have no connection with the shifting sands [1]

But it is time to turn from the land of the man to the man of the land.

[1] See *Proc. R. A. S. B.*, Nov. 1890.

SECTION IV

THE PEOPLE—MOGHUL, TURK, AND MONGOL.[1]

Men from the eastward call the Volga mild,
Mixed with the mud, but ask the boys who bathe
Of the Uzbek race,
Waving the lotos crests with manful grace,
Turkmans, counties as it is decked, led forth
From th' ancestral pastures of the North;
Wild warriors of the turquoise hills—and those
Who dwell beyond the everlasting snows
Of Hindoo Kosh, in serry fortalised, . . .

—*Veiled Prophet of Khorassan.*

In the foregoing Section, it has been found convenient to use the word *Moghulistan* for the region occupied by the descendants of the Mongols, subsequent to the time of Chingiz Khan, though it has been necessary, when speaking of the people or their language from a racial point of view, to employ, occasionally, the terms *Mongol* and *Mongolian* rather than *Moghul*. The distinction may not be a very satisfactory one, and need not be carried further than is absolutely needful to differentiate between the earlier racial attributes, and the later national, or political aspects of the land and people. It is not easy, however, to distinguish, normally, between the Mongols of Mongolia proper, before they spread to the westward under Chingiz Khan, and the same people when, at a later date, having separated from the land of their ancestors, they had come to close quarters with the Musulman inhabitants of the western states of Central Asia. These neighbours mispronounced the name of the new-comers' original nation and, afterwards becoming their historians, handed it down to posterity under what appears to be an altered form. Fortunately it was not greatly changed by either Persian or Turki writers, yet the slight modification they made has led, in modern times, to doubts whether the terms *Mongol* and *Moghul* were intended

[1] This section, in MS. by Sir H. Howorth, which had the kindness to add many marginal notes. These I have distinguished by subscribing his initials.

for the same word, and whether they denoted one people or two We may be satisfied that the two forms, ■ also the *Mo-al* of some of the earlier transliterators from the Chinese, are intended for one and the same [1]

With the name of the land it was somewhat different The Mongols themselves have perhaps never had ■ general name for the whole of the countries inhabited by their tribes—that is, *for the region known to Europeans as 'Mongolia' in its most* extended sense At the time of Chingiz Khan, probably whatever country was vaguely regarded by Turki and Persian writers as being in the original occupation of the Mongols, or Moghuls, was called simply *Moghulistan;* but later, when a specific region, bordering on some of the most advanced and thickly peopled countries of the Turks and Tájiks, became the home of Mongol tribesmen, who made their presence felt in *a manner none too agreeable, they absorbed the attention of* their neighbours and came to be spoken of ■ the *Moghuls* in a special sense, and their land as *Moghulistan.* The rest of the 'race fell out of sight' their territory was far away and probably seldom heard of, while taking into consideration the loose ideas prevalent among Asiatics on such subjects, it is not in the least unlikely that the smaller, but better known, region, should ■ have acquired for itself the name which, by strict right, should *have been applied to the whole.*

That the original population of this smaller region was composed of various nations, previous to its becoming the home of Mongol tribesmen, we have seen already. Abul Gházi tells us that it was inhabited by many tribes—some that were of Mongol race and others that were not—and D'Ohsson and Howorth amply demonstrate the same thing It contained Uighurs, who were a tribe of Turki descent; Kara Khitai, whose *origin was chiefly Manchu (and therefore of ■ Tungusic root),* though probably much mixed with Mongol blood; also Naimans and Karluks, and perhaps some original Kirghiz, all of Turki ancestry, and, moreover, there were Kalmáks, who must be regarded as ■ branch of the Mongol race [2] But when, during

[1] At the present day, it takes a sharp ear to distinguish the exact pronunciation, when the word is spoken by a true Mongol—as, for instance, ■ Khalkas or Chakhar. It sounds as often *Mo-ghol* ■ *Mo-ol* as *Mongol;* and sometimes even *Monghol.* But always with the vowel sound of *o,* and never the [illegible] vowels, as would, I fancy, be the pronunciation

■ The name Kalmák is a difficulty. It is unknown among the so-called Kalmáks, who treat it as a term of opprobrium, and it has been suspected to

the time of the Mongol ascendency, large numbers of that people settled in the country and became, from a military point of view, the dominant race, it is scarcely surprising that the western foreigners should have given the whole of the region the name of *Moghulistan*,[1] just as they had previously, when the Kara Khitai were supreme there, called the same territory *Kara Khitai*. It was the name that the Mongols themselves affected and were (at that time, at any rate) proud of, while it was also that with which their fame and their most cherished traditions were associated. Their mode of procedure, and the result they unconsciously attained, are paralleled in European history by the instance of the Franks in Gaul. During the third century, the Franks were still a loose confederacy of Germanic tribes living beyond the right bank of the Rhine. By degrees, under the Merovingians, they began to invade the country on the left bank. As the Roman power declined, their own increased till, in the fifth century, they had extended it over the whole of northern Gaul. Here they adapted themselves to the conditions of their new territory, and gradually spread over the entire surface of what is now France. Their numbers were so small that they were overlaid by the large Gallic population, yet the new-comers succeeded eventually in imposing their name on the larger nation, and originated the names of *France* and *French*, which entirely displaced those of the ancient inhabitants.

But Moghulistan was not the only name the new land of the Mongols acquired, for in many books of the fourteenth and

[1] Mr. Erskine explained that, "from the time of Timur the name Mongol, or Mogul, was given by Musulman historians, not to the Mongols, but to the Turkish subjects of the Jaghatai who ruled in Zagatai and the western parts of what are now called the Khirghiz steppes" (See Sir W. Taylor's *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, t., p. 376). The word "western" is perfectly appropriate for Chaghatai; but Professor Grigoreff can hardly mean that the name of *Mongol*, or *Moghul* was applied only to the nomad Turks, and consequently not Mongols, by race. My impression is that the confusion he has fallen into, will be sufficiently cleared up by observing that in the same way in which Abulghazi writes of the word *Turk*, but who, though he says he means to have to do strictly with the Turks, [illegible] in the present Southern

fifteenth centuries, we find both country and people alluded to under the name of *Jatah*—a name that, in translating, has been made to assume several unnecessary forms Thus Pétis de la Croix, who put the *Zafar-Náma* into French, as far back as the end of the seventeenth century, transliterated the word *Geta*, and many subsequent authors followed his example. From the name mis-spelled in this way, much speculation arose among European writers, some of whom were able to derive from it the designation of the *Jats* of India and others to recognise the *Getæ*, or *Massagetæ*, of classical authors It is fair to say that most modern Orientalists have hesitated to accept these speculative conjectures, though the meaning and origin of the name have been hidden from them. Mirza Haidar now (and he is the first to do so) clears the matter up by informing his readers, parenthetically, in a number of places, that *Moghulistan* and *Jatah* were one and the same country In the passages from the *Zafar-Náma*, which he cites in the First Part of his history, he interpolates this definition repeatedly, while in the closing chapter of that Part, he adds the further explanation that the Chaghatais called the Moghuls *Jatah*, on account of their enmity towards them, and by way of depreciation. Thus it was merely a nickname a term of contempt or reproach and when, with this clue, the word is sought in a Mongol dictionary, it is found to mean a 'worthless person,' a 'no-er-do-well,' or 'rascal.'[1] It has therefore no racial significance, but like such names as Kazák, Kalmák, etc, was probably applied to the Moghuls by their more cultivated neighbours, on account of their barbarous manners, lawless character, and unsettled habits generally[2] Thus having the sense, it need not be used except in translating from the texts; explained once for all, the Jatahs who have haunted the works of historians and commentators for two

[1] My attention has been called to a Mongol word *jéti, chéti*, = *chata*, having the meanings of 'range,' 'border,' or 'camel,' but these are significations which could scarcely have been applied as a term of reproach or deprecation.

[2] Quatremère, though aware of the meaning of the word, ingeniously inferred, from numerous mentions in medieval record, that it was employed to designate a rank to certain Mongol tribes and others, and was not in reality a race or nation He tells us also that the term *Jatah* is of very recent origin. It is not to be found in the works of authors previous to the fifteenth century, and is altogether contemporaneous with the birth of such denominations as *Kazák, Sart, Sart, Kalmak*, and others. On the other hand, the word could not be traced by Quatremère in many books subsequent to that of Abdu Razzák (the *Matla i Sa'dain*), who died 1482 (See *Not. et Extraits* xiii, p. 281)

hundred years, fall into their right place and need be heard of no more.

But the anomalies of nomenclature did not stop here, for our author further implies that the Moghuls retorted on the Chaghatais with the reproachful name of *Karáguzán*. Unfortunately he does not, in this instance, give any clue to the meaning of the word, and neither Turki dictionaries nor the translitterated Mongol dictionaries (as far as I am able to use them) throw any light upon it. Indeed, I know of nothing to point to the word being a term of deprecation, except the inference to be drawn from this one statement of Mirza Haidar's; but, taking into consideration the connection in which he mentions it, and the common practice over the greater part of Asia, of one nation calling another by a reproachful nickname, this single instance is probably sufficient. The name, under one variant or another, has been found by translators in several Oriental works, and appears in many cases to be applied to a tribe or community: thus Quatremère cites the *Tarikh-i Wassáf* to the effect that the army of the "Karaunas" resembled monkeys rather than men, but that they were the bravest "among the Mongols", also Mirkhwánd, who is represented as describing them in precisely the same way, Rashid-ud-Din, who also speaks of their bravery and several others who, however, only make mention of the name. Not one of these authors assists us in assigning a meaning to the word, or in tracing the origin of its application to the Chaghatais as a people. Nor do they do more than represent the Karáwánás to have been a sub-tribe of Mongols who entered Khorasán and Persia under Hulaku, or very shortly after him.

It appears from Wassáf that there was, indeed, a tribe among the Mongols named *Karánas* towards the end of the twelfth century, though the name is not traceable in Rashid-ud-Din's lists, unless we are prepared to recognise it in that which Dr. Erdmann transliterates "*Okaranut*" (where the final *t* is only the Mongol plural) or "*Okarulás*."[1] In any case, the form *Karánas* is said to have afterwards become modified in Persia, into *Karáwanás*, which, but for the absence of an accent on the third *a*, is the same spelling as Mirza Haidar's. But the fact

[1] It occurs in a list of thirty-nine tribes mentioned by Wassáf, which is said to be extracted from a book called the *Tarikh-i-Moqul*. This information is derived from Khan Bahádur Maula Bakhsh, H.M.'s Attaché at the Consulate General at Kashgar (Appendix B.)

[1] In Erdmann's *Temudschin der Unerschütterliche*, p. 108.

that a tribe, or sub-tribe, bearing this name existed in the twelfth or thirteenth centuries, in no way accounts for its having been applied, as a general term of contempt, to the Chaghatais as a people there must have been some other reason and origin. The name itself was found, by Quatremère, never to appear previous to the Mongol invasions of the west or subsequent to the date of the *Zafar-Náma* -viz., 1424.[1] Marco Polo was one of the earliest to mention it, and he gives it the form *Caraonas*. He relates that he met with the *Caraonas* at Kumán and, apparently also, at other places in Persia farther north, and describes them as a robber tribe who were "the sons of Indian mothers by Tartar fathers." Probably the word "Indian" may have been employed by him in a very broad sense, or it may, as Sir H. Yule has suggested, perhaps stand for Biluchi, but in any case, Marco Polo refers to them as a race of half-breeds, and states that the name of *Caraonas* had been given them on account of their mixed parentage.[2] Dr. Erdmann, again alluding to the *Karaunah*, or *Karawinas*, stationed in Khorasán about the same period, and explains, on the authority of Wassáf, that they were the artillerists (Pyrotechnikers) of the Chaghatai army.[3] These are the only two instances known to me, where meanings for the term are suggested by original contemporary authors; but there seems no reason to suppose that the name was specially given to any such classes as half-caste robbers or artillerymen. It was imposed, Mirza Haidar tells us, on the Chaghatais generally, and therefore is far more likely to have had its origin in something quite unconnected with either the banditti of Kumán or the gunners of the army in Khorasán, for both those classes may have inherited a right to the distinction with their Chaghatai relationship;[4] the lesser would be contained in the greater.

But under whatever name the Moghuls were known to their neighbours, one of the most noteworthy circumstances connected with them, during the period to which Mirza Haidar's history refers, was that they were rapidly declining in power and in numbers. With the introduction among them of the Musulman

[1] *Notices et Extraits*, xiv. p. 280.

[2] Marsden's ed., p. 89, and note.

[3] *Zafar Nama*, fol. p. 184.

[4] I have not met with Marco Polo's word "Patan," but it may, I think, be assumed that with him, as with most Western writers, the Chaghatais would have come under that designation.

For a full discussion of the subject by Mr. Manik Bhai's the Karáunás in Persia, see App. B.

religion, they seem to have tended gradually to lose their national characteristics and to merge more and more into the tribes or nations—for the most part of Turki descent—by whom they were surrounded. From the time of the Mongol conquests down to the first half of the sixteenth century only three hundred years had elapsed—a long period, it surely seems, to be able to conclude that so many changes may have taken place in a politically weak and unstable people like the Mughuls and who, in addition, were pressed upon from the west and southerly nations much superior to themselves in numbers. It is not, however, necessary to assume, as some writers have done, that the mass of the Moghuls, even in the latest years of this period, were of Turki blood, or that they used the Turki language as their own.[1] The circumstances that appear rather to have given rise to this view are: (1) the glimpses that are occasionally obtained in history of the Moghul Khans and chiefs (almost the only persons ever noticed individually by historians) who had become to all intents and purposes Turks at a period following pretty closely on that of the Mongol second nay a matter that affects only the Moghuls of Moghulistan; and (2) the use made by Musulmán authors of the word *Turk*, when designating, sometimes all nomad and at pastoral, tribes, and sometimes a specific race. This dual use of the word *Turk* underlies the whole of the ethnography of Central Asia, as it has come down to us through the writings of Oriental authors. It has been my object to avoid, if possible, all discussion of this much-debated question, but in order that some of our author's statements may not be wrongly interpreted, it is necessary to make some brief remarks upon it.

One instance which touches phase (1) is that of the moral characteristics of the family of Babur, which gave to India the

[1] In making this remark I am not alluding to the origin of the Mongol tribes. How Mongol, Turk, and Tatar are so intermingled, is a subject with which Mirza Haidar's book has to concern, and which, therefore, need not occupy us here. Dr Bellew, in his learned work cited, has thoroughly sifted the matter, and has shown how the Mongol was gradually connected with the Turk. Still How this was to be finally settled, and to the extinction of the two peoples, I am dead glad, wholly disappeared when Mongols and Turks had become to all intents and purposes a single nation, a fusion on a large, to a great extent as the Saxon and Latin races in Europe. What here meant is the gradual extinction of the Mongols, best known to us in Western light as the individuals of Moghulistan were at the period of quotation still Mongol in fact, though perhaps gradually tending to become Turkish by fusion of language and blood.

so-called 'Moghul' line of kings It will hardly be disputed that not alone Babar himself, but some of his more immediate ancestors, were to all intents and purposes Turks, and thus [redacted] the case not only in the acquisition of language and manners, but by intermixture of blood, while his successors, whose portraits, painted in India, are extant at the present day, show no trace in their features of descent from a Mongoloid race. It [redacted] said that Baber's grandfather (Sultan Abu Said of Khorasan, 452 (7)) was described by a Khivan contemporary, who visited him, as a very handsome man with a full beard and unlike a Moghul. Another, and perhaps more perfect, instance of the same thing is the description given in the *Tárikh i-Rashidi* of the personal appearance of Yunus, Khan of Moghulistan, in 1456, or some two centuries only after the death of Chaghatai Khan—who was certainly a pure Mongol Yunus is reported, by one who says that he expected to see a beardless man, "like any other Turk of the desert, to have had a full beard and Tájik (*i. e.*, Aryan) features, and but though this description is, it tells so significant a tale of a changed race, that it is probably as trustworthy a record, as a portrait painted by even a superior artist to those of Hindustan In the case of the few families of the chiefs, there would be a tendency to change much more rapidly than in that of the bulk of the people Their custom was to give their relations in marriage to the friendly rulers of foreign countries, and in exchange, to take to wife a member of those rulers' families, if one Khan subjugated another, he usually demanded a daughter or a sister in marriage; while it was no doubt possible, and perhaps fashionable, for the governing classes to add foreign wives to their harems, in the same way as Muslim fashion of morals and position have loved to do at all periods and in most countries

In these circumstances, the physical characteristics of the original race would soon pass away among the families of the chiefs and with them would go the language and the customs But with the mass of the tribes-people it would be otherwise There appears to be no description of them indicating resemblance to the Turks; on the contrary, the description of Yunus implies a difference between him and the mass of his people. Moreover, we may assume that the rank and file of the Moghuls would not have the same opportunities for rapidly connecting themselves in blood relationship with the ruling Louis; conso-

[1] See p. 97.

quently the distinctive features of their race would take longer to undermine. As already observed, the life of the steppes and the comparative isolation of the *aul*, would tend rather to preserve the purity of the race. It may not be possible to form an estimate of the length of time that would be needed to bring about a change of type by gradual intermixture, but we know at any rate, of one instance where this same Mongol people, from living in more or less isolated pastoral communities, and in contact with neighbouring races only to a very slight extent, have preserved all the physical characteristics of their race and type, as well as the language, down to our own day, a period exceeding half centuries from the date of their transplantation, during the era of the Mongol conquests. I refer to the Hazáras of Afghánistán, most of whom are still as unmistakably Mongol in feature and build as the inhabitants of Mongolia itself. According to the most trustworthy accounts of them, they descend from the remnants of the army of Nikudar Oghlán (a son of Húlaku,[1] who invaded the region in which they dwell now, at the latter half of the thirteenth century, while Professor von der Gabelentz has shown that, in spite of a slight admixture of Persian words, their language is still strictly Mongolian, or more particularly, West Mongolian—*i.e.*, Kalmák.[2]

On the general question of the rise and decay of languages, enough is known of the process which a nation has to go through before it can completely change its tongue, to justify the belief that a very long period is needed for the transfer to become finally accomplished. The first step is that the people should become bilingual: that the mass of them (and a few of the chiefs) should come to use both the old and the new language with equal facility: and this alone is a process requiring many generations. The next step is that the old language should fall into disuse and be forgotten. The second

[1] More exactly a vassal ruler of Persia, who, like others of the Ilkháns, towards the end of the thirteenth century, took the name of Ahmad, and reigned as Sultán Ahmad, in succession to his brother Arghún. His name, however, instead of Nikúdar should properly be Takúdar. (See Howorth, iii. pp. 310 and 660.

[2] See H. Vámbéry's article, 'Über die Sprache der Hazáras und Aimáks,' in *Zeitschrift Deutsch Morgenland. Gesell.* xx. pp. 1–8 (1866). According to Klaproth, the Hazáras are the posterity of an army, or tribe, led into the hills they now inhabit, by Shah Rukh. (*Ibid.* p. 6.) If so, they must have been pure Mongols in type, which they still are in the low countries as late as the end of the fourteenth century; but the view given in the text is now the more probable. (See also Col. Jarrett's note in *Ain-i-Akbari*, ii. pp. 101–2, Calcutta, 1891.)

stage may, perhaps, take less time to work itself out than the first; but it must, nevertheless, require a period measured in generations. Thus, when we consider that a century (according to the usual computation) embraces only about three generations, it must be regarded as improbable that the tribes which were pure Mongols at the end of the thirteenth century should have become the pure Turks they are sometimes represented, at the period dealt with by our author. The Russian savant Gmelin, who travelled in Central Asia in the last century is emphatic in stating his belief in the permanency of the Mongol race in general, as far as physical attributes are concerned. He affirms that, in spite of all mixtures of blood by their wars in distant countries, the Mongol tribes have not only preserved their characteristic type of features, but have even impressed it on other races with whom they have come in contact—such as the Kughuz and others.[1] This statement perhaps hardly affords a proof on the subject in question, but it goes towards showing that the eradication of the Mongol type is not a simple matter, or one that is likely to have been accomplished in a space of barely two hundred years.

Amir Khusrau, the poet of mediæval India, draws—or perhaps overdraws—a picture of the Moghuls who invaded Northern India towards the end of the thirteenth century, in a manner which leaves no doubt that he is attempting to describe a Mongoloid race. He had previously fallen into their hands as a prisoner, and according to his own account, had been badly treated by them; as he was no doubt burning with hatred and resentment, his description must be taken to be somewhat tinged by his feelings. However, omitting some excessive details, he writes thus: 'There were more than a thousand Tatar infidels and warriors of other tribes, riding on camels great commanders in battle, all with steel like bones clad in cotton; with faces like fire, with caps of sheepskin, with buckles shorn. Their eyes were so narrow and piercing that they might have bored a hole in a brazen vessel. . . Their noses sunk in their bodies as if they had no neck. Their cheeks resembled a toothless bottles, full of wrinkles and knots. Their noses extended from cheek to cheek, and their mouths from cheek bone to cheek bone. . . Their moustaches were of extravagant length. They had but scanty beards about their chins. . . They looked like so many white demons, and the people fled from

[1] *Découvertes Russes*, vol. iii, p. 201.

them everywhere in affright.'[1] Is it possible that a race which would call forth such a description as this from even a fanciful poet, could have become, in the mass, men like Yunus a Baber between the end of the thirteenth century and the latter half of the fifteenth?

Thus, although it might appear at first sight that, with the change taking place in the families of the Khans, with the advance of the Musulman religion and the growing use of the Turki language, it would be impossible to distinguish a true Moghul people, still evidence is not wanting to show that even up to the first half of the sixteenth century, the Moghuls of Moghulistan—the Moghul *Ulus* of Mirza Haidar were in fact a separate people from the Turks. During the period 1514 to 1534, the Mirza constantly alludes to a distinct tribe or community of Moghuls—however reduced in numbers in exactly the same terms as he refers to them at a period dating two hundred years before. They were neither Kirgiz, nor Uzbegs, nor Kalmaks, but were the natural enemies of all three; they were of the *Ulus* (or clan) of the Khans descended from Chaghatai; they preserved Mongol customs and, from occasional incidental references which he makes to Mongol terms and phrases, must have retained something, at least, of the original language of their nation, though they had no literature in which it could become fixed. This being the case, the bulk of them must have preserved their Mongol type to the last, and it may perhaps be fairly conjectured that whatever change they had undergone, was due less to the fusion of blood than to the conversion of the people to Islam. The spread of the Musulman religion tends always to the modification of manners and customs, and to the use of the Arabic, Turki or Persian language, but in spite of all, racial characteristics remain, until very gradually expunged by a course of inter-breeding, that must extend over many centuries. Several parallel cases (besides that of the Hazáras) might be cited among Asiatic nations; but one, having no relation to the Mongol tribes, will suffice. The Baltis of Baltistan, or Little Tibet, formed originally a section of the ordinary population of Tibet, were of the same religion, and used the same language. Some three centuries or more ago, they were converted to the Musulman faith, and began gradually to change their manners. At present the written language of Tibet is unknown among them, Persian having

[1] Elliot's *Hist. of India*, ii., pp. 528–9.

replaced it; their chiefs, through intermarriage with neighbouring Musulman peoples, have changed greatly, even in type that usually no trace of the Tibetan is left; but the mass of the nation, though practising Musulman social customs and wearing a Musulman costume, have not lost the Tibetan spoken language, and are, in feature and other personal attributes, as thoroughly Tibetan as ever they were. Had the Baltis occupied an open country, and been constantly engaged in wars and invasions, there might have been a greater and more rapid change. Their secluded mountainous home (like that of the Hazáras) has mitigated this, and has helped to preserve them as a race, but the principle is the same with the Moghuls.

With regard to the misleading employment of the word *Turk*, alluded to above, it must be explained that, among Asiatic authors, it is constantly met with as the definition of a race or people distinguishable from the Tartars and the Moghuls, on the one hand, and from Tájiks, or Tájiks, on the other. But in the same writings, and often on the same page, it is used to denote all nomads and inhabitants of the steppes, irrespective of race or origin, and merely to distinguish such people from those who dwelt in towns, and who cultivated the settled districts — or from the Tájiks generally. The first may be regarded as its ethnological sense; the second as sociological only, and as about synonymous with the adopted English word *nomad*. In this second sense it included, as we shall see, all Mongoloid and Tartar races. In dictionaries we find among its many meanings those of *barbarian, robber, vagabond, wanderer*, etc. It is also, in poetry, applied to the planet Mars as "a *Wanderer* of the sky," and to the sun as "the Turk of Ohina," that is of the East; or "the Turk of midday"—viz., the South; or "the Turk of the Spheres." All who lived in the steppes and ranges, outside the pale of what was regarded as civilisation, and led a pastoral or unsettled life, but who were not distinctively mountaineers, were deemed a separate class (irrespective of race) and required a separate name to denote them. To this class the name of *Turk* attached itself throughout Central Asia. In Europe and in India the word *Turk* was not used in this sense. By Europeans, and perhaps Western Asiatics also, the word *Tatar*, or *Tartar*, was usually in vogue, down to quite modern times, to include the nomadic nations of the interior of Asia, without reference to any racial con-

siderations;[1] while in India the name *Moghul* came to be applied (in times subsequent to the rise of the Mongols, at any rate) in a very similar way, to those who were

Abul Gházi, the historian Khan of Khiva, himself a Turk by nationality, though of remote Mongol descent constantly uses the word *Turk* in its sociological sense and applies it indiscriminately to all the nomad and steppe-dwelling tribes, when he requires a name for the whole of them; but, where questions to their descent or language, or when in any way particularity between them, I do not know of a single instance of his alluding to the Moghuls as connected by blood with the Turki tribes. In other words, although he employs the name *Turk* to designate certain nations—among them the Moghuls—for whom he knows no other general designation, he never applies it in those particular instances where ethnical consideration is involved, except to those among them whom he regards as, in reality, Turks by race. He writes, for instance: "Of all the Turk tribes who inhabited those countries at that period the Tatars were the most numerous . . . ."; and again "We have . . . recounted what we know of the other branches of the race of Turks. Now we will speak of the branches of Mongol race."[2] It is in the same non-racial sense that Mirza Haidar uses the word *Turk*, when putting the remark (alluded to above) about Yunus Khan, into the mouth of Maulana Muhammad Kazi: "I had heard that Yunus Khan was a Moghul" says the Maulana, "and I concluded that he was a boundless man, with the ways and manners of any other Turk of the desert; but when I saw him, I found that he was a person of elegant deportment, with

[1] The name of Tatar was originally applied to the Mongols by their Western neighbours, and became generalized, in much the same way, to the extremities of Europe, although the Mongols themselves still retain it with dislike as belonging to a hostile people who finally exterminated (*Hist des Mongols* I. p. 11).

[2] *Hist des Mongols*, etc., Dounaisons' translation, p. 41 and 62. Abul Gházi's evidence on this point is not entirely satisfactory, but it is of some value, because he was one of the latest of the Muslim historians. His book was only completed about 1663, which was a year after the changes that had taken place among the Moghuls during the 15th century. It thus had become to pure Turks they were in contrast to, who probably first the name by which, through earlier authors, the history of Rashid-ud-Din is often spoken of as the best and fullest, and no doubt this is the case; but it is some 250 years earlier in date than that of Abul Ghází, and consequently presents the description of the Moghuls. Moreover, the latter knew the contents of Rashid-ud-Din's book, for it is the historian to whom we owe the only known copy of it, together with several other historical works.

a full beard and a Tájik face.'[1] That is, the speaker knew that Yunus was a Moghul by descent, and expected to see a man with Mongolian features, but classed him with other Turks of the steppes.

D'Ohsson became conscious, from the extensive use he had made of Arabic historians, that those writers constantly employed the word *Turk* to signify the nomad and pastoral tribes, known in Europe as 'Tatars.' In one passage he writes: "The Mongols gave the name of Tájik, or Tázik, to the Muhammadans, and in the historical works of this period it will be found that they employed this word in opposition to that of 'Turk.' The *first* served to designate the Muhammadan inhabitants of towns and cultivated lands, whether they were of Turki, Persian, or Arab origin matters not, while under the name of 'Turk' were comprised the nomad nations of Turki and Turanian race. It was in this general acceptation that Chingiz Khan and the Mongols styled themselves 'Turks', they rejected, on the other hand, the name of 'Tatar.'"[2] In another passage, when speaking of the Tatars proper, previous to the rise of the Mongols, D'Ohsson quotes Rashid-ud-Din as follows: "They *made themselves so powerful and formidable, that other* nations of Turks passed themselves off as Tatars, and regarded the name as an honour."[3]

Again, Mr. Raverty, in his translation of the *Tabákát-i-Násiri*, notes the headings of the first four sections of Rashid-ud-Din's history, the second, third, and fourth of which contain the following. '*2nd Section.* Account of the Turk tribes *whom they designate by the name of Mughals, but every one* of whom, in ancient times, bore distinct and particular surnames. . . . *3rd Section.* Account of the Turk tribes, every one of which have had Bádsháhs and chiefs, but who bore no relationship to the tribe mentioned in the preceding sections. *4th Section.* Account of the tribes of Turks, whose surname, from time immemorial was Mughal . . .'[4] These brief extracts are sufficient to show the sense in which Rashid-ud-Din, one of the best of the Muslim authors of the Mongol period, used the word *Turk*, and how, though he was able to distinguish specifically between real Turks and other tribes,

[1] Supra, p. 77 of the text.
[2] D'Ohsson, *Hist. des Mongols*, i, p. 217.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 34.
[4] Raverty, *Tabakát-i-Násiri*, trans., p. 801.

when ethnological considerations were in question, still used the word in a non-ethnic sense, to denote a group of tribes who had to be distinguished from the Tájiks

Other Asiatic authors wrote on these subjects in the same way. Juzjání, Minhá'j-ud-Dín, the author of the *Tabakát-i-Násiri*, frequently uses the word *Turk* to designate the nomadic group generally, and, like Rashíd ud-Dín, even brings the name *Tatar* into the same category. The following is an instance taken from three consecutive paragraphs: "In this same year the Chingiz Khan, the Mughal, rose up in the Kingdom of Chin and Tamghaj, and commenced to rebel; in all books it is written that the first signs of the end of time are the outbreak of the Turks. . . The name of the father of this Chingiz Khan, the accursed, was the Tatar, Yimmekhi, and he was the mihtar [chief] of the Mughal tribes, and ruled over his people .... Among the tribes of the Mughal was another Turk of importance, a ruler and leader, and greatly venerated; and the whole of the tribes of the Mughals were under the rule of these two persons. . . . All the tracts of the Turk tribes, at the hand of their iniquity and sedition were reduced to misery. . . ."[1]

Juvaini, the author of the *Jahán Kushai*, applies to the Mongols the passage from the Korán: "Beware of provoking the Turks, for they are formidable."[2] Abul-feda quotes an Arab author to the effect that the Russians are a people of Turkish race, when pointing to them as belonging to the group of non-Musulman and non-Tájik inhabitants of what were regarded as civilised countries. Ibn Haukal, touching on the question from a geographical point of view, writes: "Firáz [Fáráz] is on the extreme frontier between the country of the Turks and that of the Musulmans'[4], yet the Musulmans, in this case, were, to a great degree, of Turki race. And, again, Minhá'j-ud-Dín mentions an invasion of Tibet (from Upper Bengal apparently) and says: "All the people [of Tibet] were Turks, archers, and [furnished with long bows"[5] Idrísi, also, in speaking of Tibet, says: "This is the country of the Tibetan Turks"; and afterwards. "This intervening space is covered with pastures, forests, and strong castles belonging to the

[1] *Tabakát-i-Násiri*, pp. 65–6.
[2] D'Ohsson, *Introd.* p. xxii.
[3] Reinaud's *Abul-feda*, Introd. p. ccxxvi.
[4] Elliot, *Bibl. of Hist.* i. p. 26.
[5] *Tabakát-i-Násiri*, p. 566.

Tibetan Turks.' Further on again, he tells us. "There are Turks of very diverse races" (*de races très diverses*); and he proceeds to detail, among others, the Tibetans and the Kalmíks. The names of the remaining tribes he mentions in this passage, are spelled in so unintelligible a manner, that I can recognise none but the Kirghiz and Kipcháks, with whom he thus classes the Tibetans and the Kalmáks as, all alike, Turks![1]

The poet Khusrú, in the passage cited above, calls the people he describes, by the name of *Tatar*, though a little lower down (on the same page) he says they were "Turks of Kai;" while elsewhere, he frequently speaks of the same people as Moghuls.[2] Further, the late Mr. R. B. Shaw has explained, with regard to the word *Tájik*, that it stands in opposition to *Turk*, just as *Arab* stands to *Ajam*,[3] and this is not necessarily a race name.

Many other instances might be given of this non-ethnic use of the word *Turk*, and with them might be included also some relating to a similar employment of the term *Tatar*.[4] But the above will suffice to make it clear that, though the Moghuls of Moghulistan were often called Turks, during the period including the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries, it need

[1] *Journal Asiatique*, pp. 104 and 108.

[2] His editor, Professor Dowson, in a foot-note, marvels that his author should "term the avowed Turks and Moghuls," while "in many passages he discriminates very accurately between them." Herein lies precisely the difficulty that has confronted other translators and commentators. The explanation, I venture to think, is now provided.

[3] According to so much as it might be said that *Turk* was used in opposition to *Sart*, in the application of the word *Sart* is subject to some variation. Mr. Shaw gives as a definition of *Sart*.—"A term applied by the nomads (Kirghiz, Kazzaks, etc.), to dwellers in settled habitations, whether Turks, Tájiks, or whatever [illegible] may be their race" adding, in another place, *the name Sart is used to designate only the settled Turks, and to differentiate them from the Tájiks.* Moreover, in the works of Musulman authors relating to the period of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, it is seldom found as an ordinary appellation (though Babar, at one time, employs it in describing Moghulistán). In our own times it is not often heard in the eastern parts of Central Asia, though, to judge by Russian writings, it is perhaps more frequently used in Khiva and the adjoining regions of Russian Turkistan, etc. It is however, important to make ourselves acquainted with (See Shaw, *Sketch of Turki Language*, Asiatic Society, Bengal, pt. I, 1880, pp. 61 and 116; Ibak, Pavet, and Lerchi's *Russische Revue*, 1872 Heft. I p. 33. Also Shaw's *High Tartary*, p. 28, where he tells the Sarts are "a sett of people, who include the Aymák tribes as well as the Uzbeg Usbeks and others")

[4] The Hiung Nu of Chinese history have often been described as a Turki race, yet it is significant that Professor de Lacouperie, in investigating the point, came to the conclusion that the Hiung Nu "were to have been a political, not a racial, unity" (See *Western Origin of Chinese Civilisation*, p. 220.)

not be assumed that they were actually of Turkish race, either by origin or by subsequent fusion of blood. There was, however, another and very important element that completed this question of nomenclature still further. It was, it seems, the desire of all the tribes and nations of Central Asia, to identify themselves with the race which happened to be in the ascendant at any particular time. They endeavoured to adopt this name and to pass themselves off as members of the dominant empire, regardless of racial affinities. Rashid-ud-Din has laid special stress on this point in his great work on the Mongols, and has explained the matter in one place as follows: "They [the Tatars] made themselves so powerful and formidable, that the other nations of Turks passed themselves off as Tatars and regarded as an honour this name, under which they had become famous; just as at the present day[1] the Jalair, Tatar, Uirát, Ungut, Kuirat, Naimán, Tangut, and others, find glory in the name of Mongol, made illustrious by that of Chingiz Khán and his descendants—a name which, at an earlier date, they would have disclaimed. The young people of all these nations believe, even now, that their ancestors have always borne the style of Mongol; but it was not so, for formerly the Mongols were only one of the nations of Turks. . . . This name has been extended to such a degree that nowadays the people of Khatai (Northern China) and of Nan-gyass (Southern China), as well as the Chinchi, the Uighur, the Kipchák, the Turkmán, and the Karluk; also the Caprac and the Taziks (Muhammadans), who have been brought up among the Mongols and [all of them] called Mongols; and they are all interested in passing for Mongols, in order that they may gain consideration. Previous to this period it was the same with the Tatars, on account of their power, and this is the reason why the Mongols are still called Tatars in China and in India, by the Kirghiz, the Báshgirds, in the Kipchák country, in the north of Asia, in Arabia, in Syria, in Egypt, and in Africa."[2]

It has been observed above, that in India the word *Moghul* was employed, subsequent to the days of Chingiz, in the same way as the word *Turk* in Central Asia, and *Tatar* in Europe, and on this subject Mr H. G. Keene has come to conclusions which coincide with the teachings of Rashid-ud-Din. It denoted, in the first place, the group of tribes or nations who

[1] *I.e.*, the fourteenth century.
[2] D'Ohsson, i., pp. 128–9.

composed the armies of the northern invaders, with little or no reference to their racial origin; and secondly, at the time of Babar, it was regarded as something scarcely better than a term of *contempt*. But later, when the so-called Moghul dynasty came to be looked up to as the supreme power, the name assumed a different and more respectful significance. Mr. Keene writes: "Under Akbar, when the empire had become a firm result of successful war, the word [Moghul recovered its prestige and like the name of *Goth* in Spain—came to indicate 'a noble conqueror,' or the descendant of one',[1] and in support of this view he cites a valuable passage from Khâfi Khan (for which he acknowledges his indebtedness to the late Professor Blochmann, who may be inferred to have translated it), which runs as follows. "The flourishing condition of Mughulistan commenced with Mughul Khan, who was a great king. Although from the time of Akbar the word Mughul has been applied to the Turks and Tajiks of Irán (Persia) to such an extent that even the Sayyids of Khorasán were called Mughuls, yet in reality the word is the proper term for those Turks who belong to the descendants and house of Mughul Khan, and it was used in this sense in the time of the earlier (Moslem) kings of Delhi. . . ." Here Khâfi Khan uses *Turk* in the same sociological sense as Rashid-ud-Din, Minhâj-ud-Din, Mirza Haidar, and the rest.[2]

Mr. Denzil Ibbetson, too, furnishes some instructive remarks, in his Report on the Punjab census, on the way the words *Turk* and *Moghul* have come to be used in modern times in the north of India. A Turk is there regarded as a native of Turkistan and a man of Mongolian race. "In the Delhi territory, indeed,' writes Mr. Ibbetson, "the villagers, accustomed to describe the Mughals of the Empire as Turks, use the word [redacted]

[1] *Turks in India*, p. 2

[2] I may take this opportunity of remarking that Mr. Keene must have referred to the old translation of the Swedish Chaos of Charles XII., when he states (p. 50) that Abul Ghâzi "is represented as saying that he wrote his book 'in the Moghul or Turki language'." I cannot find such a passage in Desmaisons' version. At p. 30 the author is made to write—*A in de mettre cette histoire à la portée de toutes les classes, je l'ai écrite [redacted] Turc*,' and I believe this to be the only allusion he makes to the subject. It is an additional instance of the odium *Turk*, for here Abul Ghâzi employs it to denote the language of the Turkoman proper, in another sense. He in no way classes the two tongues as [redacted] He was, himself, a Turk of Khiva, and Mr. Erskine, who remarked the inconsistency in the old version of Abul Ghâzi's history, has well said.—"No Moghul or Turk would have confounded these two languages." (*Hist.*, i., p. 586, App.)

synonymous with 'official'; and I have heard my Hindu clerks, of Kayath caste, described as Turks merely because they were in Government employ. On the black hand, also, the word Turk is commonly used as synonymous with Mughal."[1]

But though Oriental writers make use of the tribal name of *Turk* to denote a nomadic people, similar instances are not wanting in European languages. The way in which the French apply the word *Bohémien* to the gipsies is a parallel instance. The gipsies, though in no way belonging to the same race as the natives of Bohemia, acquired their name in France, on account of certain social habits and customs which they were believed to have brought with them from Bohemia, and because they were known to wander into France from that country.[2] An almost similar instance, though not precisely parallel, was the use in English of the word *Indian*, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, to define the aborigines of North America, the Caribbean, and many other islands. In this case it was not the social condition and peculiarities of the inhabitants that caused the misapplication of name, but their colour, the climate and products of their countries, and other circumstances, which reminded those who came into contact with them, of the India of the East. The process and result, however, are much the same. But if we leave out of consideration the fact that *Turk* happened also to be a race-name, its employment to designate the pastoral tribes of mountain abodes becomes no more anomalous than such appellations as *Kohistani*, *Badawi*, etc., in Asia, or the familiar *Mountaineer*, *Islander*, etc., in Europe.

Misapplication, or change in the application, of race-names is a practice so commonly met with, that it is almost superfluous to mention it here. It may, however, be aptly pointed out, in regard to the names we are dealing with, that the term *Tájik* has been made, in one instance, to take exactly the opposite meaning to that which it usually bears. Mr. A. G. Ellis, of the British Museum, informs me that while early Armenian writers applied it to the Arabs,[3] modern Armenians

[1] *Report on the Punjab Census for* 1881. Calcutta, 1883, vol. i, p. 70.

It is curious that the name *Gypsey* is a corruption of *Egyptians*. They were always called Egyptians in early Acts of Parliament, and it is probable that they came to England first from Egypt, whither they had gone from the country of the Gold Hindu, who were first met with there.—H. H.

[3] Whence it came about that the Arabs are referred to as *Ta-shi* in early Chinese accounts of the West.—H. H.

have imposed it on the Turks and the Turkish Empire, and even on Musulmans in general In this case it [redacted] that the word is used to imply a 'stranger,' or 'barbarian';[1] but it is a curious example of the length to which misapplication can go, for it constitutes an absolute reversal of the usual and original sense of the word In the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, among other books, we find *Hazára* used for 'hill-men,' or 'mountaineers,' without reference to its original meaning or to any racial consideration, while in modern times the term has become the name of a specific race or people. *Hazára* meant simply "a thousand," and was the name, it appears, which was given to a particular section of cavalry or other troops, who were perhaps the original settlers in the hill districts in question[a] What Mr Ibbetson has told us above, of the employment of the words *Turk* and *Moghul* in the Punjab, is another instance of mere misapplication or irrelevant nomenclature; but we need hardly go far from home to find a telling example of the same thing. From Earle's *Philology of the English Tongue*[2] we learn, with regard to the Cymraeg, or British language now spoken in Wales, that "the Anglo-Saxons called it *Wylse*, and the people who spoke it they called *Walas*, which we have modernised into Wales and Welsh. So the Germans of the Continent called the Italians and their language *Welsch* The word simply means *foreign* or *strange* At various points on the frontiers of our race we find them affixing the name on the conterminous Romance-speaking people . . . . The French . . . . in the reign of Edward the Confessor, are called, by the contemporary Anglo-Saxon annalist, *tha Welsce* men, by which was meant 'the foreigners.'"[3]

Thus, the evidence on this subject (apart from that of nicknames or terms of contempt) points to three distinct conclusions. The first is that, in reading the histories of Musulman authors, the tribal names they use must not always be

[1] Professor Noldeke has been good enough to confirm Mr Ross that *Tajik* (better *Tachik*) and *Tazi* are the same word, the former being merely the older form. *Chik* means 'belonging to,' and in this [redacted] "belonging to the tribe of *Tai*. In modern Persian *Chik* becomes *Zi*

[2] It is quite possible that the name of the famous Turkish tribe of the *Khazars* is connected with the same word.—H. H

Page 23. I am indebted to Mr. Stephen Wheeler for this appropriate extract

[3] In another way, the name of the special tribe *Alemanni*, who lived nearest to Gaul of all the Germans, became the generic [redacted] of all Germany —Allemagne.—H. H.

he can to have a racial significance; or, in other words, it is necessary in every case where either the I am *Turk* or *Tatar* occurs, to [redacted] which of the two is applying it in the general and scientific sense. The second meaning is that the word *Mughal*, although some [illegible] even whore it is used in an ethnic sense, is frequently misapplied, and so extended, as can scarcely be helped, as to comprise many tribes of real Turki race (among others), until large numbers of people who were not of Mughal descent have come to be called Mughals. This habit appears to have prevailed first in the time of Chingiz and his immediate successors, and subsequently during the ascendancy of the (laughter (or so-called Mughul) dynasty in India. The third conclusion as to which points will help to clear up much that has been regarded as Turk, Tatar, and Mughul ethnology, in the Mussulman countries. It applies to any case where a person of these three names is found to be of Arabic descent, and even could otherwise, in the Mussulman [illegible] not anomalous? They had no knowledge of the scientific ethnology that governs the modern European communities in their works, but followed the common practice of the time, and employed the names that had grown into use among the people around them. In reading their books, therefore, it is futile to look for systematic nomenclature; but if they are read with due regard to date, locality, and other circumstances, they will seldom be found, I think, to contain actual contradictions; for loose and inaccurate though Asiatics are in some respects—such as in figures, measurements, geographical details, etc—they are usually remarkably clear on all subjects as blood relationship, family lineage, and record of descent.

But here we must leave the Mughals, and glance briefly at those original Turks, or Uighurs, who may be regarded as the immediate ancestors of the population of Altai-Shiber (and indeed all Eastern Turkestan) and the main stock of their race. Who the Uighurs were in remote times, and what was their origin, are speculative questions which need not be investigated here. The best notices of them during early historic times point to their home-land as lying in north-western Mongolia;

but in the ninth century they are recorded, in the Chinese annals,[1] to have been displaced from that region and to have been driven southward by the Kirghiz,[2] who were themselves, at that time, beginning to rise to power, and tending, like other Turki tribes, to press towards the south and west. In early times there seem to have been at least two confederacies of Uighurs in the further east: one living in the region now known as Zungaria, and called the *Naimán Uighur*, or "Eight Uighurs," while the other inhabited the country watered by the Orkhon and the Tula, and were known as the *Toghuz Uighur*, or "Nine Uighurs."[3] When the latter were driven to the south and west, the former remained in their old country, where they are found at the time of Chingiz Khan. The Toghuz Uighur settled in the eastern ranges of the Tian Shan, and gradually built up a new kingdom, extending over all the eastern portion of that chain. Here one of their states seems to have been established on the south of the mountains, and subsequently another on the north. The first had for its chief town the representative of the modern Kara-Khoja (called at different periods Si-Chao, Ho-Chao, and Kao-Chang), and embraced, at some periods at least, the modern district of Kuchar, then known as Kui-tze; while the capital of the second was Bishbálik (the Five Towns), which stood on, or near, the site of the present Urumtsi. Very little is known of even these later Uighur kingdoms, although the date when they flourished is not a very remote one. It is chiefly from the Chinese chronicles that any knowledge of their history is to be gathered, but even these do not appear to have been compiled with completeness, nor to have embraced the entire Uighur annals, which must have been a large and influential one for a long period.

In addition to these Uighurs, always so named, and living in the Eastern Tian Shan, there was a third section of the race dwelling farther west. They are called sometimes the 'Kai-lughi,' and their seat of power was originally at Ili-bálik and on the head waters of the Chu. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries, they appear to have dominated Western Turkistan and perhaps the whole of Alti Shahr, while one of

[1] See Bretschneider, i. p. 211 *seq.* Also Klaproth, *Tableaux Hist.* p. 124.

[2] Or more properly, as Sir H. Howorth notes—"the people whom the Chinese call Hakas, and who are identified, in my paper on the Kakas, with the ancestors of that unhappy people—the subjects of Prester John—who, in the time of Chingiz, are found inhabiting the Uighur country."

[3] I owe this definition to Sir H. Howorth.

their chief towns was Kashghar, then known as Udu Kand. Their rulers were the so-called 'Ilak-Khans,' or 'Kara-Khans,' whose history is more or less known through the works of Arab and Persian authors, since the conversion of one of the line—a certain Situk Kara Khan to Islám, in the first half of the tenth century. That the state and dynasty of the Ilak Khans were in reality Uighur, there seems to be sufficient evidence to prove, although the name of *Uighur* was not used by Musulmán authors till a much later date. They seem to have been known by the name of *Ta-gaz-gaz*[1] until the thirteenth century, when they begin to appear under that of *Ughur* in Western annals, though the Ilak Khans were then no more. From these same Musulman historians we learn that, during parts of the tenth and eleventh centuries, the kingdom of the Ilak Khans extended from Khorasán to China, which is perhaps scarcely to be taken literally, but is only another way of saying that it extended a long way to the east; for the Chinese, in their chronicles of the same period, speak of transactions between their Emperors and the Khans of Kao-Chang and Bishbálik, as if these were independent chiefs.[2]

We come to surer ground about the year 1121, when Yelin Taishi, the Gurkhán of the Kara Khitai, overran the whole of Eastern Turkistan and captured Balasighun, together with much of the country to the northward, which was then under the sway of the Ilak Khans. This invasion put an end to the kingdom of the Western Uighurs the Kárluks, or Karakhánis—while the Eastern Uighurs became tributary to the conquerors. But it was a conquest that probably had little influence on the people by whom the land was inhabited. It is uncertain what tribes the army of the Gurkhán was composed of; in all probability it was much mixed in race, while in any case, it was a mere army of invasion and by no means constituted the migration of a people. The dominion of the Kara Khitai, moreover,

[1] This word is, indeed, an Arab corruption of some Turki form, or a misreading due to copyists. *Ta-gar-gaz*, *Ba-gaz-gaz*, etc., are other variants of the same word; and all look as if they contained a corruption of *Uighur*, or possibly of *Toghuz-Uighur*. In the geographical dictionary of the Arab, Yakuti (fifteenth century) the name seems to be *Toghuz-ghaz*—without any *alif*. He calls them a race of Turks (*Not. et Extr.*, i., p. 531.)

[2] I have purposely omitted to mention the separate Uighur state which is said to have been established near Kan-chou and Su-chou, on the borders of China, as that lay beyond the range of the provinces in question in the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, and was probably a mere isolated state or community of very small importance.

lasted for less than a hundred years, so that the Uighurs, as a nation, must have formed too solid a [redacted] to have been in any degree changed in race by this conquest.

Thus, it may be said generally, that for several centuries previous to the rise of the Mongols, certain Turki-Uighur peoples (they may, in future, be called simply Uighurs), under whatever line of kings, had overspread the whole of the province of Alti-Shahr and the districts to the east of it, while at some periods they held sway in Zungaria and extended their dominion westward into Transoxiana. While exercising independent rule, and even subsequently, when allied with Chingiz Khan against the Kara Khitai and other enemies,[1] they appear to have shown warlike qualities, but at later dates the impression we receive of them is that of a peace-loving, cultivated race, of settled habits, and forming as great a contrast as possible to their Moghul neighbours. Their taste for literature must have been a strong one; in fact, they were the only literate people at that time in existence between China in the east, and Transoxiana in the west. They are credited with having been the first to reduce the Turki language to writing, by borrowing the Syriac written character from the Nestorian missions which, in the Middle Ages, were spread over Central Asia; while the writing, thus founded by the Uighurs, became, at a later period, the origin of the systems still in use among the Mongols and the Manchus.[2] Many books were written by them, and both Rashid-ud-Din and Abul Gházi point to their services being in request as administrators, accountants and writers of the Turki language. The latter author especially bears witness to their capabilities in these pursuits. He says: "During the reign of the grandsons of Chingiz Khan the accountants and chief officers of government in Máwará un-Nahr, in Khorasán and in Irák, were all Uighurs. Similarly, it was the Uighurs who filled these posts in Khitai during the reign of the sons of Chingiz Khan. Oktai Kaán, son and successor of Chingiz Khan, entrusted Khorasán, Mazandarán and Gilán to a Uighur named Kuiguz, who was well versed in keeping accounts and knew thoroughly how to levy, in these provinces, the taxes, which he remitted regularly, each year, to Oktai Kaán."[3] They occupied, indeed, a very similar position to that of the Bengali and

[1] They submitted voluntarily to Chingiz in 1209.
[2] Yule's *Cathay*, pp. 205 and 261–5. Also Bretschneider, I, p. 232.
[3] Pages 41–2.

Marathi Hindus in the administrations of the Mughal Emperors of India.

Though the Arabs, during their invasions of Turkestan in the eighth century, had done their best to impose the Musulman religion on the old Uighur population it seems that they met only with very partial success, as far as the bulk of the people was concerned. They no doubt converted the Kara Khani, as shown by the coins, and it is probable that from the eleventh century onwards, the population in the western districts was largely Mahammadan. In the central and eastern parts, however, the Uighurs continued to be Buddhists and belonged to the red sect of that religion; but Nestorian Christianity must also have been fairly prevalent among them. They are spoken of very generally as *Tarsi*, and according to some authorities, this should be taken to indicate that they were Christians, but as regards the exact meaning of the word *Tarsi*, there are differences of opinion. In many cases it was, no doubt, applied to the Nestorians in various parts of Asia, but it was also applied to the Buddhists, the Zoroastrians, and was even used to denote idolaters.[1]

Strangely enough, the only two European accounts we have of the Uighurs in the Middle Ages (the thirteenth century) differ on this subject. Plano Carpini states positively that they were Nestorian Christians, while William Rubruk, only eight years later, pronounces them, with equal certainty, to have been idolaters, and he adds that they dwelt in towns together with Nestorians and others. It is possible that Rubruk may have regarded most of those he saw as Buddhists, and that he classed all Buddhists with idolaters; if so, he would only have been following the practice of many of the Musulman writers, who drew no very clear distinction between religions that were foreign to their own. But however uncertain this may be, the name of *Tarsi* frequently included the Nestorians, though it was ordinarily used, during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, to indicate the Uighurs as a nation—or more particularly the Uighurs of the eastern Tian Shan. It is in this latter sense that Friar John of Montecorvino, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, speaks of the *Tarsi* tongue, for he could not have meant a Buddhist tongue. About the same period, too, the Armenian author Hayton, Prince of Gorigos, in his account of the kingdoms of Asia, expressly applies the name of *Tarsi* to

[1] See note p. 390.

the country of the "Yogurs" or Uighurs.[1] Mirza Haidar, writing in the sixteenth century, makes no mention of *Tatar*, or even of Uighurs generally, as being the inhabitants of Eastern Turkistan,[2] and it may be inferred that, by his time, the bulk of the people having become Musulmans, had ceased to be distinguished by their race-name of *Uighur*. He speaks only of the 'Sárigh,' or 'Yellow,' Uighurs, who appear to have been a small community occupying a territory to the east, or north-east of Khotan, and to have been, according to his view, idolaters. These may quite possibly have been merely a section of the original inhabitants who had retained their old religion Christianity or Buddhism and had found a refuge from the converting Musulmans in the secluded region bordering on the eastern desert. In this case they would have been Turks, like the rest of the population, in race and language.

Besides the Uighurs the only people that are heard of in Alti-Shahr, at the period of the *Tárikh-i Rashidi* are the Kalmáks, as they had begun then to be called by Musulman writers.[3] To the Mongols and the Chinese they were known as *Oirat*, and this was probably their real name.[4] They must have been few in number, and were, of course, Mongolian, and not Turki, in race. Their home was among the eastern ranges of the Tian Shan, and therefore only partially within the limits of Alti-Shahr: thus they were more properly borderers of the 'Eastern Khanate,' or Uighuristán, and indeed occupied very much the same localities in which they are found at the present day. In this region, like in Moghulistan, there were no towns or cultivated districts: the people were tent-dwellers, and owners of flocks, and their religion was, no doubt, Buddhism then, as it is now. During the period of the Moghul Khans, they appear to have played but a small part in the history of the country, and to have exercised little influence over the course of its affairs, though after the dis-

[1] See Yule's *Cathay*, i. xlvi.

[2] He professedly excludes Kashgar and the one passage where he mentions the word *Turk*, he is alluding to *Turk-i-Andijan Kazák*. In his day the name was practically extinct.

[3] See p. 318, and note, p. 319.

[4] Professor Grigorief states that the name of *Kalmak* (or *Kal-mak*) only appears for the first time in the fifteenth century (Schuyler, i. p. 309).

[4] The Chinese pronunciation was *Wa-la*. They are the same people who became subsequently known as *Eleuth* or *Olot*, and *Zungar* (Bretschneider, i. p. 160); though it would perhaps be more correct to follow the Chinese traveller Chang Yuen, of the last century, and say that the *Zungars* were a branch of the *Eleuths* (See Ghuchy, *China Review*, xv. p. 100).

appearance of the Moghuls, and with the opening of the eighteenth century, they began to rise to very considerable power, and, in connection with the Lifetans of Lan a, entered into intrigues and wars that resulted in their own country, together with all Eastern Turkistan and the Hi region falling into the possession of China.

In Alti-Shahr there could not have been many Moghuls, for with the exception of some few valleys among the southern slopes of the western Tian Shan, the country could, in no way, have been suited to their mode of life. When Sultan Said Khan conquered Kashghria in 1514, perhaps a certain proportion of them may have followed him, but at that date their numbers, even in Moghulistan, must have become much reduced from what they had previously been. Therefore, when a few years later (1525-6), he withdrew the remnant of them from their own country to the hills near Kodjghor, in order to rescue them from the hostility of the Kirghiz, they would have formed too small a body to have been accounted part of the population of Alti-Shahr. By that date the Moghul *Ulus* had become a mere band of refugees, and though afterward, for a short time, at fitful intervals, their Khans rallied forth from Kashghria and gained some successes over the Kirghiz, the middle of the sixteenth century may be said, approximately, to have seen their practical extinction as a nation.[1]

[1] See for some further remarks on this subject S. M. Keith, *Eastern Turkistan*

SECTION V

The Eastern Khanate, or Uighuristan

"Then inward through into that house shall come every one that dwelleth in the gate thereof, and shall worship before the Lord. Now I know that the Lord saveth His anointed; . . . *Ps.* xx., 11–13.

The province called by Mirza Haidar, 'Mughúl Suyah,' extended as we have seen from the western limit of Farghána as far east as the modern Kara Shahr, a town and district that, in his day, bore the name of Ghálish, and more commonly that of 'Yanki' or 'Yeu-Ki.' The district at the bottom of Issik-kul, that lay beyond it to the eastward, formed during the two centuries (or the greater part of them) that the *Tárikh-i Rashidi* embraces, a Moghul principality which had an entirely separate government from that of the chief Moghul Khanate. During *the latter half of the fourteenth century and the first quarter of* the fifteenth, while the Dughlát Amirs were in power in the provinces of Kashgha, Aksu, Khotan, etc. *that is, in the whole* of Alti-Shahr there is nothing in the *Tárikh-i-Rashidi*, or in the work of any Musulman author that I am acquainted with, to indicate who were the rulers of these eastern districts except Mirza Haidar's mention of their temporary conquest by Khizr Khwája. It seems probable, from what may be learned from the side of China, that the region was regarded as more or less under the power of the Moghul Khans, and the author of the *Zafar-Náma* in narrating the wars between Timur and the Moghuls seems also to imply that this was the case, as has been seen above. Later, again, towards the middle of the *fifteenth century*, when a division in the Moghul *Ulus* had taken place, Isan Bugha II., with the support of one section, set himself up in Ghálish and Turfán, and there established a separate principality, or Khanate, which lasted down to, and even beyond, the date when Mirza Haidar's history closes.

Our author is fond, as will be found in the course of his narrative, of using copulate names, and therefore generally applies to this eastern Khanate, the form *Ghálish-Turfán*, or

Chálish and Turfán,' from its two central and principal districts. There were times, however, as he relates, when the province of Aksu also fell under the rule of the Eastern Khan, though it belonged properly to Alti-Shahr. But on two occasions he mentions a country or province as *Uighuristán*, and in one passage, when describing the boundaries of 'Mangalai Suyah,' says that it marched, on the east, with the province of Uighuristán. It would appear, therefore, that the small Eastern Khanate really bore that name down to the sixteenth century; and if this was the case, the survival is an interesting one.

Within the district of Turfán, and only some twenty-seven miles to the south-east of it, stands the little known, but ancient, town of Kara-Khoja, which has borne also in the course of its history, several other names the chief of them having come down to us, through the Chinese, in the forms of *Kao-Chang* and *Ho-Chao*. The Chinese annals of the Sung and Yuan dynasties often mention this place frequently, and make it plain that from the ninth century to within the twelfth, Kao-Chang was the capital of a Uighur kingdom which bordered on the north with another Uighur state, called Bishbálik (the modern Urumtsi), and on the west with a third known, anciently, as Kui-tse, Kus, etc, and now as Kuchar.[2] These States, collectively appear to have been the home and centre of the Uighur race, until a much later date than when, in the twelfth century, they lost their political independence and became subject to the Kara-Khitai. It would not be improbable, therefore, that the region having become known to neighbouring nations on the west as *Uighuristán*, when independent, should have retained that name long afterwards, though subject to foreign rulers.

On the partition of the empire of Chingiz Khan among his sons, we read of Uighuristán falling to the appanage of Chaghatai Khan, and we also learn, from Mirza Haidar, of Chaghatai having entrusted the province called 'Mangalai Suyah' as far east as Chálish, to the care of the Dughlats, but not a word is said regarding the disposal of the districts to the eastward of Chálish. Referring to a later date - about 1420 - Abul Ghazi mentions Uighuristán as one of the countries, the inhabitants of

[1] As translated by Dr. Bretschneider, i. pp. 288–90; and ii., p. [illegible]

[2] This is the Chinese conception, but it is perhaps more probable that Kutzo or Kuchar did not form a fixed state; it may have been included in Kao-Chang. At some one period (seventh century) Kutza or Kutse is believed by Mr. Watters to have been one of the six divisions, or five cities, of Bishbálik (see note, p. 62 of Introduction).

which, being without a Khan at that time, summoned Taín Bugha I. from Mávará-un-Nahr to reign over them. But although the region is often mentioned by this name subsequent to the time of Chingiz, no indication as to its extent was given of its situation, until we come to Mirza Haidar's incidental statement that it constituted the eastern neighbour of 'Mungalai Suyah' and was, consequently, identical with the Khanate of 'Ghilish and Turfán.' On the other hand, though the Khanate is mentioned by Rashid, he does not connect it with the Uighuristán of Arabic authors but speaks of it always as "the Eastern districts" presumably of the Moghul Khanate in general.

Mirza Haidar, unfortunately omits to apprise his readers of the extent of the Khanat of Uighuristán. At periods when Aksu was not comprised within its limits, it could not have been large. On the east it did not include Kumul (Hami) till as late as 1513, when Muhammad Khan annexed that State and joined it on to Turfán,[1] as we learn from Chinese sources of information. On the south it may have stretched to a considerable distance, but if so it could have enclosed, in that direction, only the sands of the desert. Northward, among the ranges of the Tian Shan, and along the valley of the Yuldúz river, the inhabitants in the sixteenth century, at all events, and probably long before, appear to have been the Oirát or Kalmáks, but whether the Khans of Uighuristán counted those people among their subjects is, from the *Tárikh-i-Rashidi*, not clear. It is possible that they may have done so at some periods, if not always, and in this case their State may have extended to the up, or western of the Yuldúz and the northern slopes of the Tian Shan. In the days of Khizr Khwája of Moghulistan (about 1383 to 1399) the country of the Kalmáks would appear to have formed part of that Khan's possessions, and, for this reason evidently was invaded by Timur in his expedition of 1388.[2] According to Klaproth (who does not name his authorities in this instance) the region, thus limited, is almost exactly that which was occupied by the Uighurs at the latest period of their existence as a people, though this was long past the time when they had ceased to constitute self-contained or independent states. Indeed, he assigns to them

[1] Kumul remained independent of Turfán till the year 1696, when it became tributary to China.

[2] See Pétis de la Croix, *Hist. de Timur Bec*, ii, p. 40.

this position until beyond the date of Timur, or within the fifteenth century, and speaks of *them as a group of small but* not independent principalities.[1] In all probability the independence, or otherwise, of these Uighur communities, had no influence on the name which this country went by among neighbouring nations; it seems only to have replaced the race-name of the inhabitants as it often then and elsewhere, and (what chiefly concerns us here) to have persisted that name for some two hundred years after a new and foreign principality had sprung up on its soil.

The only consecutive account of the history of Turfan, from the days of Chingiz and the Uighur chiefs onwards, would seem to be that contained in the Chinese chronicles of the Ming dynasty, and we are indebted to Dr. Bretschneider for an epitomised translation of them.[2] The Chinese province of Chálish is not mentioned in the epitome, and for this reason, we may assume that no notice of it is contained in the *Ming-She*. Possibly the Chinese annalists may have regarded it as part of Turfán, and if this was the case, their account of that province may be taken to embrace the whole of the eastern Khanate of Uighuristán. The Ming record begins very shortly after the opening dates of the *Tárikh-i-Rashidi*, by relating how the prince of *Tu-lu-fan* (or Turfán) having repeatedly plundered foreign embassies proceeding through his dominion towards China, the Emperor in 1377, despatched an army to punish him and ravage his territory—a task that seems to have been accomplished with success. No name is mentioned for this prince. The date would correspond with the reign, in Moghulistán, of Kabak-Kurkán, but I know of nothing that points to Uighuristán forming a part of Kamar-ud-Din's territory, unless perhaps the fact that Timur, shortly after the date in question, when *overrunning Moghulistan in the course of a* punitive expedition, sent one of his columns as far east as Kara-Khoja, which lay well within Uighuristán. On the other hand, a few years later, on the death of Khizir Khwája, Timur's army, under Mirza Iskandar, had wasted the country only as far east as Kuchar, and then (for what reason is not stated)

Tableau Historique pp. 121–5.

[2] Most, but apparently not all, of what Dr. Bretschneider has translated is contained in *De Mailla's Hist de la Chine* (vol. x.), but it is there so much scattered and involved with the history of Timur—Dr. Bretschneider's version is a check otherwise sometimes of value—(See his *Med. Researches*, I. pp. 111 *seq.*)

draw off towards Khotan.[1] Yet Khizir Khwája is known, from Mirza Haidar's narrative, to have made at least a temporary conquest of Turfán and Kara-Khoja.

These events occurred during the best days of the Moghul power, when a vigorous and general wholesome fear reigned, and is to be inferred from what little we know of the history of those times, that even if Kamar ud-Din sometimes held sway in Uighuristán, he was not necessarily the recognised chief of the State. But who he was the other, he seems to have been subdued by the Ming army, for we read of Turfán, in 1406, sending a mission of homage to Peking, while two years after that date another is recorded to have been despatched by the ruling Khan, this time under the leadership of a Buddhist priest. In 1422 a chief of Turfán, whose name is given as *In-ghi-zh-cha*, is reported to have been expelled from his government by Vais Khan of Bishbálik (*i.e.*, Moghulistan), and to have personally carried his appeal for redress before the Emperor, who caused Vais Khan to restore In-ghi-zh-cha to his possessions. What means the Chinese Emperor took to compel the Moghul to perform this act of restitution is not stated, but the *Ming-Shi* goes on to relate that in 1425 and 1426 In-ghi-zh-cha appeared a second and third time at Peking "at the head of his tribe," to present tribute. In 1428, shortly after his return home, he died.

The next reigning chief mentioned is one *Ba-la-ma-zh*, on whom the Ming Emperor bestowed presents in 1441, on the occasion of the Egyptian envoy passing through Turfán on his way homeward from Peking. It was about this time—the middle of the fifteenth century—that the Turfán chief one *Yu-nu-si Hao-jo* (Ismil Khwája?) took possession of Kara-Khoja and Lukchun and assumed the title of *Wang* or 'Prince.' Previous to this, says the Ming historian, Turfán was of little account, but it now became powerful, and appears to have extended its territory, for he incidentally mentions that it was bordered on one side by Moghulistan and on another by Khotan. The rise in power of the Turfán chiefs did not prevent them from continuing to send tribute to China, and it was shortly afterwards (in 1465) settled that a mission should be despatched regularly once every five years.

The particulars of those missions, the demands they made at

[1] Pétis de la Croix, Hist. of Jenghiz Khan, &c.

the Ming court, and the concessions granted from time to time by the Emperor, need not be followed here. One of them which appeared at Peking in 1460 represented that the Tartar chief had taken the title of 'Sultan,' and the name of the personage is recorded to have been *Ali*. In the *Táríkh-i-Rashídí* no mention is made of the name of Ali, in connection with Uighuristán. The late points to Kabak Sultan, as well as the title, but as Ali is represented further on in the Chinese history to have been the father of Ahmad, we can hardly assume Kabak to be the Sultan indicated. The father of Ahmad was Yunus, who nowhere appears under the name of Ali, while Kabak was grand-nephew of Yunus. That Sultan Ahmad (or Aláchá Khan)—and no other Ahmad as the personage pointed to by the Chinese annals, seems more than probable, seeing that the dates of his succession and death agree very nearly with those given in the *Táríkh-i-Rashídí*, and that he is said to be the father of Mansur. But this is not the only instance of inaccuracy in this matter, on the part of the Chinese chroniclers. Even if Ahmad were to be regarded as chief of Turfan in the sense of being suzerain over the local prince, he could scarcely have played the part they attribute to him, without Mirza Haidar making some mention of his deeds. They represent him, for example, as having proceeded in person against Hami in 1488, having captured the town, and put to death the local chief[2]—a series of important events about which the *Táríkh-i-Rashídí* is silent. We find there only a bare statement that his son, Mansur, carried on several wars against Khatai, or China.

To proceed, however. In 1474 this Sultan Ali is said to have attacked and captured Hami, together with some districts to the eastward, proceedings which called forth an expedition from China to recover these places from him. The Chinese had to return unsuccessful; the Sultan retained Hami, but the tribute missions went on as before. About the same year that he annexed Hami, it appears that Sultan Ali also captured more than 10,000 of the tribe of Oirát, or Kalmáks, and in general he seems to have been a chief of warlike tendencies. He had in his hands the road by which all the tribute missions from the western

[1] Klaproth says that Ali Sultan is mentioned in the Chinese history as the first Sultan, and he appears to be unique in Chinese history in this respect. (*Sprache u. Schrift d. Uiguren*, p. 17.)

[2] Brosselard, *Journal Asiatique*, 3e Série, tome x, pp. 255–257.

countries were in the habit of coming and going and he made the Emperor feel that it was well to be on good terms with him

In 1178 Ali died and his son *Al-hei-ma* (Ahmad) succeeded him as Sultan of Turfán. He also was generally successful in holding Hami against the Chinese, if he lost it at one time, he regained it shortly afterwards, and he made the governor nominated by the Chinese, a prisoner. During the period 1478 to 1493 he was nearly always at war with the Chinese, yet he seems to have been ever ready with his tribute, and several missions carrying horses and other presents are recorded to have been despatched during those years. At length, however (in 1494) his mission consisting of 72 men, was stopped and imprisoned near the Chinese border. This event occurring at a time when the Kahrikes on his northern frontier were assuming a threatening attitude towards him, induced Ahmad to abandon Hami and "amity peace was established with the Chinese in 1499. Five years later (1504) Ahmad died, and a struggle for the succession to the Khanate took place among his sons. The eldest by name *Man-suh* (Mansur), got the upper hand, declared himself Sultan, and began at once to despatch tribute to Peking. In 1513 the subordinate Prince of Hami, *Bai-ya-dsi* by name made over his province to Mansur, who soon afterwards began to make incursions on Chinese territory proper, by invading Suchau and Kan-chau. Whether he obtained any but a more temporary hold on those districts is not apparent, but he is related to have had dissensions with the Chinese, on subjects connected with Hami, till his death in 1515. He was succeeded by his son *Sha-er-Sah-khan*.

This is a brief outline of Dr. Bretschneider's epitome of the chapters in the Ming history which relate to Turfán, or Ughuristán. It shows, briefly, the course of the history of the province according to the Chinese view; but when we come to compare the names and dates with the same story as gathered from the *Tárikh-i-Rashidi*, the two accounts are found not to agree. In the summary, or discursive table, given in Section II of this Introduction, some of the Khans of Ughuristán have been mentioned, with the dates of their reigns (as far as obtainable), from Mirza Haidar's statements. They may be placed here in

[1] Mr. Bushell says the Chinese captured some of the Muslims of Turfán and carried off 10,000 men into the hill (*Hist.*, x., p. 902).

juxtaposition with those of the *Ming-Shi*, for purposes of comparison, ■ follows

Ming-Shi			*Tarikh-i-Rashidi*		
1. [illegible]	died	1[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2. Manku Timur	"	[illegible]	[illegible]	"	[illegible]
3. Isi-li-ma-li was re[illegible]			[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
4. Yo-nu-li Hua-pu	"	1[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
5. Su-tan Ali	died	7[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
6. Ahmad		1[illegible]50	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
7. Mansur	"	1[illegible]16	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
8. Shah Kha	"	1670	7. Shah Khan	was deposed and executed	

From this, it appears that none of the rulers mentioned by the Chinese are the same as those given in the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, till the name of Ahmad Khan is reached, while the date of the death of his successor, Mansur Khan, differs by two years in the two accounts. The allusion to Vais Khan seems fairly satisfactorily ■ to late, but here all agreement ends. The first and third names on the Chinese list would appear to be of Mongol origin, the second is certainly Mongol, while the fourth and fifth, though Musulman, are in no way to be traced among the Moghul Khans whom we know of. It is, perhaps, possible that the earlier Moghul chiefs, while Islam had only partially spread among them, bore Mongol as well as Musulman names, and that the Chinese found it more convenient to use the former, in reducing them to their own phonetics; but against this conjecture for solving the difficulty, it must be considered that the number of Khans, previous to Ahmad, is too great, and that the dates do not correspond sufficiently to admit of the assumption that the Mongol names point to Khans of Moghulistan. A more probable explanation, perhaps, may be that during the reigns of Isan Bugha II. and Yunus Muhammad, there were also Moghul Amirs who (like the Dughlat Amirs in Alti Shahr), if they did not reign, at all events held some kind of hereditary position as local chiefs, and that it was they who sent the tribute missions, and carried on intercourse, with the Chinese court. Thus, though not supreme in the Khanate, they might have been the chiefs best known to the Chinese. The possibility of this suggestion derives some support, I think, from the accounts the Chinese furnish of the towns of Kara-Khoja and Lu-ko-tsin (more anciently Lin-Chêng). During the first half of the fifteenth century, both those towns, though situated close to Turfán, were reckoned

independent, and sent their own tribute, separately, to Peking, and it was only when Turfán became powerful after the middle of the century, that they were annexed to their more important neighbour. This would have been only very shortly before the commencement of the reign of Sultan Ahmad, or when we come to the corresponding names and dates in the two lists. At this time, it may be, the custom was changed, and the reigning Khan may have begun to send the tribute missions in his own name, while the names, especially the non-Muslman ones of the subordinate chiefs, would have tended soon to fall into oblivion and remain unnoticed by Muhammadan writers. This, however, is only a suggestion, a possible explanation of the discrepancies.

Unfortunately, it is not the only puzzle connected with this eastern Khanate. In his *Mémoires concernant les . . . Chinois*,[1] Père Amyot has published several Chinese documents relating to Turfán, one of which is a rescript by the Emperor Shun-Chi (the first of the present dynasty), dated 1647, wherein notice is taken of the fact that Turfán had not sent to tender homage to China for more than 280 years *i.e.*, since some date previous to the year 1367, or the commencement of the Ming epoch! So direct a contradiction is this of all that the Ming history has recorded, that it would appear almost hopeless to attempt to reconcile the two statements. It would be tempting to put the Tsing Emperor's direct assertion into the same side of the scales with Mirza Haidar's silence on the subject and to suspect the veracity of the Ming chronicles; but my impression is that these records contain too much internal evidence of truth, and are too circumstantial in their facts, to admit of the [illegible] supposition of any wilful misstatement. The Emperor Shun-Chi, it must be remembered, had only come to the throne in 1644. He was a mere child of nine years of age in 1647, while his elder relations, who were presumably his advisers, were Manchus, who had been deeply engaged in the wars which had won for him the Empire of China. They probably knew little of the affairs of the country, or of the history of the dynasty that had just been overthrown by them and their people. The dynastic history of the Mings, moreover, was not written till many years later, while events connected with an

[1] Tome huitième, ii., pp. 186, 187.

[2] Vol. xiv., p. 16.

The order for the compilation of the *Ming Shi*, Dr. Terrien de Lacouperie informed me, was passed in 1670. Fifty-eight scholars were appointed to engage in the work, which was not finished till 1721.

insignificant Khanate in Central Asia would scarcely have been in the minds of the courtiers and secretaries, when the Emperor was made to pen, or to approve, the terms of negotiations; or it was known to them that Tughlik had sent tribute very rather effusively they probably sought to please him by concealing the fact from his knowledge The receipt is obviously intended to convey the idea that Shun Chih is flattered by the homage paid him by the Sultan of Turfán, who as predecessor had never rendered so great an honour to the Emperors of the late dynasty, indeed the whole document appears to be more than anything else, a display of exultation on the part of the Emperor, intended to reflect on his Chinese predecessors The occasion which brought about its promulgation, was the arrival of an envoy from the Turfán Sultan of the time, who is there called "Ablun-Moulun"- a corruption not easy to identify with any Musulman name "Le Sultan," runs the French translation, "qui règne aujourd'hui sur le Toulan, descend en droit ligne de Tchulhatu, un des fils de Tsinkiskan, fondateur de la dynastie des Yuen ou Mongoux. Ces précédens maîtres, depuis plus de deux cens quatre-vingts ans n'avaient point envoyé d'ambassade solemnelle pour rendre l'ommage à la Chine, et lui apporter le tribut Le Sultan Ablun-Moulun, ayant appris que j'étais sur le trône de l'Empire Chinois, m'avoit dépêché ambassadeurs Une telle conduite méritoit quelque attention de ma part. . . ' And the venerable Amyot adds significantly —"Ten years afterwards, that is to say in the year 1657, the King of Toulan again despatched ambassadors carrying tribute, which means in plain French, that he sent people to trade and to receive presents from the Emperor Yet His Imperial Majesty was greatly flattered by this new mission.'

A still more morphic statement is contained in a letter written by Amyot from Peking some time subsequently.' Referring to Turfán, he says the country was so broken up in the early part of the sixteenth century, that in the year 1513 there were seventy-five small independent States, all the chiefs of which called themselves king. How, all that can be said is that Amyot must have fallen into some error. He was living at Peking as far back as the middle of the eighteenth century, and may be assumed to have had good sources of information on historical as well as other subjects, but on this occasion he does not mention the authority for the statement he makes. The

Mém. Con. les Chin. xiv p 19 Note to is traceable for this letter.

Ming-Shi, as we have just seen, refers to the two towns of Kuna-Khoja and Lu-ko tsun, as having been thought, by the Chinese, to be independent of Turfán, about a century before the date spoken of by Amyot, but during this interval the tendency of events in Ughuristán was towards consolidation of the kingdom, and centralisation of the power of the Khan. The date 1513 falls within the reign of Mansur Khan who, we see from the historian of Muza Haidar and that of the Ming dynasty, was the most powerful and prosperous ruler that the Khanate had had, and it cannot be regarded as likely that, during his reign, the country should have been split up into more independent divisions than there were towns in it, or perhaps into almost as many as there were villages. Had any disintegration been going on, Muza Haidar could hardly have failed to notice it, and moreover, Sultan Said, then Khan of Moghulistan and Alti-Shahi (Mansur's brother) would scarcely have submitted (as Muza Haidar repeatedly states they had been in 1516) to a ruler whose kingdom had broken up into small States. In this instance it is far more likely that Père Amyot made use of some imperfect information, than that both the official history of the Ming dynasty and the independent one of our author, should be wrong. What we find from the latter to have been the case is, that after the death of Ahmad, and with the succession of Mansur, Ughuristán obtained a great increase of strength. Mansur had been chief of Aksu, which province had been invaded and conquered by Muza Abú Bakr of Kashghar, and the chief had migrated to Turfán with the whole of his tribe and family. The number of the tribe is not stated, but the advent of a large body of Moghuls, together with the Khan, can hardly have failed to prove a source of increased strength to the Khanate, and would point rather to unification than the reverse.

Perhaps if any explanation of so curious a discrepancy may be hazarded it might be found in the abuse of the tribute missions. As the Ming dynasty declined and approached its fall, the practice of encouraging counterfeit missions seems to have become common; and towards the end of the sixteenth century, and at the beginning of the seventeenth, they came much into vogue among the States bordering on the west of China. This last stands out with special clearness in the narrative of Benedict Goes, who travelled from Lahore to China in the years 1603–07, and who died at the earlier town of Suchow, in Kansu, after passing through Yarkand, Aksu, Turfán and

Kumul The account of his journey is, indeed, a meagre one, for the greater part of his journal was lost at the time of his death. Some fragments, however, were recovered and passed into the hands of one of the ablest of the Jesuit missionaries then at Peking -Father Matthew Ricci who compiled from them the story of Hoei' adventures. In this way much of the narrative that has come down to us, is from the pen of a man specially well informed and qualified to explain the actual state of affairs, on such a subject as the missions of homage from the west. He tell us that the tribute brought to the capital was merely nominal in value, but that the Emperor, considering it beneath his dignity to receive presents from foreigners without making a return, not only entertained the tribute-bearers on a handsome scale, but paid highly for the objects presented to him in the shape of return gifts, so that every man pocketed "a piece of gold daily, over and above his necessary expenses." For this reason, the privilege of carrying offerings of tribute was keenly competed for among merchants and others, who paid highly for a nomination to the post of tribute-bearer. When the time came for setting out, those selected and unwilling, says Ricci, forged letters in the name of the kings they professed to represent, in which the Emperor of China was addressed in obsequious terms "The Chinese," he continues, "receive embassies of a similar character from various other kingdoms, such as Cochin-China, Siam, Leu-Chieu, Corea, and some of the petty Tatar kings, the whole causing incredible charges on the public treasury. The Chinese themselves are quite aware of the imposture, but they allow their Emperor to be befooled in this manner, as if to persuade him that the whole world is tributary to the Chinese, the fact being rather, that China pays tribute to those kingdoms"[1]

This account may be somewhat overdrawn in respect of the comparisons made with such States as Cochin-China, Siam, Korea, etc, for in those cases it is well known that there was no question of the Chinese winking at an imposture, and allowing themselves to be befooled. Tribute from those States meant political subjection, the exaction of it at regular periods was a serious affair, and one of the cardinal points of Chinese foreign policy. But where the small States of Central Asia were concerned, it was apparently not regarded as so important a matter, and there can be no doubt of the fact that,

[1] Yules *Cathay*, pp. 582 4.

at the period in question, the custom of sending tribute-bearing missions to China had degenerated, in the Khanates of Eastern Turkistan, to mere *trading adventures*, and that the Chinese must have been aware of the abuse the custom had undergone.[1] Even one of the circumstances that gave rise to Goes' mission, hinged upon a fraudulent embassy of this kind. A Musulman merchant, on his return to Lahore from China, gave the Jesuits there, information regarding the road to 'Cathay,' which appears to have had much influence in deciding them to send forward Benedict Goes. The man, on appearing at Akbar's court, and on being asked by the Emperor how he obtained admission to the Chinese capital, replied with frankness, that he had gone in the character of an ambassador from the King of Kashgar.

It may, therefore, be possible that spurious tribute-missions arrived at Peking from so many petty chiefs, or governors of towns, that the Chinese had actually recorded as large a number as seventy-five for the Turfán region, at the time Père Amyot speaks of; though this would in no way demonstrate that the State of Turfán, or Ughuristán, had, in reality, been split up into small divisions.

Though a separate and self-contained State, the Khanate of Ughuristán was in no way disconnected, physically, from the rest of Eastern Turkistan, or Alti-Shahr. No range of mountains or great river divided the two States, and even their people, in race and language, must have been practically one. No doubt there were slight variations in type and dialect, as is the case at the present day, between the natives of Turfán and those of Kashghar and Khotan, but all were of the Ughur stock, and those of the eastern Khanate, occupying, as they did, one of the ancient seats of the nation, perhaps retained the characteristics of the race in greater purity than the communities of the more western provinces. They lived, in fact were, on the ruins of ancient Ughurs, and were less accessible than the communities further west to foreign influences, except perhaps, to those emanating from China which must, however, have been slight. Their land, placed as it is, in the very centre of Asia, is less known, even nowadays, than almost any other part of the continent, the few modern travellers who have visited

[1] Sir H. Yule cites Abel Rémusat to show that the same thing had happened in the days of the Sung Emperors—*i.e.* the last native Chinese dynasty prior to the Mings. (*Cathay*, p. 68d.)

it having furnished only a meagre description of it. A Chinese author of the last century says that the whole population of the province, in his time, could be estimated at no more than 3000 families, and these were, for the greater part, so poor that they were scarcely able to provide for themselves. In the summer the heat was excessive and the blaze of the sun on the barren ridges in the neighbourhood of the town, is insupportable—wherefore the people have named them the fire mountains"[1]

One of its distinctive features is the depression, to some 150 or 200 feet below the level of the sea, of the central districts of Turfán and Kara-Khoja. This is one of the driest as well as one of the hottest portions of Eastern Turkistan, and the one where the greatest ingenuity of the inhabitants both ancient and modern, has been displayed in irrigating the land so as to render it habitable. Mirza Haidar relates the personal exertions of Yaas Khan (though these were not particularly ingenious) to provide water for the cultivation of the land; but possibly the tradition regarding Yaas Khan's manual labours is not intended to be taken literally. The attention of modern travellers has been attracted by the remains of aqueducts and systems of wells, showing how dependent the population was, and is, on artificial irrigation. Thus Dr Regel mentions the reservoirs where water from the mountains is stored, and the underground canals that lead it to the town, and serve also as dwelling-places for the inhabitants, during the fierce heat of summer.[2] Captain F. E. Younghusband found the modern city of Turfán surrounded by lines of pits upwards of a hundred feet in depth—the lines extending for several miles into the desert.[3]

In contrast to the low-lying group of cases in the burning desert, and among the "fire hills, there rise immediately to the north, the eastern ranges of the Tian Shan, with summits reaching to 12,000 or 14,000 feet above the sea, and capped with eternal snow. One of these is the famous Bogdo-Ula of the Mongols and Kalmiks, or the Tengri-Tágh of the Kirghiz; a mountain that, for ages past, has been held sacred by the pastoral tribes that have inhabited the regions around, and whose people have venerated it, no doubt, because it is the

[1] Bretschneider ii. p. 202.
[2] Petermann's *Mittheilungen* 1880, p. 205; *P. R. G. S.* 1888, p. 408.

central and most commanding feature of their landscape, and the parent of many of the streams that bring them life.

Yet, in spite of its natural drawbacks of heat and drought, the country appears to have supported, at times during its history, a fairly large population, and to have been one of the chief centres of the Buddhists in the earlier centuries of the Middle Ages; for these communities have left many relics behind them, not only in the shape of buildings, but also of inscriptions and objects of art. The Russian traveller Grijmailo speaks of a place called Singim, lying to the south of Lu-ko-tsin (the old Lan-Chông),[1] where "lon lots enclosed in horn and wooden boxes," and bearing ancient writings in a language now unknown, are still, from time to time, unearthed,[2] while Dr. Regel, again, tells us of vast ruins at a short distance to the south-east of modern Kara-Khoja (the Ho-Chao of the Chinese), to which he gives the name of 'Old Turfán,' but which are more likely to be those of ancient Kara-Khoja. These remains are described as covering a large tract of ground, with massive walls, gates and bastions besides underground passages, vaulted and arched; the whole bearing witness to a high development of architectural knowledge He mentions also other ruins of a similar kind, lying to the south of the town of Turfán. From the Ming history too, we learn that to the east of Ho-Chao there stand the ruins of a city of the past, which are regarded as remains of the ancient Uighur capital, Kao-Chang, and with regard to the aspect of the place in the days of the Mings, the author adds that there were in Ho-Chao more Buddhist temples than dwelling-houses of the people.[3]

With the gradual break up of the power of the Moghuls towards the end of the sixteenth century, and the rise of the Manchu dynasty in China in the first half of the seventeenth, the Khanate of Ughuristán fell more and more under the influence of China For a time, during the eighteenth century, the Kalmáks, with the help of the Tibetans, obtained a hold over it, but this was of short duration, and on their final subjugation by the Manchus, about 1755, the whole country

In Dr. Regel's map this place is marked as a thirty-six miles to the north-west of La-ko-tsi (Turfán), an instance of how uncertain our information is regarding these regions. (See map in Petermann, 1881, Band 27, No. X)

[1] *P. R. G. S.*, 1881, p. 224

[2] *Loc. cit.*, p. 207.

[3] Bretschneider, ii., p. 187.

became Chinese territory. In the intervals, however, several petty principalities arose within its limits, and some of these appear to have had for their chiefs, Musulman Khans who claimed descent from the Moghuls. It was probably to one of those that the Manchu emperor Shun-Chi alluded, when in his rescript of 1711 (mentioned above) he spoke of his tributary as a descendant of 'Chu-hu-tai.'

SECTION VI.

THE "TÁRIKH-I-RASHIDI" AND AFTER.

Kingdoms are shrunk to provinces, and chains
Clank over sceptred cities, nations melt
From power's high pinnacle, when they have felt
The sunshine for a while, and downward go,
Like lawine loosened from the mountain's belt.
—*Childe Harold* iv, 12

What is chiefly wanting to throw light on Mirza Haidar's history, is the narrative of some judicious European traveller—a contemporary, or nearly so—who might have afforded an outside view of the state of Central Asia at the period in question, and thus have brought some of our author's statements into touch with Western aspects of history. The *Tárikh-i-Rashidi* refers, for the most part, to the darkest times in the annals of the inner Asiatic States: when strife and disorder prevailed, and no commanding personality or stable dynasty existed in any quarter, to check confusion and form a centre of security. In the days of Chingiz and his immediate successors, Mongol rule was supreme over the greater part of Central Asia and China. The Khans were in most respects uncouth and uncivilised, but their government was a vigorous and consistent one while it lasted. They had confidence in their strength, and were, for that reason probably, liberal and tolerant in their general policy, when dealing with the many foreign nations with whom they came in contact. They knew, also, how to ensure order in their own possessions, and thus attracted envoys, merchants, and missionaries, who have been the means (whatever it may be worth) of handing them down in history with perhaps their best side foremost.

The decay of Mongol authority and the rise of Musulman influence, changed all this in the more westerly regions, while, on the side of China, the accession of an unwarlike dynasty tended to weakness at the extremities of the empire, and laid open large tracts of the interior of the continent to the misrule of unstable and lawless tribes, whose chiefs, while unable to

gain permanency for themselves, repelled all intercourse with civilised nations, and were the means only of intensifying the barbarism of their people. For a time, towards the end of the fourteenth century and the early part of the fifteenth, the ascendency of Timúr and his immediate descendants served, to some extent, an agency for the preservation of order, and perhaps prevented the tide of nomad barbarism from overwhelming the whole of the best parts of Central Asia. Except for this check, it is probable that the relapse into barbarism would have been even more lasting than it was, and would have had more far-reaching results. But the times of Timúr and Ulugh Beg were stormy ones, and had little of the steadying influences of those of the Mongols. Being Musulmán rulers, the advance of Islám, and the intolerance that always goes hand in hand with that system of religion and government, was encouraged, so that as soon as the secular authority of the Timúrí began to weaken, the religious element grew stronger and came to the front. Saints and religious pretenders increased in numbers, and nothing is more clear in Mirza Haidar's history than the influence they gained in all political affairs. Each Khán and Chief, besides many of the leading Amirs he tells us, retained at their headquarters one or more of these advisers; and he shows how in his own case, and in that of his master, said Khán, they gained an altogether inordinate degree of control over their patrons. Even such barbarous tyrants as Abú Bakr of Kashghar, and the most blood-thirsty of the Uzbeg chiefs, seem to have honoured them with superstitious reverence, and to have accepted their guidance. It was in deference, apparently, to the teachings of this class, and under the pretence of religious zeal, that all the worst deeds of these potentates were done—that plundering expeditions assumed the name of holy wars, that murders, prompted in reality by fear or revenge, were committed under priestly sanction, and that wholesale slavery was carried on as a meritorious measure of conversion from infidelity.

Under such conditions as these Central Asia must have been impenetrable to European travellers, whether missionaries or merchants, while it is impossible to imagine that any European monarch would depute envoys to such rulers as Shaibání Khán or Mirza Abú Bakr, as they had done to the Mongol Khákáns and to Timúr. Even when these personages had disappeared, Uzbegs, Uzbeg-Kazáks, and Kirghiz, acting under chiefs whose

names are scarcely known in history (but who were to the full as rude and lawless), were always at war with each other or with their neighbours. They kept the whole of the country north of the Sir and the Tian Shan in a state of tumult, and consequently closed to all foreign intercourse, whilst they were, besides, the means of weakening the governments—such as they were—of Khorasán, Transoxiana, and Alti-Shahr, and assisted in cutting them off from the West. In the days of the grandsons and early successors of Chingiz Khan, we find envoys like Plano Carpini and Rubruk travelling Asia with safety from the Ural to the northern confines of Mongolia, and there finding Europeans in the service of the Khákáns; the Polos could march backwards and forwards from the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf, to China, and carry with them their wares in security; while preaching friars and missionaries, such as Odoric of Pordenone, John of Marignolli, William of Modena, and their companions, were tolerated not only as travellers, but as propagandists.

These are only a few among those whose names happen to have been preserved in documents which they, or their friends, left behind them, and which have survived till modern times. But for one who committed his experiences to writing, there must have been many of the same class who attempted nothing in the shape of a record, and as many more whose journals, letters, or what not, have been lost during the intervening ages, or which have not yet come to light. In short, all that we know of the only part of the Mongol period, or from the middle of the thirteenth century to nearly the middle of the fourteenth, points to order and security, and thus to a constant intercourse with the West and Europe. But for the whole of what may be called the authentic period of Mirza Haidar's history *i.e.*, from the second half of the fourteenth century until it closes in the middle of the sixteenth—not a single instance can be mentioned of a European having visited any of the regions of Central Asia, east of Samarkand.

If any there were, no vestige of them has survived, indeed, the party of missionaries, twenty in number, with six lay companions, who had been sent forth from Avignon in 1333 under Friar Nicholas, as Bishop of Cambulu (Khan Báligh), can only be traced as far as Almálig., and [redacted] never to have been heard of later than 1338.[1] The latter date would fall

[1] See *Cathay*, pp. 172 and 188–9.

within the reign of the Chaghatai Khan, Buzun, and at a time when no Khan was reigning in Moghulistan. "As far as can be gathered from the imperfect chronology of those times as furnished by Mirza Haidar's history, Isán Buga, the first Moghul Khan, was already dead and the second Tughlak Timur, had not yet succeeded him. Probably Amir Hulagu the Dughlát, was the *Ulusbeg*, or chief of the tribe and he, as we are told was a Musulman of very recent date. Whether the disappearance of the Amirs had any connection with the rise of Islam in the country at that time, or with the general disorder that prevailed, can only be a matter of conjecture. All that is certain is that no other European is heard of in Central Asia till the embassy of Ruy Gonzalez Clavijo from Henry III. of Spain to the Court of Timur, which reached Samarkand in 1404, or about a year before Timur's death. The narrative of this embassy however, does not relate to the part of Central Asia now alluded to, but to the centre of the kingdoms, mentioned above, as forming a barrier against the misrule of the barbarous nomads further east. Don Ruy's narrative therefore cannot be utilised to throw light on the obscurities of Mirza Haidar's history, for all but the *Tárikh-i-Rashídi* relates concerning Transoxiana is amply elucidated by other Musulman chronicles, and among them some of the best. More properly it should be said that from the middle of the fourteenth century no European is heard of in eastern Central Asia till some fifty and odd years after the death of Mirza Haidar, and when the kingdom of the Moghul Khans, having split up into a number of small States, was, to all intents and purposes, at the end of its existence.

And if there were no European spectators to review what was passing in eastern Central Asia, neither does there appear to have been any Musulman annalist contemporary, or even nearly so, with our author, who devoted attention to the Moghul Khanates during this dark period. At any rate, I have met with no writer who has done more than allude to them casually. Perhaps the book which casts the most light on the country and the times, is the *Zafar-Náma* of Sharaf-ud-Din Ali, Yazdi. As one of the historians of Timur's reign, and the chronicler of his campaigns in Moghulistan, Sharaf-ud-Din has necessarily become an authority on the period ending with the date of Timur's death, although he had never set himself the special task of writing a history of Moghulistan and its

Khans. He merely speaks of those against whom his hero, Timur, carried on campaigns or had other direct dealings with, but he in no way professes to write the story of the Moghuls for any period. Thus, his narrative ends about a hundred and twenty years before Mirza Haidar was of an age to begin collecting the traditions, which constitute the groundwork of much of the early part of his own book; and for this interval, as well as for the subsequent quarter of a century (about) over which his life extended, it may be said, I think, that he is the sole Musulman authority for the history of the Moghuls What the Chinese have recorded is brief and incidental only, as we have seen. Where, however, Sharaf-ud-Din occupied himself with Moghulistan and events connected with it in the neighbouring regions, Mirza Haidar has given no account of his own—he trusted entirely to the Yazdi author, and has simply copied his work The brief period that falls between the opening date of the *Tárikh-i-Rashidi*, and the point where the *Zafar-Náma* takes up the narrative, is dealt with to some slight extent by other Musulman authors, though Mirza Haidar gives his own version of it as founded on the traditions of his ancestors.

It may be regarded, therefore, that his history is the only work we have, which deals with the period subsequent to the accounts furnished by the *Zafar-Náma*—or from the early years of the fifteenth century to the middle of the sixteenth; while for this epoch Mirza Haidar's evidence is unsupported by any European witness, and only very partially attested to by the Chinese annalists. This solitary, individual character of the book may perhaps enhance its value as history, and render it indispensable as a reference for the interval where it stands alone; but it must be admitted that it would have had a still higher value had it been illustrated by outside commentary, and had it been connected with Western countries and events by a link of foreign testimony. If, in other words, some European spectator, regarding matters from a different point of view from that of Mirza Haidar, had done for him what Plano Carpini and Rubruk chanced to do for the *Jahán Kushai* of Juvaini, or Marco Polo for the field covered by authors who treat of the various countries of Asia in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the history of the times might have been worked out to better purpose than is the case now, and fewer doubtful points left unelucidated.

The sequel to the *Tárikh-i-Rashidi* is, perhaps, scarcely a subject which should encumber this Introduction yet it may be worth while to sketch very briefly an outline of what took place in Moghulistan and Eastern Turkistan after the last pages of the book were written. At that time the author had been some six years regent of Kashmir, and he had already been absent from the kingdom of the Moghuls for a still longer term of years, but he continued, it would seem, to keep up communication with his friends in Kashghar till the end and evidently took a deep interest in all that was happening there. So much was this the case, that in the last recorded chapters of his book[1] though he omits much that might have been worthy of notice regarding the events that were passing around him in Kashmir, he gives some particulars of the course of affairs in what may be called his own country.

At the time when he left it to conduct Sa'íd Khan's expedition into Ladak, Tibet and Kashmir, the Kirghiz and the Shaibání Uzbegs, who were the most inveterate enemies of his people, had been so far checked as to admit of the Khan turning his attention to other quarters. Still they were only checked and by no means subdued: in fact, their power was increasing as that of the Moghuls declined, and very shortly after Said Khan's eldest son, Rashid Sultan, came into possession of his father's kingdom, wars broke out afresh with the Kirghiz, and this time also with the Kazák Uzbegs. Again the Khan is said to have been victorious, and is described as defeating the Uzbegs in more than one great battle; but these victories, like the earlier ones, were more shocks to the enemy, and it became evident that during Rashid's reign they gained in strength and became practically masters of the greater part, if not the whole, of Moghulistan, while the territory of the Khans became almost entirely confined to the districts of Alti-Shahr.

This Rashid Sultan (otherwise Abdu'r Rashid Khan) succeeded his father in 1533, and long outlasted our author, for the length of his reign is given by Amin Ahmad Rázi, in the *Haft Iklim* as thirty-three *hejra* years, which would bring the date of his death to 973 H., or 1565 A.D. As Ahmad Rázi's account of the dynasty, though exceedingly brief, is the only one that approaches a consecutive story, it may be followed here.

[1] Vide, p. [illegible].

[2] For fragments of the *Haft Iklim* see Quatremère, *Notices et Extraits*, t. v., pp. 71, *seq.*

He tells us that Rashid had thirteen sons, the eldest of whom was named Abdul Latif This prince is extolled for his bravery, and is said to have been sent several times, by his father, into Moghulistan, to oppose the Kirghiz and the Kazáks, and that, though he was always victorious over his enemies, he lost his life during the wars.[1] His brother Abdul Karim who was reigning in 1593, when Ahmad Rázi wrote, ■ also praised for his courage and accomplishments, after the manner of Asiatic writers. Abdul Rahim, the third son, is stated to have left the country without his father's consent and to have led an expedition into Tibet, where he was killed; while the fourth, named Abdul Aziz, died a natural death at the age of sixteen. The fifth son's name was Adham Sultan, but he was known as Sufi Sultan He had been made governor of Kashghar, by his father, and retained the post for sixteen years, but he survived the latter only for a short time He appears to have been succeeded at Kashghar by his brother, Muhammad Sultan, the sixth son of Rashid, who was governor of that place at the date of the completion of the *Haft Iklim*.[2] The seventh was called Muhammad Báki, but nothing is recorded of him The eighth was Kamish Sultan, who had dissensions with his brother Abdul Karim, and retired to India, where he was received with every honour, presumably by the Chaghatais. He left two children, who were still alive when Ahmad Rázi wrote his history. Of the five remaining sons of Rashid Sultan nothing is related, the names of three only are

[1] Haidar, the author of the *Zubdat-ut-Tawárikh*, says that Abdul Latif was killed at the age of twenty-nine in a fight with "Ton Nazar Khan, sovereign of the Kirghiz" "in the same action," "in the year 988 the Kazák-Kirghiz (= White Horde) were ruled by one Ak Nazar, who is perhaps the person intended by "Ton Nazar." (See *Not. et Extraits*, xiv, p. 511 and Howorth, I. pp. 632 ff.)

[2] Since completing this introduction I have been favoured, through the good offices of Capt. P. E. Younghusband with the loan of some valuable papers lately in the late Mr. R. B. Shaw, among which I find the following note referring evidently to this sixth son of Abdur Rashid, although called "Khan" and not "Sultan." It runs. "A *Yarligh*, or title-deed, is still in existence granted by Muhammad Khan, son of Abdul Rashid, ■ reigning sovereign which confers the dignity of *Yarkhan* or 'Farkhan' on a certain Mirdad Pazil of 'Piski.' It is dated in Kashgar in H. 996 = A.D. 1587." The year 916, however, fell chiefly in 1588—*i.e.* from Dec. 2, 1587, to Nov. 20, 1588

Again with reference to Abdul Rahim, the third son, Mr. Shaw has noted certain title-deeds which indicate that he was governor of Yarkand in 1011 H. (1602–3 A.D.), and of Kuchar in 1017 (1608–9) It also appears from these notes, that several grandsons of Abdur Rashid wielded power of some kind in the various districts of Eastern Turkistan, down to ■ the middle of the seventeenth century

mentioned ■ Ulus Sultan, Aruf Sultan, and Adul Rahim Sultan.

From this meagre account, little can be gathered regarding the course of events during the forty-four years that followed on the close of Mirzá Haidar's work.[1] The only two points that seem clear are, that there was much contention with the Kirghiz and a tendency towards subdivision of the Khanate. At length, however, we come to a ray of light (though, alas, too late to be of great value) shed by a European traveller; for the next glimpse we get of the Moghuls and their State is from the narrative of the Portuguese missionary Benedict Goës, which was mentioned, in the last chapter, as having been partially rescued from oblivion by Father Matthew Ricci of the Jesuit mission at Peking.

Goës, in seeking a road to China, from Agra and Lahore, passed through Afghanistan and over the Pamirs, and reached Yarkand towards the end of 1603. Here he remained for about a year, praying, during that interval, a brief visit to Khotan. After this he proceeded, with many delays, eastward, through Aksu, Chálish (the modern Karashahr) Turfán and Kamul, to Suchow on the western frontier of China, where he died in April 1607. He speaks of Yarkand as the capital of the kingdom of Kashghar, and it was there that resided "the king" whose name was Muhammad Khan. How far this Khan's authority extended is nowhere stated, but the pass with which he furnished Goës' party, for their journey eastward, seems to have been respected, at any rate, as far as Kuchar. Aksu is particularly mentioned as "a town of the kingdom of Cascar" (Kashghar), and the chief there is described as a nephew of the king's, and only twelve years of age; but he is not named. The territory of "Cachis" (Chálish) was governed by an illegitimate son of the king of Kashghar; but here again the traveller furnishes no name, and gives no indication of whether the territory was a dependency, or not, of Muhammad Khan's. Similarly, when mentioning Khotan, he merely alludes to "the prince of Quotan," but gives no name or other information regarding him. Thus the only personage whose name can be identified from Goës' narrative, is Muhammad Khan, who

[1] Dr Bellew's memoranda derived from the *Tarikh-i-Khanan Chaghatáiya* (which, however, he says he had not seen), and from personal inquiries, to contain clearly *inter alia*, a description of the ruins, &c., which the slight information afforded by Ahmad Rávi in the *Haft Iklim*.—*Yarkand Report*, pp. 171–5.

appears to be the 'Muhammad Sultan' of Ahmad Rázi's list, and the sixth son of Rashid Sultan. This, at any rate, seems possible as far as dates are concerned, though Ahmad Rázi states that Abdul Karim (the second son of Rashid) was the reigning Khan in 1593, and Muhammad Sultan only governor of Kashghar meaning, presumably, the town and district of that name, but not the entire Khanate. Ten years, however, had passed between the date when Ahmad Rázi wrote and that of Goes' visit to the country. It is just possible, therefore, that Muhammad Sultan may have succeeded his elder brother during the interval, and in that case he would, according to the ordinary custom, have added the title of "Khan" to his name.

The only other name that occurs in the history of Eastern Turkistan as that of a ruler of Kashghar, is one Ismail Khan, who was apparently the last of all the Moghuls to fill that position, if indeed, he was a ruler, or 'Khan,' in the proper sense of the word. It would seem from Mr Shaw's fragmentary papers, mentioned in note 2, p. 121, above, that he was a great-grandson of Rashid Sultan, and he is shown in this degree, in the genealogical table at the end of Section II of this Introduction. He must have lived in the third quarter of the seventeenth century when the Khwájas held the real and practical authority in the State; while at a somewhat earlier date we hear of one Muhammad Khan as governor at Yarkand, Abdulla at Khotan, Khudabanda at Aksu, and a certain Abdul Rashid in the districts of Kuchar and Turfán.[1] But how these personages were descended we are not told. It is probable that all were grandsons or great-grandsons of Rashid Sultan, but it cannot be so said for certain.

Of the Eastern Khanate, or Urghuristán, nothing is to be gleaned from any Musulman author accessible to me, subsequent to the date of Mirza Haidar's history. A short fragment regarding the succession of the Khans, however, is to be found in Dr. Bretschneider's extracts from the Chinese history of the Mings. It is related there that on Mansur Khan's death, in 1545, he designated his oldest son, Sha (Shah Khan), to be his successor; but Sha's brother Ma-hei-ma (Muhammad) laid claim to the throne, and though he did not

[1] See Bellew, *Yarkand Report*, p. 175, and Vah-Khanoff's *Russians in C. Asia*, p. 169.

succeed in obtaining it, took possession of a part of Hami a province which was included in his brother's dominions.[1] Afterwards he allied himself with the 'Wa-la" (the Oirát or Kalmáks), and with their assistance attacked Shah Khan

No date for this last event is given, nor is the result of the attack mentioned, it is not clear, therefore, whether he gained the throne by force, or by what means All that is vouchsafed is that Shah Khan died in 1570 and was succeeded on "the throne of Tulutan" (Tu-lún) by Mi-han-na, while three other brothers revolted against him One of these was named So-loi (Suh), of whom it is recorded that he "aspired to the crown," called himself Su-tan (Sultan), and that he sent an embassy to China.[2]

As the Khans and their descendants settled to their full, the Kirghiz began to descend into the lowlands of Alti-Shahr and interfere, directly, in the affairs of their old opponents. They were, in some cases, the supporters of influential parties, or Khwájas, who were rapidly acquiring an influence that was to gain for them the sovereign power in the country, but without attempting here to follow all the gradual changes that brought about the establishment of these new rulers, it may be said generally, that before the middle of the seventeenth century the priests and saintly teachers, spoken of above, had acquired so great an authority that the governing power of the country was rapidly passing into their hands Their ascendency was the direct result of the recognition they had received for some generations past from the superstitious Khans and Amirs of all the surrounding countries, and it is hardly a matter for surprise that their power, as a class, should develop, or rise, when the authority of the dynastic chiefs in Eastern Turkistan was decaying, they should take advantage of the situation to build up a government of their own. As Khwájas, or reputed descendants of the Prophet, their lineage was undoubted, and ranked, in the estimation of Muslman zealots, far in advance of that of any of the Khans or Sultans who held the secular power.

[1] Haidar Dughlát's account of all these events, which is chiefly to the point as showing the extent of the country, I quoted in the name Beg Abád, as being the boundary of the Dughlát Kingdom (*Mid Eastern Researches*, ii, p 182)

[2] *Ib* i., p 198 If the dates are correct, this Sultan must be the personage of that name mentioned in the Anwár Rábi, a History of Kashgar, for which he was imprisoned by Yár-Muhammad Khán, shortly after 1566

They had no special nationality, but formed a class or brotherhood of devotees, banded together in aim and design, though wandering or dwelling, separately, in all the countries of Central Asia. They became expounders of the Musulman law, and the executive authority (such as it was) dare not oppose them; they were also workers of miracles and healers of the sick, and in these capacities obtained a hold over the minds of the mass of the people. "Their tombs," Dr. Bellew tells us, "were converted into sacred shrines endowed with all sorts of munificent virtues. Rich grants of land were apportioned by successive Khans for the support of their establishments, whose presiding elders in return dispensed, in the name of their patron saint, *endless favours and bounties to an illiterate and superstitious* peasantry."[1]

The Khwájas, in short, were a class that had been evolved by all that had gone before, during the rule of the Moghul Khans—a rule that had begun with the raiding and lawlessness of irresponsible nomads, and had ended with the hypocrisy and fanaticism that usually mark a people incapable of attaining to any degree of civilisation. In the Khwájas they unconsciously raised up rivals who were to displace their house, while these, within little over a century, had, for much the same reasons as their predecessors, to quit the stage and make room for others. They had scarcely begun to wield the power that had fallen into their hands when, as is the case with most governments and dynasties of Asia, discord began to spring up among them, and their brotherhood was divided into two opposing camps. One of these was known as the party of the "White Mountain," and the other as that of the "Black Mountain"—the *Ak-tághlik* and the *Kara-tághlik*. Their feuds were at first based on religious dissensions, but this rendered them none the less bitter: they soon developed into political strife, which would speedily have brought about the end of their rule, but for the support that both parties obtained from the Kirghiz. The White mountaineers summoned the nomad clans from Moghulistan, while the Black mountaineers called in those from the Pamir region; and though the White party, under the leadership of the celebrated saint, Khwája Hidáyat Ullah (better known as Hazrat Afák) obtained the upper hand for a time towards the end of the seventeenth century, their perpetual contentions resulted in the entire country falling first into the

[1] *Yarkand Report*, p. 174.

hands of the Kalmáks, and finally passing to the rule of the Manchu Emperors of China.

Thus the Kirghiz were amply avenged on their ancient enemies, and began to form the great confederacies that have endured to the present day.

They and their kinsmen, the Kazáks, not only prospered in their own way, but multiplied, so that at the present time they represent a large section of the population in the Russian Asiatic dominions. Both families are found spread over the whole of the provinces of Central Asia, north of the Sir and the western Tian Shan, in large, if somewhat scattered, communities. Thus, of the Kirghiz proper (the 'Black,' or 'Hill,' Kirghiz of the Russians), the estimates compiled by Mr. P. Lerch in 1873, from various sources, show a total of about 176,000 persons,[1] while a good many more, for whom no numerical estimate is forthcoming, are known to exist in the Chinese provinces to the east of the Russian possessions, and in the hill tracts of Southern Farghána and the Pamirs. The Kazáks—the Uzbeg-Kazák of Mirza Haidar—are even more numerous. For those who are still nomadic in their mode of life, sufficiently ample statistics were available, about twenty years ago, to enable Mr. Lerch to sum up their total numbers, in Russian territory, as some 867,000 souls. But to this must on also, some addition would have to be made for communities living in Chinese territory. Moreover, the figures furnished refer only to the nomads among both the Kazák and the so-called Kirghiz proper. There are, however, sections of settled Kazáks who are fairly numerous in the Zarafshán valley, Kuráma, etc., but they are so much intermingled with the Uzbegs and Tájiks of those regions, that their strength was not (at the time Mr. Lerch wrote) to be ascertained with any degree of certainty.[2]

At the same time the other tribal enemies of the Moghuls—the Uzbegs proper who had become established in Transoxiana since the early part of the sixteenth century, continued their sway under the dynasty then founded, down to a date about coeval with the break up of the Moghul kingdom; while, indirectly and after many vicissitudes, they gave rise to the line of Bokhara Khans now reigning. Mirza Haidar's own

[1] This figure does not include those dwelling in the Semiryé circle. For these no estimates are obtainable.

[2] See *Russische Revue*, 1872, Heft i., pp. 26–9 and 30.

successors in Kashmir are, for some thirty-five years subsequent to his time, to be found among the members of the families, to whose weakness and incapacity he owed his own successful regency of nearly eleven years ■ term not often reached, about that period, by any of the native chiefs. After his death, the same internal strife and disorder prevailed, that had been habitual for many years before his government began, so that no less than eight kings are recorded to have reigned between the years 1551 and 1587, when Akbar stepped in and finally annexed the country to the dominions of the Chaghatais in India.

A small residue of the Moghuls still exists among the Turki inhabitants of Eastern Turkistan. The number is trifling indeed, and they are scattered chiefly among the northern towns, where, however, they form no separate communities; on *the contrary, they are so much mixed in blood that no one but* their immediate neighbours and associates are aware of any difference in their origin to that of the people around them. Still, a difference is so far acknowledged that they are called, and call themselves, Moghuls. In this capacity it must be said, according to the testimony of Dr. Bellew, that they enjoy very little respect· rather they are given over to the meanest modes of life, and are looked down upon ■ ■ inferior people.[1] It ■ possible that some may also exist in Western Turkistan, Farghána or Transoxiana, but I know of no mention of them in these countries. In the northern Hazára country, and on the Indian frontier of Afghanistan (among the divisions of the Afridis) we find sub-tribes still flourishing under the name of *Mongol* or *Mangal*, who, Sir H. Howorth believes, may very possibly be remnants of the Mongols, and may thus represent the Moghuls of ■ later date.[2] Just as the Hazáras still form ■ people apart, having descended from Mongol invaders of the country they now inhabit, it may also be that the Mangals are a relic of some other Mongolian army which overran Afghanistan in the days of Chingiz or one of his successors. But whether the features and language of the Mangals show any trace of such an origin, I have no information.

[1] *Yarkand Report*, pp 81, 174.

[2] Dr. Bellew was of the same opinion. He mentions an early conquest of the Afridi country by "Turkish tribes," and speaks of the Mangals as a "Mongol ■ Chagatai-Turki clan,' who became "settled about the Pi'var, and the head waters of the Kuram river" (See *Races of Afghanistan*, pp. 78–9, and 102.

Perhaps it may be in India that Moghuls, of one variety or another, are more numerously represented than elsewhere at the present day. In the course of the operations connected with the compilation of the census of the Panjáb, in 1868, Mr. Denzil Ibbetson found large numbers of people claiming the name of Moghul, many of whom, though perhaps descended from the tribesmen who entered India at the time of Bábar or Humayun, can scarcely owe their origin to the Moghuls of Moghulistán the true Moghul *Ulus* of Mirza Haidar. Such as they are, however, they are chiefly to be found in the neighbourhood of Delhi, in the Rawal Pindi division, and on the routes that cross the northern frontiers of the province. In those localities they are divided into numerous sub-tribes, but of real Moghuls among them, only those calling themselves Chaghatai and Barlás seem to be numerously represented. For the former, Mr Ibbetson gives 23,753 as the total number, and of the latter 12,137[1]. But how far they have retained the characteristics of their race, or whether, in their changed condition, they would be recognised as the blood relations of the present Mongols of Mongolia, or even of the Hazára of Afghanistán, there is nothing to show. Still something of the Mongoloid type must remain, it would seem, to support their individuality as a tribe.

On the frontiers of India, apparently, as in Eastern Turkistan, the descendants of the Moghuls do not bear a good name; but with the people of a tribe that has fallen from a position of supremacy, and one that at no time has had any very high qualities to recommend it, this is perhaps not surprising. The national character of a community would naturally degenerate with the loss of political and military power, and in the absence of a consciousness among its members that they belonged to a ruling caste. The more remarkable circumstance is that the race, when transplanted to a foreign country as populous as India, should have endured at all, and that it should still show any signs of individuality. The fact that Moghuls of any variety should yet remain as a people, is one more piece of evidence which may be added to those mentioned in Section IV above, that many hundreds of years are needed to eradicate the Mongol type, or to blot out its racial affinities, even when overlaid by the superior numbers of an alien nation.

[1] *Punjab Census Report*, 1881, I., p. 277.

PROLOGUE

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE MERCIFUL, THE CLEMENT

It is fitting that the opening of a royal history, and the beginning of a book of victory and good fortune, should be the praise and glory of that Monarch, the length and breadth of whose kingdom, (according to the words, "Say verily God ▬ the holder of the Empire,") is defended and preserved from change and decay, and whose palace is securely guarded from the evil of destruction and ruin

"He setteth upon the throne whomsoever He will," is a testimony to His glorious unity, "He deposes whomsoever He will," is a proof of the permanence of His kingdom.

Verse 6] And all that is 'twixt earth and sky,
The sun and moon, the east and west,
From Lahor to far Turkistan,
The mighty conquerors of the earth
Have girt the belt of service on,
Prepared to do their Lord's behest.

The splendour of His greatness is beyond the reach of the contentions of friends or adversaries, and the glory of His omnipotence is exempt from the pretentious claims of passionate and dissentient men.

The kings of the earth place the forehead of helplessness and impotence upon the dust of submission and humility at the palace of His glory; and the Khákáns powerful as the heavens standing upon the threshold of the portal of His divinity, stretch forth the hand of humility, supplication and devotion.

"*Amma bád.* Let it not be concealed from the minds of the wise that the Koran, which is the greatest of the miracles of Muhammad, is divided into three sections The first contains the declaration of the Unity of God; the second the statutes of the Holy Law of Muhammad, and the third historical matter, such as the lives of the Prophets. Thus, we see, ▬ third of this book (none but the clean shall touch it) is intended to teach the history

o just gonstatione, and herom lies l ohe n s pre f of the oxcellence of the science of history. Moreover, all are agreed concerning the utility of history, and next after this, they, all the peoples of the world have studied it, and have handed and handed down traditions of their forefathers of which they give examples and upon which they rely.

For instance, the Turks, in their transactions, as well as in their ordinary intercourse, employ as a model the traditions and chronicles of their ancestors

Consequently I, the least of God's servants, Muhammad Haidar, son of Muhammad Husain Kurkán known familiarly as Mirza Haidar—notwithstanding my ignorance and want of skill, felt it my duty to undertake this difficult task. For much time has already passed since the Kurkáns of the Moghuls were driven from the towns of the civilised world, and have had to content themselves with dwellings in the desert On this account they have written no history of themselves, but have their ancestral records in oral tradition

At this present date 907 A.H. there remains not one among them who knows these traditions, and my boldness in attempting this lofty work is due to the consideration that, did I not make the venture, the story of the Mughal Khákáns would be blotted from the pages of the world's history. The more I considered the matter, the more conscious I became of my inability to write an eloquent and ornate preface. Verses . . . *For this reason, and in order to give my book an auspicious opening,* I have entitled the Prolegomena to the *Zafar Náma* of Sharaf-ul-Din Ali Yazdi, as I have called it "*Zafar Náma*." The *Zafar Náma* contains a history of the Moghuls and their Khákáns, from Chingiz Khán to Tughluk Timur Khán, but of their successors this latter no mention is made, except where the context required it.

I begin my history with the reign of Tughluk Timur Khán for three reasons (1.) That which had happened before the time of Tughluk Timur Khán had been already recorded, but no account had been written of events which took place after his time, and which, not being contained in any history, ought to be written. But to write of the times preceding Tughluk Timur Khán, when we have already that other excellent history, the *Zafar-Náma*, would be like lugging coals on the margin of the Euphrates (2.) None of his successors have attained to so great a degree of pre-eminence, or acquired so extensive a dominion, as Tughluk Timur Khán. (3.) He was one of the Moghul Khákáns who were converted to Islám, and during his reign the Moghuls, having withdrawn their necks from the yoke of Unbelief, entered into that state of freedom in Islám enjoyed by all Musulmáns In these

reasons, this history is dedicated to his illustrious name and his most noble memory.

And for three chief reasons, out of many, I have called this book the *Táríkh i Rashidí*

1. It was Maulánú Arshad-ud-Dín who converted Tughluk Timur to Islám, as will be recounted hereafter on.

2. Although before the time of Tughluk Timur, Barák Khán, and after Barák Khán, Kabak Khán, had become Musulmáns, neither these Khákáns nor the Moghul people had had a knowledge of the *Rushd*, or "True Road to Salvation," but their natures had remained base, and they had continued on the road that leads to Hell. But a full knowledge of the *Rushd* fell to the lot of the enlightened Tughluk Timur and his happy people. And inasmuch as the beginning of this history will deal with this matter, the suitability of the title *Rashidí* is evident

3 Since at the present date, Abdu Rashíd the last of the Moghul Khákáns, is reigning, and since this book has been dedicated to, and written for, him, the reason for the title, *Táríkh-i-Rashidí* is still more apparent.

CONTENTS OF THIS BOOK

It is divided into two Parts [*Daftar*].

Part I.—From the beginning of the reign of Tughluk Timur Khán to the time of Abdu Rashíd, who is still reigning.

Part II.—Concerning myself and what I have seen and known of the Sultáns and Khákáns of the Uzbeg, the Chaghatái and others; and in fact, everything, that happened during my lifetime.

I thank God that He has, in His gracious mercy, made me absolutely independent of the Moghuls For though the Khákáns of that tribe are of my own race, nay, are my own cousins, I received very bad treatment at their hands a matter of which I shall speak in the Second Part.

[Verses . . .

The ancestors of my mother and of my father's mother have for several generations back, been related, on the paternal side, to the Khákáns. At the age of sixteen,[1] having just been left an orphan, I went to the court of Sultan Said Khán, who by his fatherly kindness, greatly alleviated my grief, he showed me so much attention and favour, that I became an object of envy to his brothers and sons. I passed twenty-four years at his court, living a life of luxury and splendour and acquiring, under his instruction and guidance, many accomplishments and much learning. In the

[1] It was in 920 H., or 1514 A.D. that the author first joined Sultan Said Khán, of Káshghar

arts of calligraphy, reading making verses, epistolary style *and* painting and illuminating I became not only established, but remarkable. Likewise in such crafts as metal-engraving, jewellers and goldsmith's work, and lory and armour making, also in the construction of arrows, spear heads and daggers, gilding and many other things which I would take too long to enumerate. In all of these, the masters of each could teach me nought. And he was the outcome of having attained to the Khán. Then, amid the affairs of the State, and my participation in planning campaigns and forays *Kardi*, in archery, in hunting, in the training of falcons and in everything helpful to the government of a kingdom, the Khán was my instructor and patron. Indeed, in most of the adventurous pursuits and studies he was my only instructor.

Although I have received from him more than the most possible treatment, I will not mention them in detail; and whether the Khán's son accept this small work or reject it, I will, all the same, dedicate it to him, in order that he may have a memorial of me and that the world may have a remembrance of him. And the title of this book is derived from his illustrious name, which is, Khiḍr bn Alkhiḍr usultán bn usultán al mu'awwil ala Allah al Malik Almuzaffar Abd-ul-Fatah Khán bin Sultán almuhsan, we Khiḍr alwaghiz assaid ashshahid abul Fath Sultán Said Khán. Verses . . .

* * * * *

Here is omitted a note by Mr. Beveridge explaining that Muhsan died in Muharram 1857 and was succeeded by *Said-ul-Hayat*. They have a long attestatory

TARIKH-I-RASHIDI.

PART I.

CHAPTER I.

BEGINNING OF THE TARIKH I RASHIDI

One day when Tughluk Timur Khán was feeding his dogs with swine's flesh, Shaikh Jamál-ud-Din was brought into his presence The Khán said to the Shaikh: "Are you better than this dog or is the dog better than you?" The Shaikh replied "If I have faith I am the better of the two, but if I have no faith this dog is better than I am." The Khán was much impressed by these words, and a great love for Islám took possession of his heart.

Tughluk Timur Khán was the son of Isán Bughá Khán, son of Davá, son of Barák Khán son of Karáchar, son of Mutukan, son of Chaghatái Khán, son of Chingiz Khán, son of Yasukái, son of Bisúkhar, son of Kabul, son of Tumana, son of Bísunghar, son of Kaidu, son of Dutumanin, son of Bukú, son of Burunjar Khán, son of Alánkuá Kukluk (which means an immaculate woman). Of her the Prolegomena of the *Zafar-Náma* tells the following story One day a brilliant light shone into her mouth, and thereupon she felt within her a kind of pregnancy just in the way that Miriam, the daughter of Omrán, became pregnant by means of the breath of Gabriel. And neither of these things is beyond the power of God. [Verses] . .

The object of this book is not to tell such tales as these, but simply to point out that Burunjar Khán was born of his mother, without a father. All histories trace the genealogy of his mother, Alánkuá Kukluk, back to Japhet son of Noah (upon them be peace), and detailed accounts of all her ancestors are given in these histories. But I have not accorded them a place in this one, for it would take too long; moreover, I have, in this work, limited my subject to events that took place after the conversion to Islám of the Moghuls, and have said nothing of their history previous to that time

CHAPTER II

EARLY HISTORY OF [illegible]

[illegible] heard from trustworthy Moghul sources (and my father and my uncle used also to relate) the following story. Amir Bulâji Dughlât,[1] an ancestor of the Imâls mentioned, determined on discovering a Khân, and sending order to the Sun, so he sent a certain Tâshtimur to find Duchat-i Sharîwal, and to obtain what information he could, concerning Malik and her child, telling Tâsh Timur that if it were a boy, he was to steal the child away and bring it back with him. Tâsh Timur replied, "It is a very long and tedious expedition, and the preparations for the journey must be made. I beg of you to supply me with six hundred goats, that we may first drink their milk and then kill and eat them, one by one."

Amir Bulâji complied with his wishes and supplied him with all that was necessary. Tâsh Timur then set out. He journeyed

[1] The origin of the Dughlat Amirs has been discussed by some writers. *Vâlqî* and *Pulaqî*, but though the initial letter is always found pointed, and is not capable of being read *B*, *Y*, or *P*, I have, throughout adopted *Bulaji* as the most probable form. It (as is at least likely) it is a Mongol origin, it may be the name of which authorities of the Chinese annals, Ouang Chun where it is transliterated (from the phonetics) by Dr. Bretschneider—*Bo-lu-chi* (*Med. Researches* i, p. 82).

for a long while in Moghulistan, and by the time he [illegible] upon the party of Dukhtui Shaiwal, there was but one goat remaining, and that was a brown one [*kabud*]. On his inquiring after Malik[1] and her child, they replied that she had borne a son, and that she had a second son by Dukhtui Sharáwal:[2] the [illegible] of the Khán's son was Tughluk Timur, and the name of the son of Shaiwal was Inchumalik.[3] Finally Tásh Timur succeeded in carrying off Tughluk Timur, and returned to the Amir with him.

Bulúji belonged to Aksu. When Chaghatái Khán apportioned his kingdom, he gave Mangalái Suyah to Urtubu, who was the grandfather of Amir Buláji. Mangalái Suyah [illegible] the equivalent of *Aftáb Ru*, or "sun-faced." It is bounded on the east by Kusan and Túrbugun, on the west by Sím, Gaz and Jakúshmún, which are situated on the confines of Farghána on the north by Issigh Kul, and on the south by Jorjún and Súngh Urghui. This territory is called Mangalái Suyah, and it was subject to Amir Buláji In his time it contained many large towns, the most important of which were Káshghar, Khotan, Yárkand, Kásán, Akhsikat, Andijún, Aksu, At-Bashi and Kusan.[4] From all these towns, Amir Buláji

[1] This name has been very variously read by different translators Baron Desmaisons took it for *Mungli* in Abul Ghází's history Mr Erskine read his copy of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, *Mánsúkh*, while Dr Bellew [illegible] the same work, made it *Mánlik* One of the texts used for this translation has *Malik*. Like many of the earlier names that occur in the *Tarikh-Rashidi*, it is probably Mongol, and therefore being an unfamiliar one to Musulman writers they would be very likely to distort it (See Desmaisons' *Abul Ghazi*, p 166, Erskine's *History of India* i p 3); Bellew, *Report on Mission to Yarkand*, p 47)

[2] Desmaisons has *Sharí-Oghul* for this name (*Abul Ghazi, loc cit*)

[3] Here Desmaisons reads *Tamu Melik* (*Ibid*)

[4] The name has another mistake or two in it to be found in other books on document that I have any knowledge of His description of the region to which he applies it is fairly distinct, and his translation of the terms to Persian leaves no uncertainty as to its meaning verbal meaning But he does not tell us what language the term belongs to, what country it originally in, or who were the people who borrowed it from [illegible] word of the form, *Mangalai* is probably good Turki, and means 'forward, in advance, fronting, the front end," etc, as for instance, the "*advance* guard of an army, etc It is written with some variants, such as *Manglai*, *Mungli* but the meaning in every case the same It may therefore well be *forming* or *fronting*, as he translates it into Persian

The second word should thus have the signification of *Sun* It may perhaps be subject to some uncertainty in the reading, for when unpointed it may be taken for *Subah* an Arabic word, very commonly employed in Turkish and some other countries, in the sense of a *province* or *administrative division* Indeed the two words differ by only a dot in the Persian spelling But there are two reasons for rejecting the reading of *subah* The first is that Mirza Haidar translates the whole term *Aftáb Rui*, so that if *Mangalai* represents *Rui*, or *front* there would be no word left as an equivalent for *Aftáb* Secondly, in one of the texts used by Mr Ross the word is clearly pointed for *Suyah*. The *Haft Iklim*, whose author copied from Mirza Haidar, also makes the word *Suyah*

But *Suyah* is neither Persian nor Turki no such word seems to exist in either language and no such proper name, as far as I am able to ascertain. If one word of the term is Turki, it is likely that the other would belong also to that language But this is by no quite certain, for a combination would not be impossible It is probable, however, that *Suyah* should be sought in the language of some neighbouring nation, and for preference in that of the Mongols, though

selected Aksu as a residence, until he was in August 1363 found him. As he still had with him [illegible] *Tehad* [illegible]

the Kan-Khitan the Arab [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] ly all his dream later.

As they neared Akem, they fell in with a party of men and while they were crossing a pass, the Khân Thakhuk 'Umar fell down a dasmo in the ice [illegible] ash Tumur, at this, ordered the [illegible] ay for help, but no one made no one hear him, for [illegible] had crossed the pass and had arrived at a hollow, at [illegible] This was the case of the men as, whose men to we [illegible] fell the whole had fallen the Khân; the men [illegible] of all this for the other men, and several of the [illegible] Tash Tumur to the pass where the Khân had disappeared [illegible] had crossed into Elo Ghasa. I found the Khân [illegible] then and there fell on Hanly Napoleon b with h [illegible] that by way of Procuna, he and Apple Gobolly to the [illegible] you get up from they will not pull me up at all, for me [illegible] they came for to pull you up after.' Akem, pro [illegible] apple Apple had called at the house to throw down the [illegible] boy all, and he went up first, and [illegible] up the Khân. All them went on to Akem. Amar Bu [illegible] Thakhuk Tumur to the Lake of Khâkân, and in course [illegible] ruled not only he who is of Mghul stock, but also [illegible] country of Cob ghazli, we shall be related hereafter.

Khân Tughluk Timur Bahadur [illegible] to the [illegible] [illegible] he will [illegible] [illegible] Amerrah with the Khân [illegible] he may [illegible] well be with [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

CHAPTER III.

THE CONVERSION OF TUGHLUK TIMUR AND ISLÁM.

Maulaná Kiwámu-d-Dín Ahmad (may God sanctify his soul) was descended from Maulá i Arshadu-d-Dín. He was exceedingly pious and much esteemed and revered. He belonged to the sect of *Khwájás* (may God sanctify their spirits). For twenty years I was in his service, and worshipped at no other place than his. He led a retired life, devoting his time to religious contemplation, and he used to recite the traditions of Muhammad and initial names, so much so, that any stranger hearing him was sure to be much impressed.

From him I heard that it was written in the annals of his forefathers concerning Maulá i Shadídu-d-Dín Mahmúd, that when there arrived Háfiz-ud-Dín, an officer of Bokhára, (who was the last of the Mutahids, for after the death of Háfiz-ud-Dín there were never more Mujtahids), that during his interregnum, Chingiz Khán assembled the Imáms of Bokhára, according to his custom, just Háfiz-ud-Dín's death, and banished Maulá i Shamsu-d-Dín Muhammad o Kárkorum. The ancestors of Maulána Khwája Ahmad also were sent there. At the time of a discussion in Karakorum,[1] their sons went to Lob Katak, which is one of the most important towns between Pamián and Khotan, and there they were held in much

[1] In the story of pilgrimage after the world's affairs had settled, slightly, to adapt it to a Mussulman audience, there is nothing historical, however, in the following passage, which is here left the passage unintelligible.

The word *Mujtahid* it may be remarked in passing, is a jurist who can deliver judgment without reference to past or present authorities, but it is usually employed, throughout Central Asia, for a high-priest or Mussulman Doctor of Divinity. It is from here used in the singular to distinguish the Imáms of the Sunnis.

It is perhaps curious to find Chingiz Khán spending the winter in Bokhára to his capital in Northern Mongolia; but it is quite unlikely to have happened. The disaster in Karakorum here referred to by the author is impossible to trace for want of some indication of a date. They are not known many vicissitudes in the Middle Ages. From the time of Chingiz it remained the capital of the Mongol Khán's only till the year 1256 when Mangu transferred it as a step northward to Kai-ping fu, in Southern Mongolia, at about a distance north of King-chau-fu. Karakorum was still in existence; it was found in 1889 by Mr. N. Yadrintzeff, on the left bank of the Orkhon, about thirty miles south-east of Lake Ogei Nor, and in the spring of 1890 a site mark from the map attached to this volume. The ancient city must have covered a large area, six miles in circumference, and the position of many have existed contemporaneously with Lob, or Lob-Katak, a town, or towns, which have long since passed out of existence, and of which are only to be traced geometrically. (See next note also Introduction Sec. III. Yule's *Marco Polo*, i, pp. 228 *n.*, Howorth's *Hist. of the Mongols*, i, pp. 182 f; *Proc. R. G. S.*, 1890, p. 421.)

honour and esteem. I was told many particulars concerning all of them, but I have forgotten them for the most part. The last of these was called Shaikh Jamál-ud-Dín, an aus ere man who dwelt in Kotak.

On a certain Friday, after the prayers, he preached to the people and said, "I have already, on many occasions, preached to you and given you good counsel, but none of you has listened to me. It has now been revealed to me that God has sent down a great cloud on this town. A Divine ordinance permits me to escape and save myself from this disaster. This is the last sermon I shall preach to you. I take my leave of you and remind you that our next meeting will be on the day of resurrection."

Having said this, the Shaikh came down from the pulpit. The *Muazzin* [prior to prayers] followed him and begged that he might be allowed to accompany him. The Shaikh said he might do so. When they had journeyed three *farsákhs* they halted, and the Muazzin asked permission to return to the town to attend to some business as everyone would come to-morrow immediately. As he was passing the mosque, he said to himself, "This last time, I will not go and call out the evening prayer." So he ascended the minaret and called the evening prayer. As he was doing so, he noticed *that something was raining down from the sky; it was like* snow, but dry. He finished his "call," and then stood praying for a while. Then he descended but found that the door of the minaret was locked, and he could not get out. So he again ascended and, looking round, discovered that it was raining sand, and to such a degree that the whole town was covered; after a little while he noticed that the ground was rising, and at last only a part of the minaret was left free. So, with fear and trembling, he threw himself from the tower on to the sand, and presently rejoined the Shaikh, and told him this story. The Shaikh immediately set out on his road saying "It is better to keep at a distance from the wrath of God." They fled in great haste; and this city is, to this day, buried in sand. Sometimes a wind uncovers, and lays bare the minaret on the top of the dome. To all appearance, that a strong wind uncovers a house, and when any one enters it he finds everything in perfect order, though the master has become white-haired. But no harm has come to the *inanimate things*.[1]

Throughout this story, *Kotak* is spoken of as a single town, and when, just above, the author calls it *Lob and Kotak* together, he probably means to denote *two districts generally, in which the two places were situated*. During a mission of Sir D. Forsyth to Eastern Turkistan in 1873–4, the question of these sand-buried cities was investigated by himself and Dr. Bellew. As a guide then [illegible] they [illegible] was that *Lop* proper was [illegible] to the *south-west of the lake of that name*, while *Kotak* lay *probably* about three days further towards the south, on the road leading to Charchan and Khotan. Three years later General Prjevalski visited Lake Lob, and indeed spent the

In short, the Shaikh finally came to Bai Gul, which is in the vicinity of Aksu. At that time Tughluk Timur Khan was in Aksu. When he had first come through that he was sixteen years of age. He was eighteen when I first met the Shaikh, and he met him in the following way. The Khan had organised a hunting-party, and had promulgated an order that no one should absent himself from the hunt. He was, however, not aware that [illegible] winter of 1870-71 [illegible] day's march to the [illegible] there was to [illegible] moment [illegible], which the native calendar [illegible] after a khan was said to have died [illegible] Chagatai introduction of Islam, and since that [illegible] to exist until lately, Gen. Pievtsof [illegible] ugenity, to the [illegible] name of Kunah-Shahr, or old town, until quite [illegible] not name the *Tob* of Mme. Pievtsof Mazar. Here [illegible] native dwellings [illegible] yaks of [illegible] nus—and for hunting [illegible] and like *Katal*. The latter [illegible] General Pievtsof [illegible] may possibly [illegible] control more [illegible] of tolbas of

Mirza Haidar's account of the various [illegible] *Katal* [illegible] amalgamating [illegible] Dr. Bellew, who should [illegible] Padshah [illegible] would [illegible] yet [illegible] they grow [illegible] stimulates [illegible] wind or storm [illegible] example [illegible] snow as described by Shah Jahan-Nama [illegible] would be full of sand [illegible] enough to show that [illegible] before entered, and that [illegible] quently [illegible] and the contents, [illegible] place much [illegible]. Mirza Haidar relates [illegible] East. It is [illegible] coma) filled with [illegible], and [illegible] dust or sand held in suspension. Rain clears [illegible] the following [illegible] fine small clouds [illegible] day have [illegible].

As regards [illegible] *Katal* [illegible] spoil in this way [illegible] appears to [illegible] Dr. Bellew identifies [illegible] Pievtsof, *Yanta* (salt marsh), *Po-si-lai* and *Pu-chang-hai*, the last meaning [illegible] was also sometimes [illegible] pp. 27-9; Forsyth, *J. R. G. S.* 1877, [illegible] *seq.*; Pievtsof, *Kultsa i Lob Nor*, pp. 76-7; Bellew, *Mission to Kashgar*, [illegible] pp. 111 [illegible].)

[illegible] *Oil*, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Aksu

some persons were seated in a retired spot. The Khán sent to fetch those people, and they were seized, bound and brought before him, inasmuch as they had transgressed the commands of the Khán, and had not presented themselves at the hunt. The Khán asked them: "Why have you disobeyed my commands?" The Shaikh replied: "We are strangers, who have fled from the armed town of Kásik. We know nothing about the hunt nor the ordinances of the hunt and therefore we have not transgressed your orders." So the Khán ordered his men to set the Tájik free. He was, at that time, feeding some dogs with swine's flesh, and he asked the Shaikh angrily. "Are you better than this dog, or is he dog better than you?" The Shaikh replied "If I have faith I am better than this dog but if I have no faith, this dog is better than I am." On hearing these words, the Khán returned and sent one of his men, saying "Go and place that Tájik upon your own horse, with all respect, and bring him here to me."

The Moghul went and led his horse before the Shaikh. The Shaikh noticing that the saddle was stained with blood (owing) said: "I will go on foot." But the Moghul insisted that the order was that he should mount the horse. The Shaikh then spread a clean handkerchief over the saddle and mounted. When he arrived before the Khán, he noticed that this latter was standing alone in a retired spot, and there were traces of sorrow on his countenance. The Khán asked the Shaikh. "What is this thing that resembles man, if he possesses, better than a dog?" The Shaikh replied: "Faith," and he explained to him what Faith was, and the duties of a Musalmán. The Khán wept thereat, and said: "If I ever become Khán, and obtain absolute authority, you must, without failure come to me and I promise you I will become a Musalmán." He then sent the Shaikh away with the utmost respect and reverence. Soon after this the Shaikh died. He left a son of the name of Arshad-ud-Dín, who was exceedingly pious. His father once dreamed that he carried a lamp up to the top of a hill, and that its light illumined the whole of the east. After this, he met Tughluk Timur Khán in Aksu, and said what has been mentioned above. Having related this to his son, he charged him, saying: "Since I may die at any moment, let it be your care, when the young man becomes Khán, to remind him of his promise to become a Musalmán, thus this blessing may come about through your mediation and, through you the world may be illumined."

Having completed his instructions to his son, the Shaikh died. Soon afterwards Tughluk Timur became Khán. When news of this reached Maulána Arshad-ud-Dín, he left Aksu and proceeded to Moghulistán, where the Khán was ruling in great pomp and splendour. He all his efforts to obtain an interview with him,

that he might [illegible] ate his old age, were in vain. Every morning, however, he used to [illegible] ll out the prayers next to the Khán's tent. One morning the Khán said to one of his followers: "Somebody has been calling out like this for several mornings now; go and bring him here." The Maulánd was in the middle of his call to prayer when the Moghul arrived, who, seizing him by the neck, dragged him before the Khán. The latter said to him: "Who are you that thus disturb my sleep every morning at an early hour?" He replied: "I am one of the men to whom, on a certain occasion, you made the promise to become a Musulmán." And he proceeded to recall the whole history. The Khán then said: "You are welcome and where is your father?" He replied. "My father is dead, but he entrusted this mission to me." The Khán rejoined: "Ever since I pronounced the Creed I have had it on my mind that I made that promise, but the person to whom I gave the pledge never came. Now you are welcome. What must I do?" On that moment a ray of light entered the heart of Amír Tughlak, and effaced the darkness that had been there. Khidmat Maulánd ordained ablution for the Khán, who, having declared his faith, became a Musulmán. They then decided that for the propagation of Islám, they should interview the princes one by one, and it should be well for those who accepted the truth, but those who refused should be slain as heathens and idolaters.

On the following morning, the first person up to be examined alone was Amír Tughlak, who was very good natured. When he entered the Khán's presence, he found him sitting with the Tájik, and he advanced and sat down with them also. Then the Khán began by asking, "Will you embrace Islám?" Amír Tughlak burst into tears and said, "Three years ago I was converted by some holy men of Kashgar, and I am a Musulmán, but, from fear of you, I did not openly declare it." Thereupon the Khán rose up and embraced him; then the three sat down again together. In this manner they examined the princes one by one. All accepted Islám, until come to the fourth brother, who refused, but suggested two conditions, one of which was, "I have a man named Saraghni Buka,[1] if this Tajik can overthrow him I will become a Believer." The Khán and the Amírs cried out, 'What absurd condition is this!' Khidmat Maulánd, however, said "It is well, let a horse. If I do not throw him, I will not require you to become a Musulmán." Jalán then said to the Maulánd, "I have seen this man lift up a two year old camel. He is an Infidel, and above the ordinary stature of men." Khidmat Maulánd replied, "*If it is God's wish that the Moghuls become honoured with the blessed state of Islám, He will do this as give me sufficient*

[1] Dr Bellew calls this man *Saughy Beg* (*Yárkand Report*, p. 118.)

power to overcome this man." The Khán and those who had become Musulmáns were not pleased with these plans. However, a large crowd assembled, the Káfir was brought in, and he and Khalmát Maulána advanced towards one another. The infidel, puffed up with self-esteem, advanced with a confident air. The Maulána looked very small and weak beside him. When they came to blows, the Maulána struck the infidel full in the chest, and he fell senseless. After a little, he came to again, and having raised himself, fell again at the feet of the Maulána crying on and uttering words of belief. The people raised loud shouts of applause, and on that day 160,000 persons cut off the hair of their heads and became Musulmáns. The Khán was enamoured, and the lights of Islám hoisted the shouts of Unbelief. Islám was disseminated all through the country of Chaghatái Khán, and (thanks be to God) has continued fixed in it to the present time.

EXTRACTS FROM THE ZAFAR-NAMA.

CHAPTER IV.

EXPEDITION OF AMÍR TIMÚR KHÁN INTO THE KINGDOM OF MÁWARÁ-UN-NAHR[1]

Since the country of Máwará-un-Nahr, owing to the events above related, was in a state of confusion, Inghtái-Amír Khán (or Dúá Khán, as he is called in Chaghatái Khán), Qazaghán (which by right should not thus be written, having in it a gutturalized q and being rather a y), and Amír Timúr Kúrgán, grandson, through Miránsháh, of Rabi Ahmad, 7th of the Hajá, [Muhammad 30 corresponding to the 9th of the Mesha [Sichkal] of the Sutan cycle. Thirty years had elapsed between the death of Tughlúq Timúr Khán and this event, and during this period there had been eight khans of the Chaghatái. When Ghazán Timúr Khán arrived at Qarshi-Ishtikh, where dwelt the Khojas, in the plains of Kash, he wrote the names and genealogies, and they decided that the victory would be for Ulugh Pulatimur, of the tribe of

[1] Hájí Muín, in the abridgment of the *Habíb-ul-Siyar*, tells this story more briefly, and erroneously, saying "Zoghaltai Timúr was of this time twenty years of age, and he died ten years later, in 761 A.H. (1360 A.D.)" (*Vaul. Report*, I. 118).

[2] Transoxiana.

[3] Mawará'unnahr.

[4] He died 788 A.H., which would make *twenty-three years* while all the texts of the *Zafar-Náma* in the British Museum say this was *years*

Kutáit,[1] Háji Beg of the tribe of Arkenut,[2] and Beglik Timur of the tribe of Kipchak, to go forward and reconnoitre. To the equipment that had been ordered, and when they had crossed the river of Khujand, Amír Hájí Jalár, together with his people, joined them, and they all encamped together in the direction of Sa'ad-i-Sulz.

Amír Hájí Bulás having collected the people of Kesh, Kilif, and the neighbourhood, set out to oppose the advance. When Amír Hájí Jalár, judging the plan to be unwise, returned with his own people towards Khujand, before the two armies had met.

[1] The *Kauát* or *Kavat* (the final *t* is usually the Mongol plural) are usually described as a Mongol tribe, as Rashíd-ud-Dín, e.g. in the list which includes the names of Mongol tribes. Shihábu-d-Dín, however, gives reasons for believing them to be Turks related to the Kirghiz of the 'Nine Tribes' of Orkhon. Both the use of Chingiz Khán's royal tribe of Sunit in contact with Mongolia, and was, in fact, the station of the Mongol Khán, Arpa John so famous in mediæval history. They were evidently at the beginning of the thirteenth century and onward in many scattered, that fragments of the tribe are found in various parts of Mongolia and in many western countries with Kipchak, Steppes.' It [illegible] powerful of all [illegible] who displaced that other [illegible] Mongolia, and drove them eastward (See Howorth, *J. R. A. S.*, 1881, pp. 181 *seq.* and Radloff, *Uberschau der [illegible]*, 1811.)

[2] Some of the texts have *Arlat* or *Arlaut* but the latter intended is nearly lost in the *Arlaut* of Rashíd, and the *Olhonut* of Howorth. The latter with the [illegible] six tribes of *Arlaut*, *Jaláirs*, *Olhonut*, *Kerait*, *Kunkut*, *Kunlat*, and *Hiyan* were [illegible] dency under Kutlugh Khwája. Howorth identifies, although the spelling of Mongolia in the *Histoire of Jenghiz* the name is written *Arlat* and in Rashíd-ud-Dín's list, *Arlaut*. The latter with a change [illegible] (See Howorth, *Hist. of Mongols*, i. p. 78; Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, iii. p. 8; Dowson's *Hist. of Timur*, p. 10, and Erdmann as above.)

[3] The *Kirgáli*, or *Kirlát*, were at the time of the advent of Mongol an important tribe, whose country lay to the east [illegible] the *Kipchaks* on the west and Mongolia on the east. They appear to have been much mixed with the *Kipchaks* and are thought by Howorth to have been the ancestors of the modern *Nogais*. Some of the manuscripts of Abúl Ghází mention the *Kenáis* living with the Tatars in the steppes both Mongol and modern. Dr. Bretschneider tells us that they are frequently spoken of in Chinese histories of the Mongol period, the name being generally represented as *Kerelit*, or sometimes *Hariti*. The latter was known to the Kin dynasty of China as early as the eleventh century, when one of their chiefs is said to have [illegible] to the Chinese Emperor. They were a warlike people, and at a later period the Mongol khans raised their services as soldiers and even as generals. Hamdu-lláh also classes the *Kanlats* as Turks. (Howorth, *Hist. of Mong.*, i. p. 18; Bretschneider, i. p. 201. Abúl Ghází, p. 8; Erdmann as above.)

CHAPTER V.

INTRODUCTION OF TIMUR WITH AMIRS HAJJI BARLAS. HIS RETURN FROM THE BANKS OF THE JIHUN AND SEIZES WITH THEIR JOINT

Advice:
Judgment is preferable to the value of heroes,
For the former is the first of virtues, the latter stands second,
But when these two are united in one person,
that person can attain the highest summits of fame.

[Persian version]
With judgment thou canst put a whole army to rout
One man with a sword can kill as many as a hundred men!

Those events I dare not to leave unrecorded, especially in the account of these statements For when Amir Hajji Barlas had crossed the river Jihun the army of Jatah abandoned his own country and set out for Khorasan He crossed the desert and arrived at the River Jihun And Timur saw well that if he continued in this policy of self-preservation, his native country would go to ruin, and his fortified positions would fall into confusion, for in that same year his father Amir Taraghai had died

[Verses]: His throne was dead and his uncle had flown,
The people were exposed to the ravages of a stranger
Its enemies had placed the tribe in danger
It was becoming as an eagle without wings or feathers

Under these circumstances, although he had not passed the age of twenty five, and his intelligence had not yet received the enlightenment of great experience, Amir Timur determined upon carrying out his intention, and with this intent he sent to Amir Hajji, saying: "If the kingdom remains without a head, great evils will most surely come upon it, and the people will be utterly annihilated by foreign and powerful enemies"

[Verses]: A kingdom without a head is like a body without a soul
Certainly a body without a head is as good as lost yet

"Since you wish to proceed into Khatlan I think I had better return to Kesh, and when I have established myself in a habitation of a place, I will go thence to the camp of the Khan I will confer with the

[1] Here follow some additional phrases and verses, which are omitted in the translation The burden is the authority to intelligent eyes and well-

[2] Known as Timur-lang, or Timur the Lame He is always spoken of in the texts of the *Zafar-Nama* as '*Sahib-i-Kiran*," or "Lord of the Conjunction", but I propose to call him throughout "Amir Timur," which is merely correct, but is sufficient to distinguish him from the other Timurs Major O'Bryant, in the Preface to the *Malfuzat Timuri*, translates *Sahib-i-Kiran* as "Lord of the Auspicious Conjunction"

princes and nobles of the State, so that these army and people will have been entrusted to our care by God, *may come to no harm.*'

Having thus spoken he departed. Amir Hájí was fully convinced that the words of Amir Timur were divinely inspired, and became reconciled to all his decisions and approved all his plans. When Amir Timur arrived at Khwáfi, he met Hájí Mahmúd Sáhib Yasáwí, who was acting as the ambassador of the army of Jatah. He too was provided with all possible haste, gnashing the teeth of flesh between his jaws and desiring forbearance, and showing the riches unexpectedly of the treasure and wealth to be found in that country. Amir Timur dealt graciously with the gonemas of this force, saying, "Wait here while I go and see the princes and, with them, determine upon some reasonable plans for you." The wise words of that prince were severely listened to, and had such an effect on the soldiers that, in spite of their eagerness to advance, they remained where they were. Amir Timur proceeded safely on, and when he reached Kesh he met the three Amirs of Jatah, who had themselves just arrived there. After fervently greeting and embracing they expressed to him their satisfaction at having thus succeeded in their mission to the Khán; and they appointed him governor of the district, which had formerly belonged to Amir Kazghan—the district and about Kesh, together with its dependencies—with the result that, by his wise conduct, the torrent of distress and adversity which threatened to overwhelm this country was turned aside, and the people again enjoyed that repose which they had lost all hopes of recovering. [Verse] . . .

In the opinion of the most ignorant people, it seemed that a great piece of good fortune had befallen Amir Timur, but late but still at some [illegible] in store for him.

After this, Amir Timur took leave of the princes and threw the shadow of his protection and favour upon the tribe. He commanded troops to be collected between Shahr-i-Sabz and the River Jihun, and in a short time, having mustered a very large army, set out, to gather with Amir Yasúl. At this time disputes arose among the princes of Jatah, which [illegible] withdrew all their troops from Mávará'u-n-Nahr, returned to the headquarters of Tughlak Timur Khán. After that, Bayázíd Jalá'ir, with those of his followers, joined the side of Amir Timur and Amir Khizar Yasúr.

CHAPTER VI.

TUGHLUK TIMUR KHÁN'S SECOND INVASION OF MÁVARÁ'U-N-NAHR.

When despair for the government of Mávará'u-n-Nahr arose in Tughlak Timur Khán's enthusiasm, he prepared an innumerable army and, in the month of Jamádí-l-Awwal of the year 782 (A.D. 1401), corresponding to the year of the Ox in the Turkí cycle, i.e. [illegible] for that

[1] He probably [illegible] that he will make friends with the chiefs, and persuade him not to [illegible] country may [illegible]

country. When arrived at Kojund, Amir Báyizíd Jalá came to offer him his services. Amir Bíyán Bálú also, as a sign of his obedience, went forward as far as Samarkand to meet the Khán, and Hájí Bahádur, although the time of the Kurúltái for invasion had been appointed, [illegible] Previously, however, he had himself accompanied [illegible] and had even ordered a tent to be erected for Amir Báyizíd until he should arrive. Amir Hájí Bahádur, on passing into, found it was Kosh. He got together some of his own tribesmen and followed them across the Jaxartes, but they were attacked by Tughlúk Timúr's detachment of the Jatah army, who were pursuing them, and a battle took place, in which Tughái Bahádur was killed, and Amir Hájí retired to Asfisán. On his arrival at Khwarásm, which is a village of Bilik-i-Jawín,[1] a dependency of Sabzwár, he was seized by a band of brigands and, together with his brother Idegú, was killed. After the conquest of Kúdúz (which event made Amir Husain feel himself in no way avenged) and after some of them had been put to death, that village became a fief of the house of Amir Hájí, and up to the present time the inhabitants the cotton-thickened garments

Among the Amirs at the court of Jatah was a certain Amir Hasan, of the tribe of Kahlúrí,[2] who was distinguished above his peers at the court by his wisdom and common sense. To all those access to him was open, and whatever he proposed in the way of advice or approval, was accepted. At this time he began to praise and extol the virtues of Amir Husain to the Khán, and he urged the Khán to restore both princes, the only thing which was his by right of inheritance. The Khán took favourable notice of these entreaties, and a messenger was immediately despatched to Amir Husain. The prince accordingly came with the Khán, received from him the warmest welcome

All the texts have the word "Kurmán," and I entertain no doubt of the reading. The question as to the last mentioned fact is almost impossible to explain, that the name of Kurmán should be a surname of the Mughul Khans. No doubt the Barlás in Kashgár had intermarried with these families of Turkistán, and were especially with Khotán and a certain number may have been settled in Kurmán, but they must have been sufficiently constituted to give Kurmán its present-day importance. Possibly all strangers who came into the country from the side of Samarkand were called Kurmán, perhaps they were [illegible] thousand thereabouts, probably warlike qualities [illegible] fighting-men. Perhaps [illegible] explanations that they were slaves, adventurers, and followers during the early Mughul invasions of centres in the district of Kashgar. In this way the name of Kurmán would have remained to the people, country and district.

[1] Probably the plain of Juvain (Jughrafiá Juvain), which lies north and north-west of Sabzwár in Khorasan. *Bálúk* means "a district." *Khoshún* most likely stands for Kuchúlah, the name of a village in the Juvain plain, marked on modern maps.

[2] By the word "Tarsá," the Jughrafiá certainly intended the Christian Turks, probably the *Kaluk* were certainly Turks by origin, and in Shaikh Hasan's time one of the Uighur tribes. Rashíd-ud-Dín mentions the names of the Turkí tribes present and simple. At that time [illegible] they appear to have inhabited the country north of the Ili and Sihun, but later they probably pushed further towards the west. From Dr. Bretschneider we learn that the *Kaluk* are repeatedly noticed in the Chinese history under such names as *Ko-lo-lu Ha-la-lu* etc. (See for Howorth, Part IV. of Transcription Rashíd-ud-Dín's Jámi'u 't Tawárikh, *Histoire des Mongols*, Bretschneider, ii., pp. 10 11). Communities of Kaluks are found at the present day in and around Badakhshán, where they are regarded as Turks and speak the Turkí language

Husain was encamped, the two armies came in sight of one another and were *preparing to engage*, when Kalkhoran of Khatlán, *together with his men, left* the side of Amir Husain and joined the army of the Khán, thus breaking the order of battle of the former.[1] When Amir Husain perceived this he returned disheartened. Toghluk Khán went in pursuit of him, devastating the country, penetrated as far as Kunduz, his troops plundered all the country round about, as far as the mountains of Hindu Kush, and spent the following spring and summer in that region.

Kashgharia. At any rate the Hindu Kush in Timúr's time did not have been meant, as Petis de la Croix, in reading the *Zafar-Nama* and Price relying upon the *Rauzat-us safá*, seem to have assumed. From the Yulduz valley, Timúr Shaikh is made to return to Andijan by way of Kilan, Uch-Turfan and Kashghar, and to fight a battle with an Amir of Jatah Amu in the pass of *Kulugha*, on the way. Whilst it is scarcely conceivable that he should have marched first into the heart of Transoxania to have met with a Jatah Amu force in the rear of Timúr's army, and then have returned to Andijan, it is just possible though improbable, that he may have first made an expedition north-westward to the Talas valley and then come back to Kuchar. I suspect that in the hills between the Yulduz and Kuchar, there was yet another valley known by the name of *Kulugha* or Pass, and that it may be represented on modern maps by the pass or Kuruk. This view is supported by the circumstance that the victory over the Jatah Amu is mentioned, in the *Zafar-Nama*, as having been won before Timúr Shaikh's arrival at Kuchar, and without any allusion to a return much northward for after the battle, he is said to have *continued* his march by way of Kuchar, etc., to Kashghar. In this case, the translations have probably been led astray in calling the pass "Inner Gate," on account of the name *Kulugha* being used in connection with one of those used for the Darband-i-Ahanin near Kesh. In all likelihood, there were many passes in various parts of Turkí and Mongol speaking Asia which were known simply by the name *Kulugha*, though they may have had more specific local names besides, such as *Tarai*, or *Dash Kulugha*. The error fallen into in this case, was to apply the Persian translation of one of those specific names, to all *Kulughs*, or passes. (See also *Talas*, etc., Bretschneider's *Researches*, i. pp. 127, and 131, ii. 31-5 and 230.)

[1] *Amir Husain had put to death Kilkobad, the brother of Kilkhusru (Hist. of Jenghiz Khan*, i., p. 101.) These Turkistan names, occurring in Khatlán at this period, are remarkable. Amongst the other provinces of Khatlán, Kunduz, or Kundiz Shahi Yakubi still (in 1872) retained the name of Kilab and Darwáz. In May we travelled from Ishkashim to Yumgan-Tala (or Kungan-Tapa) in the lower basin of Vakhsh) and so eastwards west of Kolab, to avoid the centre of the ancient Khatlán. Hoqueton Dun Dant an author of the tenth century, to whom Khatlán was the kingdom of Kosh, or Khulm, included the low valley of the Vakhsh and that of the Kafirnihan, with the town of Kubadian, and reached as far as Tirmidh at the upper waters of that river. Khatlan existed at least down to the end of the fifteenth century, for in 1498 we find Khusru Shah, of Kunduz last wing the government of Hissar Shadman and Wakhsh with the title of Khatlan Wali. With the State and town have since disappeared. (See Yule *J. R. A. Soc.* vi., pt. 1, 1872, p. 87, and his map to *Wood's Oxus 1872*. Major Trotter *Geograph. Mag.*, Dec., 1878, p. 328, Raskine *Hist. of India*, i., p. 2, and *Memoirs of Babar*, ii. xxxi *seq.*) The Chinese of the Mongol Khan who they by the names *Ko-lo-ling* and *Ha-li-lan*. (Bretschneider ii. pp. 277 and 315.)

CHAPTER VII

[illegible]

On the qui[illegible] journey, [illegible] Amir Khusrau [illegible] of the Mahrattas. While [illegible] Mihtar-un-Nida [illegible] country occupied to wards [illegible] suspected [illegible] Otlar, whom [illegible] upon. He ordered the government of the conquered districts to Hisamuddin's Khwaja Oghlan, and honoured him with the title of Ainul Mulk. Ainul Mulk was charged with the most important duties until the return of Sultan Muhammad, over whom he appeared to have a great influence. He [illegible] State to him, and returned to the work of government. Tughluk Timur, mistook, again left the country of Mihtar-un-Nida [illegible] authority over all the princes and people of Dhatah, [illegible] deputed Amir Khusrau to show that they [illegible] did not obey the instant [illegible] the Khan, [illegible] tyranny and violence, but even attempted to [illegible] revolt against the Khan. When Amir Khusrau saw that the [illegible] with [illegible] the State would [illegible] he did [illegible] this [illegible] stay by [illegible] but then, with [illegible] honoured [illegible] Amir [illegible]. [illegible] Amir Khusrau, he turned towards the [illegible][1]

[1] The text is *Be Yasli wa Unda*. It may be taken to mean, to try and punish it (that is, one with death) according to the usage of the *Yasal*. The *Yasal* or *Yasa* or *Yasal Yasa*, etc. (sometimes called the *Tora*), was the legal [illegible] of Chingiz Khan. [illegible] Juvaini's task [illegible] it all was in twenty-two sections, but says that there were the most [illegible] which would [illegible] the untutored Mongols [illegible] Persia, but omits the 22nd section of the Yasa, which forbids any pain or [illegible] pain of death, to [illegible] Khan, without [illegible] by a general assembly, or Diet (called *Kuraltai*), framed of the chiefs of the tribes. (Petis de la Croix, *Hist. of Genghis Khan*, p. 18; Duguignes, *Hist. des Huns*, iii., pp. 72-9.) Herodotus, [illegible] Mukhuli and Khumlun calls the Yasa the religion of the Mongols, but is [illegible] (*Amen. Academ. of Letters and Fables*, 1714, p. 163) [illegible] Yasa, and expressly says that they were not [illegible] through [illegible] Baskine translates [illegible] "Institutions" (of Chingiz Khan) and says, "they [illegible] modification of the old usages of the Mogul tribes [illegible] partly merely traditionary, and partly [illegible] writing." D'Herbelot says they were still respected among the wandering tribes, but did not form the law of the kingdom, "as soon they had [illegible] into a fixed habitation the Mussulman religion was received, [illegible] many [illegible] inconsistent with the Koran" (*Bibl. Orient.*, xlvii., *sup.*). S. H. Lees [illegible] edited Vans Kennedy's *Researches into the Origin and Affinity of the Principal Languages of Asia* (London, 1823). Quatremère's *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse* (1836, i., p. xvi.) [illegible] Yasa or *Iasa* is mentioned by Arabic writers [illegible].

[2] Mirza Haidar [illegible] of the hero [illegible] the adventures of Ainul Mulk [illegible] to *Tufat-ul-Ahbab* [illegible] Timur wandered

In short, the substance of what we find in the Moghul traditions is that Tughluk Timur Khan's dominions extended far as Samarkand, and even further, but no precise facts have come down to us. Amir Buláji, who has been already mentioned as having raised Tughluk Timur Khán to the Khánate, sought nine privileges for himself from the Khán, which privileges had been granted to his ancestors by Chingiz Khán, and which my family have inherited. I have seen them myself. They were written in Kunduz, in the Moghul language, and I mention this circumstance because, by it, the Moghuls prove that the Khán's rule extended far Kunduz. It is stated, in the *Zafar-Náma*, that the Khán died in the year 764. The Moghul traditions say that Tughluk Timur, at the age of 16, was brought from [the] Kálmák [country by Amir Buláji as has been related; at the age of 18 he became Khán, at the age of 24 he became a Musulmán, and died at the age of 34 He was born in the year 730.

CHAPTER VIII

ILYÁS KHWÁJA KHÁN.

The Moghuls have preserved no traditions concerning this Ilyás Khwája Khán, but I have heard my father mention his name, and the *Zafar-Náma* makes occasional mention of him, in connection with other events. Those passages I have transcribed in substance.

CHAPTER IX.

RETURN OF AMIR HUSAIN AND AMIR TIMUR TO TAIKHÚN AND BADAKHSHÁN, AND THEIR ESCAPE FROM THEM.

Thus two princes I am proceeded to Kunduz, and there collected some three score from the tribe of Jaláir[1] Thence they marched towards Badakhshán, and

on through the deserts of Khiva, till at length he found Husain near the wells of Nighaj how they went on together to Khiva, where Tardi, Jakli the governor, tried to seize them by treachery—a design which they frustrated by again taking to the desert, where they met with reverses of adventures, until at last they fell in with friends, and collected a small force willing to follow them (*Hist de Timur Bec*, I, pp 45–51) These were the adventures of Timur which attracted the attention of Gibbon

[1] Or Barulási—the reading is uncertain

when they arrived at Sakhi, they encamped at a village in the Kingdom of *Badakhshán and offered every time of battle at a village in that country*; again they went to Athung,[a] where they crossed the river to the side of Bálí-Sutí[b] and advanced towards Khatlán, but had got very little ahead at, they arrived at a place called Kulakí, where they encamped. Here Timur addressed with the words 'Lord we have reached

men, though more than six thousand had deserted the royal camp But Amir Timur placed firm trust in the assistance of God, and comforted his men with the verse, "How many armies small in number, have overcome immense hosts, by the permission of God," which he seemed to hear uttered in his ear by a voice from the unseen world.

[Verses]. Though the ocean of the world be full of alligators,
And desert and mountain full of tigers,
If a man have good fortune for a friend
Not a hair of his head will be touched.

With two thousand brave men, he marched out to meet the enemy and the opposing forces met on the Stone Bridge. A battle ensued which lasted from early morning till nightfall, and during all that day these brave and experienced warriors fought, until they had no strength left to continue Moreover the inequality of the forces was great

Amir Timur, considering the situation, saw that victory could not be with his side, if the sword of valour were not brightened with the polish of good counsel, and he understood that if the arrow of courage were not let fly from the thumb-stall of deliberation, its whistling would not sound to them as news of triumph These things he pondered in his mind, until the reed of assurance and conviction, pointed a petition of welfare and safety upon the tablet of his enlightened intelligence.

CHAPTER X

HOW HE PASSED OVER THE RIVER AT THE STONE BRIDGE, AND PUT TO FLIGHT THE ARMY OF JAJAH

Amir Timur made over Amir Musa, Amir Muhammad Azad and Amir Khalil, with a force of 500 picked men, to watch for the enemy at the Stone Bridge, while he himself, with 1500 men, swam the river at midnight and took up his position on the mountains. On the following day, the sentinels of the enemy saw, by their footprints, that they had crossed the river during the night; and they were very much perturbed in consequence When night set in, Amir Timur commanded his soldiers to light a great number of fires on the summits of the highest of the mountains; and at the sight of these fires the enemy were seized with fear and terror, so that they lost heart and fled Thus did God, without the trouble of a battle, scatter this numerous army, which was in the proportion of ten warriors to one of their opponents "Verily God giveth the victory to whomsoever He will."

The enemy being thrown into flight and confusion Amir Timur rushed down the mountain with his army, like a raging lion or a mighty boiling torrent, and pursued them as far as Gujarát[1] falling upon them with his life-taking sword and his soul-biting lance till the road was covered with

[1] This name may read *Gujarát*. I cannot identify the place

the heaps o their slain In this plu hu h l d, vic on s and happy, wh Amh Husain with the rest of the army ntinu d th pu suit. This victory helped to spread the fame of Arab 'Iman and ins ire ing his troops. Feeling h rtily and h s the advantages h had gained, Amir 'Iman again sent out w k w t ter s t wh , h arrived at Kuhlagha, the pe f Kesh and the hill n n l d it, fleeing from the army of Jatah, kept coming to him and to his tent, with offers to serve him if he would p t et them Of the two th usand r s Amir 'Iman had brought with him he s l ct d the l r h l s his wn special bodyguard. With these l s lv s d, c mmanding th rest to stay behind. He then sent two l nd d f h s , under the Amirs Sulaimán Ba lás, Tarkai Bu t, Ishán dád , Jaffár d a Bahlu Sultánim and Yultmu , to Kesh, telling them to divide it f r s madetas, and ordering *every man to spread fire on the side of his house*, a large heap of brushwood, in order that much dust might be raised in the town of Kesh, if he saw them, to be understood.[1] They carried out his orders exactly, so that when they entered the plains of Kesh, he saw s, lighted fires and the sight of so much dust, took to flight, and they entered the town, where they encamped themselves with o t interference of the l ders.

Thus the boundless favour of God exalted in all instances upon the king, that by means of sparks of fire he was able to put an army to flight, and with dust to conquer a t wn.

[Verso] He evil eye was distant from him, for greater successes than these it is impossible to conceive.

At this time Ilyás Khwája Khán was encamped at Pásh Arghi, which is four *farsangs* distant from Kesh, and when Ishán Bahrám and the other princes and men of Amir Timur had brought with him he selected the chief of his own special bodyguard. With these he advanced, commanding the rest to stay behind. He then sent two hundred horsemen, under the Amirs Sulaimán Bahádur, Tarkai Bút, Ishán dád, Jaffár and Bahlu Sultánim and Yultmu, to Kesh, telling them to divide it into four sections, and ordering *every man to spread fire on the side of his house*, a large heap of brushwood, in order that much dust might be raised in the town of Kesh, if he saw them, to be understood.[1] They carried out his orders exactly, so that when they entered the plains of Kesh, he saw s, lighted fires and the sight of so much dust, took to flight, and they entered the town, where they encamped themselves with o t interference of the l ders.

Meanwhile, Amir Timur, with one hundred chosen men having marched all the night, came to Khwája, and when day broke, the people of that town [want the arrival of that royal person and stood at first in the ground in] reverence to him He then combined the two parties of Khwája and Kesh, and put Khwája Sálih in command of their vanguard. With this mighty army he set out for Chokurdáli, and on arrived there, pitched his camp. At that place too, he was joined by Muhammad, son of Sárbúz, with seven regiments, and remained there seven days. In the meanwhile, Amir Husain arrived with his own forces, and with those that Amir Timur had left behind at Kuhlagha. Shih Bahrám also, who had separated from them in the desert [in plain] of Gulac, in order to visit his own people, rejoined them, after an absence of forty-three days. They then all set out together, and the commanders Amir Timur and Amir Husain, in the direction of Khwája, and on their arrival there, visited the tomb of Khwája Rasúl, in the name of whose blessed spirit they made a solemn alliance and swore eternal friendship

[1] Lit. of ten Gates

[2] The word is *darugha*, again and not as there should be, probably, Lashkar of Shams-ud-Dín

CHAPTER XI.

THE DREAM OF AMIR TIMUR, WHICH HE LOOKS ■ ON AS A GOOD OMEN AND WHICH INDUCES HIM TO MAKE WAR ON ILYÁS KHWÁJA KHÁN.

The Prophet (upon whom be the peace of God) said, "True dreams are one of the forty-six gifts of prophecy," and the explanation of this tradition is that when the all-knowing, all powerful God (may He be exalted and magnified), places upon the forehead of some great person the distinctive mark of His favour, He ■ enlightens him that He ■■■■ him to understand the secrets of the invisible world, reveals unto his human spirit the things that are to come to pass, and makes him aware of occurrences that have not yet taken place. Joseph was informed, by revelation, of the coming of his father and brothers several years before that event took place. And Muhammad, Prince of the Prophets, had revealed to him the conquest of Mekka.

In the same way, as Amír Timúr was one day reflecting upon the straits he was in, and the smallness of his army in comparison with that of the enemy, and considering what would be the best line of action, he fell asleep, and heard a voice say to him, in eloquent language: 'Be of good cheer and grieve not, for God has given you victory.' When he awoke from his slumber, he asked, "Did anyone speak?" All present replied, "Indeed not." So he was convinced that the words were spoken by a voice from heaven, and that the sweet-scented breeze of good news had blown from the rose-garden of God's graciousness and favour. His confidence in the assistance of God was absolute, and he went to Amír Husain with fresh enthusiasm and renewed vigour, telling him what had happened. The good tidings were spread about among all the troops, and they were much encouraged; then obedient hearts bloomed like the rosebuds with the zephyr of the morn.

CHAPTER XII.

BATTLE OF AMÍR HUSAIN AND AMÍR TIMUR WITH THE ARMY OF JATAH. VICTORY OF THE AMIRS OVER ILYÁS JATA.

Amír Husain and Amír Timúr, having offered prayers and thanksgivings to the Padishah of Padshahs (may his name be exalted), mounted their horses and began to make preparations for battle. They divided the army into two parts, Amír Husain commanded the right ■ ng, and raised the victorious standard, while Amír Timúr led the left wing of the troops, who were accustomed to victory. Having arranged all this, and having put the army into order of battle, they went forward.

The enemy meanwhile were at Tásh Aligh, and they in the same manner, divided their forces into two parts, Ilyás Khwája Khán and Amír Hamid

command ing the left wing, and Amir Husain and Amir Bogjik the right. The opposing armies, having drawn themselves up in order of battle, attacked one another with vigorous onslaught.

[Verses] The world could no longer hold them all
You would have thought how wide and
unsure.
No thought sure of the morrow had
there a place any.
His troops was then assembled by
And there upon [illegible] the clubs bright

fighting began at noon and called Kala Mara, and the cries and shouting filled the vault of heavens. The dust after was made up of the soldiers of Amir Husain, by the scouts of the enemy, who were to strike the superiority of the army numbers, and were hurrying for the fray.

But Timur, keeping his eyes steadily fixed upon the spot where he was standing as usual, kingdom upon its foundations, sized his bow and arrow and made his left arm like a *dal* and his right arm like a *dal*.

[Verses]

And his soldiers, in imitation of their king, directing their missiles at the souls of the enemy, just as the archery of the ancient days by the shooting stars; and the reed of the [illegible] writing to the words "we have armed them as missiles against the evil spirits" made [illegible] with the blood of the scouts [illegible] of their remedies.

Among those slain were Tuk Timur, Elbeg, the chief [illegible], Dulat Shah, and two princes besides, who were both of them leaders of the other army.

[Verses]: Out [illegible] arrows were hid,
Hand all with cruelly [illegible] left.

Then two armies then rushed upon one another, and the [illegible] so the enemy as if it were tears from their eyes.

[Verses]: They charged on on their like great mountains;
[illegible];
You would have said that tulips had
Sprung up on the face of the earth.[1]

The attacks and charges of the veteran warriors grew more fierce, and the waves of the ocean of combat increased. And Timur, in accordance with the blessed promise (thanks be to God, who is exalted and blessed), was able to overcome and put to rout the enemies' army, his opponents with whom as own was but as a toy of rain. "And there is no victory but from God."

Amir Ilyás Khwája Aman Beg, Iskandar Oghlán, Amir Harand and Amir Yusuf were taken prisoners but the generosity, common to all Turks, was favourable to the Khán, for the soldiers who had captured him, when they recognised him, without saying anything to their leaders, mounted him

[1] *Yasil* Pétis de la Croix says "from Lycurgus" R.
[2] "Then he drew his bow to the ear, straightening his left arm like the straight Arabic letter *alif*, and bending his right like the crooked *dal*."
[3] The whole simile, which continues for some lines, is omitted R.
[4] This is in allusion to the bloomed tulips which cover the ground in spring, in some parts of the Central Asian *steppes*

and Boggik on horseback and set them at liberty. But the other captives they kept bound. On the same night, Amir Timur continued his march until he reached the River Yám, in order to cut off the retreat of the enemy, of whom many had been killed

[Verse]: From their blood, the water of the stream became like wine

Amir Chagu and Amir Sufuddin, at his command, marched against Samarkand. They conquered this town in the beginning of the year 765 of the Hijra [A.D. 1363], corresponding to the year of the Crocodile [Lui] of the Turkish cycle

Amir Timur, who was attended by success in all his endeavours and desires, hastened to hold counsel with Amir Husain and Shah Bahrám, and then set out in pursuit of the enemy. Having crossed the river at Khojand, he fixed his royal camp at Tashkand, and there, in order that his good fortune might not be quite perfect, he was afflicted with a few days' sickness [Verses] . . . .

Both Amir Timur and Amir Husain were for a short time a prey to a malady in that place. But they were soon released from the house of sickness, and the illustrious Princess Ulús Jú'kán arrived in safety from Kar.[1]

[Verse]. Bikas again returned to Sulaimán

Amir Timur then resolved to return, and therefore recrossed the river at Khojand. Being seized with a desire to hunt, he threw out a ring of beaters round a large extent of country, and Amir Husain did the same thing in a place called Dizák Bulbul. They set out from opposite directions towards Akták Kuhák. Several days were spent in pleasure and amusement, according to the words, 'Seize the opportunity while you may,' and then they returned in safety to Samarkand

At the joyful advent of this augmenter of happiness and decorator of kingdoms, the people of that district were illumined by the protecting dust of their royal path, so that the evils of the buffetings of events, which had crept in among human affairs, were entirely by the healing properties of his humanity rendered unimportant

CHAPTER XIII

CONTINUED [FROM VI] WAR IN AMIR HUSAIN AND AMIR TIMUR; AND THE RAISING OF KAZAGHAN OGHLÁN TO THE RANK OF KHÁN.

When the countries of Mawará-un-Nahr and Turkistán, together with all their dependencies had been delivered from the domination and oppression of the people of Jatah, one of the chief princes of more important generals

[1] There is nothing to show where the first part of this campaign took place, and I cannot trace the names. It seems that the Jatahs may have invaded the valley of the Zarafshán and if so *Yám* may stand for Ura to the south-west of Samarkand, and *Kabá Matar* for Miltan, to the north-west of it. *Kar* may also be read *Kas* or *Gaz*

would submit to the orders and commands of another;' for all the chiefs of tribes, making boast of the large number of their subjects and followers, wished to retain independence and would submit to no control. For if there should arise a number of people without a central unity to direct their affairs, will perish, and a kingdom without a rule to give laws and enforce them, will prevent them from suppressing the unruly, will be a ready all kinds of disorder.

[Verses] A world without a leader is hurtled by wild winds
A headless body is worth less than the dust of the road.

Under these conditions, Amir Husain and Amir Timur met together, and determined that it would be advisable to set up, as Khan, one of the descendants of Changiz Khan, while for the execution of this plan they convoked an assembly of all the emirs and princes, in the year 768 of the Hijra [A.D. 1366-], to discuss the settlement of the affairs of the State. They finally determined to appoint Kabul Shah Oghlan as Khan. He was the son of Duja, son of Hohukdil, son of Duva Khan. In order to avoid the toil and troubles of public life, he had taken to ways of privacy and seclusion, and had clothed himself in the habit of a dervish, and given himself up entirely to the pursuit of pleasure and to pay his noble figure at the holy-seat and old seat of the Khanship. To this end:

[Verses] They prepared a splendid banquet,
That what was all right to come next
They sought to wield world over
In gold and silver and gems.

They succeeded in placing Kabul Shah Oghlan upon the throne and, according to custom among the Turkish Sultans, he was presented with a robe of

[Verses]
All the mighty rulers and proud princes, at one time
Bent their knees in obedience to him.

Amir Husain Andakhani was given over to Abdallah, who executed him on that same night. [Verses]

When the country had once again been brought under the rule of Amir Husain, he made a great display of his liberality and hospitality, and gave a great feast in honour of Amir Husain. His own stewards prepared the banquet.

Amir Timur showed much favour to his own special subjects, and bestowed suitable presents on Amir Husain.

[Verses]: He gave him the most magnificent gifts,
Such as horses, swords, helmets and belts.

Since the father of Amir Husain was on the most friendly terms with Amir Timur, he was invited to the feast; for his intelligence had increased brightness from the polish of experience of long years. With him and Amir

* This meaning is perhaps that they would not submit to Timur or Husain—It
* That is They presented him with the royal gold of the Sultans of Turkistan. It

Of Amir Abdallah or *Abdallah*

Husain, he discussed the advisability of setting Amir Hamid and Iskandar Oghlán at liberty; and Amir Husain (in spite of the ...ls

[Verses]: When your enemy falls into your hands
Keep him a' a distance, lest he hurt you and you with repent)

out of consideration for the noble-mindedness of Amir Timur, did not refuse his entreaty, but gave sanction for the two prisoners to be released.

As soon as Amir Husain had set out for Shi-Sarái his residence in his own province, Amir Timur sent Amir Dáud and Amir Saifuddin to release the two prisoners, and to bring them back with all respect and honour; but Biyazíd and Aimak, who had the custody of Amir Hamid and Iskandar Oghlán, on seeing the two messengers, thought they had come to kill Amir Hamid, and therefore hastened to put him to death, one giving him a blow with a mace and the other striking him with a sword. Such was the end of Amir Hamid. When Amir Husain heard of this, he said: "The work of the servant was better than the work of the master, and at once sent a messenger in search of Iskandar Oghlán, to kill him

[Verse]. Against the arrow of destiny there is no shield.

During the winter of that year, Amir Husain and Amir Timur devoted their attention to the internal affairs of the State, so that the country attained a condition of perfect peace and prosperity.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE BATTLE OF THE MIRE.[1]

From the garden abounding in thorns and adorned with flowers, the sweet zephyr reached the nostrils of those whose souls had been sent upon the battle-field of misfortune and grief. They heard the good tidings that God often grants our best endeavours and most fervent wishes with calamities and hardships. [Verses] . . . .

Happiness often results from traces left by misfortune, and a state of equanimity and success often has its origin in distress and failure.

[Verses] . . . .

The course of events in the time of Amir Timur is a proof and example of the above truths.

For when the winter (during which he had devoted his time to the peaceful administration of the affairs of his State) had passed, and spring at length arrived, (When the warrior spring had raised the standards of the tulips and

[1] Known as the battle of *Tar—ik*, and which it appears to have been fought on the right bank of the Sihun (Jaxartes) between Chinaz and (old) Tashkent. Pétis transint s: Détaille des Bombées'

had led out his army of green plants [illegible] the plains [illegible] and meadows,

[Verses]: The [illegible]ing breeze led out his army toward the fertile plains
And made ready the weapons and arms of war.
He made spears of the branches of the trees,
[illegible]

[Illegible] way towards this country [illegible] Mir-i-Nar. Amir Timur began at once to collect his army together, and sent to the Amir Husain the report. The latter ordered Pahlwan Bayazid Zirak Tibrizi, and Muhammad Apardi, and Malik Bahadur to collect all the forces that were with all possible speed to join Amir Timur. They met together against the enemy. On the arrival at Akda, they inspected the cavalry and beasts of burden and remained three days to take advantage of the excellence of the pasturage. Departing thence, they crossed the river Shihun and encamped [on the opposite side]. Amir Husain halted on the direct road of the enemy, with a large body of men, till he came to the banks of the river, where he caught sight of the outposts.

Amir Timur's scouts [illegible] Tarkhan and Tashkent, and commanded them to carry them tents, which they did with great ease. Meanwhile Amir Husain [illegible] Sitam with his whole army, and halted in the central [illegible] *Kum hill*] behind [illegible] horse army made [illegible] river, and crossed it early from Aram and Amir Husain [illegible] marched, and as soon as the scouts of the two armies caught sight, [illegible] were made that so much army was prepared to fight against him. Amir Husain commanded the right wing, [illegible] *ground was in the command of* Dáhet Beh, Shir Bahadur, Pahlwan Bayazid, Jahán Alaeli Mir Bahádur, and many other valiant soldiers. Arish Him, who was to guard the wide army led the left wing, while upper [illegible] Arish Sir Bayazid with hot [illegible] Kipchak, to the vanguard, and Amir Khwája Ogdái to the vanguard. These three should be kept Amir Hasan, Amir Sultánshah, Amir Murad Bahádur Ali Bahádur, and many other men of the sword.

In this order they attacked the enemy, but in pursuance with the words: "It is a evil day for you when you at least [illegible] your own strength [illegible] brothers," they were not spared from an unexpected punishment, for the army of Jatah, which in spite of its superiority in number had [illegible] at Kala Bala, now that they found [illegible] opportunity to exceed the [illegible] numbers, had recourse to magic, and sought [illegible] the darkness, which possessed supernatural powers.[4]

[1] This spot must have been near to Jalt Jak [illegible] Shumut for [illegible] Khojand [illegible] is probably the place called Akar Kurán [illegible] (p. 2.)

[2] Some MSS. of the *Zafar-Nama* say they crossed the Shihun at Kurjant.

[3] This name might [illegible] Ujar Yeta Abadi. R.

[4] The superstition of the *Jalah* at no [illegible] alluded [illegible] by Baber. Erskine says the stone [illegible] called by the Arabs *Hajar-al-Matar*, or the rain stone, by the Turks *Yedeh-tasi*, and by the Persians *Sang-i-deh*. Pantho., a little lower down, speaks of Jalah as the name of a magician. The stone had the virtue of causing the rain to fall or to cease; but in the course of time the original stone, which was given by Noah to Japhet, was either lost, or the name

[Vers 8]. The army of Judah had not strength for the fight,
So they sought help from the magic stone.
With the stone of Judah, who was a magician,
They filled the world with wind and rain,
The clouds roared with thunder and the world howled,
A thunderbolt fell upon the earth

Although the sun was in Orion, all the dark clouds suddenly filled the sky, the thunder resounded and the lightning flashed. The elements rushed out from the ambush of destiny into the open plain of the other, and the thunder-clapping-cold round the azure vault of heaven. The arrows of lightning were shot out, in all directions, from the bow of the thunder-clouds, and the rain shot down its whistling darts. It seemed as if the Fates had again become a prey to the love of rebellion and confusion. Such a quantity of water descended from the eyes of the stars, that the Deluge seemed to occur a second time. And the voice of Noah was again heard to pray for the cessation of the waters of heaven.

The beasts of the field began to swim about in the water like fishes; and the feet of the horses stuck so fast in the mire that the skin of their bellies and backs was filled with, while hailstones impressed the bones to become bare. They were all clothed with *Asterhe*, and began to lose their flesh and become paralytic, their bones being loosened. The cutlasses of the Jews fell out of the notches came off, while clothes and accoutrements became so heavy with the damp, that neither cavalry nor infantry were able to advance. In consequence of all this, our host[1] lost their confidence and courage. But the army of the enemy, remaining where they were, covered themselves over with felt, and as far as they were able, preserved themselves from the violence of the rain. When our army came up to

[illegible], which had been engraven upon it was worn away. "If is pretended, I ween, that others with a similar virtue, and bearing the same name are still found among the Turks and the more superstitious affirm that they were originally produced and multiplied by a miraculous sort of generation from the magical stone given by Noah to Hasan." Mir Izzat Ullah, who was sent into Central Asia by Mr. Moorcroft mentioned the Jadi stone as one of the wonders of Yarkand. "Horses, we are told, that if the severed head of a horse is thrown, and that if a mare is previously spoiled, it inevitably produces a new. Many such ceremonies are still [illegible] Izzat Ullah, things, like Balaam, possessed solely in the virtues of which we yet remain ignorant, have been eye-witnesses to its effects." (Memoirs of Baber, Intr. p xlvii.; also Klaproth's translation of Izzat Ullah in *Mag Asiatique* I., p 11)

In the *Habibus-Sayr* an instance is given of Lului, some of Chingiz Khan, having recourse to the Jadi stone (here *Sang-i-yadda*) to produce a fall of snow as a means of encouragement, when hard pressed by the enemy during his invasion of Oman in 1231. (See Price's *Mah Hist*, ii p 512 who translates the word "Lapis imbellis")

The word *Jadu*, it may be remarked here, has no connection with *Jade*. It was a mineral, as Sir H. Yule tells us, called *Bezoar*, or antidote much used in the Middle Ages by the Arabs and Turks. The bezoar was usually a hard concretion found in the bodies of animals, to which antidotal virtues were ascribed. "The bezoar," he adds, "was sometimes called *stone*, and was supposed to be found in the head of a snake." (Glossary, p 38)

A complete note on the Jadi stone, containing many extracts from Oriental authors, will be found in Quatremère's *Hist des Mongols en Perse*, p 128

[1] Viz, the army of Timur and Husain

them, they threw aside their felt overalls and clothed [illegible] with white flesh horses and uniforms [illegible] the battle that began in great earnest

[Verses] The [illegible] shouting of the warriors
[illegible] showered down right and left.

The spheres [illegible] again with the [illegible] and the sound of the *kárnáls*.[1]

Amir Timur, by the aid of the [illegible] with the left wing, and overcame the right wing of the enemy which was led by Sherim-ud-Din brother of Amir Hamid, and which [illegible] Khizr Khán saw the host in confusion. But meanwhile fortune had deserted the right wing of Timur's army, for the enemy's left, led by Sivásiwal and Háji Beg, attacked and overcame our right, they drove Tárjí and Zain Háshim back to where Amir Husain was posted, and the body-guard of the latter [illegible], turned and fled. But Pulád Bighchi Shir Bahádur stood their ground and displayed the utmost courage. Háji Beg continued the attack and outflanked our right. Jahán and Chingiz Timur were astounded at the slight of this. But Amir Shams-ud-Din, on the other hand, [illegible] with [illegible] of bravery from the lever of [illegible], [illegible] with [illegible] and display of courage.

And now the fuel of the wisdom of Amir Timur took fire, and he [illegible] his sword

[Verses] And made such [illegible] that
The sun in comparison was melted
[illegible] clanged down like [illegible],
[He wore] his [illegible] helmet, leaving the crest [illegible].

He charged the enemy with seven [illegible] regiments [*kushun*]; the wind of his onslaught threw them upon the harvest of their stability, so that Amir Shams-ud-Din, terrified at the fierceness of Timur's attack, was obliged to turn the reins of power from the field of battle, and to set the face of holylessness [illegible] the direction of flight. This success of Amir Timur gave Amir Husain an opportunity to [illegible] his troops, and having done so, he stood his ground

[Verses] From the victory of [illegible] host-crushing [illegible]
He [illegible] received a wound in his body

Amir Husain sent a message to Pulád to Amir Hasan, saying: "It is time for the Arms to advance. Let us, together, make such an [illegible] that we may [illegible] earthquakes among the [illegible] of the [illegible] so that they may have all power to resist us and all strength to oppose us."

But in proportion as the power of Amir Timur increased, so did the star of fortune of Amir Husain begin to decline, and his happiness to approach the evening of distress, according to the text, "God doth not work any change in the people, until they have altered their own individual selves." During this period, his nature underwent a great change; he lost his former stability

[1] A kind of horn = *trumpet*. Père du La Croix says it was a trumpet eight feet long, used in the army. (*Hist. de Timur Bec*, I., p. 87.)
[2] May read Potlanji.—R.
[3] Or perhaps Tiek Timur.—R.

character, and begin to adopt evil habits and practise evil deeds [Thus] when Túbtu Bahádur came before him, Amír Husain abused him much in words, and then struck him so violently that he fell to the ground

At this Bahádur sent Malik Jamdami, who was one of Amír Husain's adherents, to tell their master that he must most certainly come, in order that no time should be lost, but Amír Husain, having heard the message, began to abuse the messengers and let loose upon them the tongue of violence and menace, then he added, "Did I run away that you should thus press me to advance? Whether you are victorious or whether the enemy carry the day, there is no one of you shall save his soul from my avenging hand."

Thereupon Malik Jamdami much enraged, left his presence and hastened to Amír Timur, to whom, on their arrival, they said, 'It is no use your persisting in the fight." Amír Timur was persuaded by them and did not oppose their advice, but withdrew the hand of intention. Since the ranks of both armies had been so much broken that the left wings of the opposing forces were fleeing one another each soldier encamped [lay down to rest] where he happened to find himself.

[Verses]:

The soldiers of both armies lay down to rest
And did not stir from their places till day had broken.

During that night Amír Husain sent several times to request that Amír Timur should come to him, but the prince would not give ear to his entreaties [Verses] . . . .

When, on the following morning, the two hosts again joined in battle, the army of Jatah was routed and fled. Our troops were pursuing, when they suddenly caught sight of the standard [*Tugh* or *Tak*] of Amír Shamsu-d-Dín, who had separated himself with a large body of soldiers from the rest of the army. Thereupon the pursuers abandoned their object and turned to attack Shamsu-d-Dín, while the defeated army again rallied and made a violent onslaught upon our men. Thus one side, after it had gained a victory, was in its turn defeated, and in their haste to get away, many of our men perished in the mud and swamps. The enemy pursued them and put numbers of them to the sword, so that there remained nearly ten thousand slain of our forces on the field of battle.

This battle took place on the 1st day of Ramazán of the year 766 of the Hijra [A.D. 1365], corresponding to the year of the Serpent (Yilán) of the Mughul cycle, and astrologers have shown that this event coincided with the tenth conjunction of the triple metal conjunctions in the Scorpion. Thus I only mention, that my history may be complete, but I do not wish to infer that events are caused by celestial influences, for "God alone is influence over creation."

After this defeat, the princes retired to Kash. All the chiefs of tribes began to cross the Jihun with their people. Amír Husain said to Amír Timur: "It would be expedient for you to cross the river with your household and troops"; but Timur replied, 'Others may cross if they like, but as for me, my patriotism will not permit me to leave my country to the molestation of foreigners. I will again collect my army and attack the enemy.'

Amír Husain then left him and retired to Sháh-Sudá, then he made all his people cross the Jihun, and taking an out-of-the-way route, he reached a place

called Shiatt, where he halted. From that place he despatched a spie, untoulling, if these bugl news of the app a ' the a gy at tal, t take flight at once towards Hi l tt [1]

As soon as Amir Hasan al lqu elf n Kerl, Arab l an tumul hia mind to preparatio s fa meeting t e e y. He ordered two rg t a a ssent to wa de ghbe tle n, m t e rr and ' hom Kawi t Oghli, Ghazuchi,[2] and Abbás Bahádur, t e n t e t e e m y and Sumaeed. But en the way Ghazuchi took to flight w al w s, and he pr t nde *a strong impression* on him[3] and his [Abbás].

Who is like t e w l. W t pass e r a pe s n, it l e m s fagrant, but b e m s tinel when t pass e s n e.

He became in ens'de l and began to talk w l s, a l way m h l ghted Daúd Khwája and Hi shushi by saying: Sh a n (meaning Ab Hasan) purposes to s d son ely to se e you, to ss n e A t Hadi, and to have you k lle l withou d ay. [His companions] subsequently were much alarmed, and running away, gave themselves to flight. When they reached Kukung, they met th ee m n ts equally with a y f Data, under the command of Kyuk Ba s, s n of Ulugh Qutlugh Shirwál, and Aqnoldk, son of Hájí Beg [ey e l to at a p th t th s e l b ught them to the p ce where Khwája Oghli Hamid and Abdis we o st d n l, these they put to flight, tog ther with all the r fo e. When Ab l Mu h d all t s, he saw th he must by all m ns get a little l ge and t t ing tu sty w e s a way.

He crossed the river Amuyah and went and encamped at Balkh, where he ga e assembl d his scattered follo e s, and from this point Fortune s turned favour Ab l s [Vol. I.].

That is Hus in h s in Hindu K sh when on night, it is necessary, taken refuge in Indi's *Sistán* [4] a e e p e f m the heat. By Babur, which seems to have been used in the days of Ulugh Beg, called *Shibr* or *Shaba* nowadays and will be found on ready a ps a little to the east of Bamián. Passing through a narrow defile of Salsal hill the Sultán Pass will be one of the most e n nt, [5] t s a good ut t take towards India. (See *Babur's Memoirs*, p. 1 0 and 1 1 n.)

[1] Or Chi-mel

[2] *Amuyah* or *Amú*, was f m n the Ancient Oxus, a reputed name during the Middle Ages and still th n of Hindu Turkestan, known the world more widely as the Oxus, flowing north-west from Bokhara and Balkh to the Aral Sea, a direction almost north-west from Balkh (See note, I. 170.)

CHAPTER XV

SIEGE OF SAMARKAND BY THE ARMY OF JATAH.

In the meanwhile, the army of Jatah reached Samarkand. Now at that time, as town had no citadel, but Maulána-Zada Samarkandi, Maulána Kutbuddin Bukhári and Abu Nasr Kulal Naddáf influenced the people of Samarkand to defend and fortify the town; and, despite their want of a properly leader, they offered stout resistance to the besiegers. They were bent on saving their city from the domination and tyranny of the people of Jatah. But when the inhabitants were beginning to tire of their efforts and their perseverance, God came to their aid and caused a pestilence to appear among the horses of the army of Jatah, so that three-fourths of them died. Consequently, the besiegers were obliged to retire, and the greater majority of them returned on foot, with their quivers strapped to their backs. Since the people of Samarkand also well defended their State, and had offered such determined opposition to their enemies, those among them who had more power became elated with pride, and tried to obtain precedence over their equals by stirring up sedition and rebellion in the town.

At the time of the retreat of the Jatah army, Amir Timur had sent Abbás Bahádur to Kuhlagha to spy out the land of Jatah, and when he was informed of the events above related—of the state of the people of Jatah and of the retreat of their army—he sent to Amir Husain to inform him also of the state of affairs, and to advise him to proceed in the direction of that country. When Amir Husain heard the news which the messenger brought, he was beyond measure pleased, and immediately set out from Shibartu towards Sáli-Sarai. Amir Timur, having caused his household and people to cross the river, had sent them to their native land, and had started himself on a hasty return to meet Amir Husain. They met in the plain of Bakláu,[2] and having embraced one another in the most respectful manner, they held a long discussion on the events which had already happened, as well as about the future. It was finally decided that they should proceed together towards Samarkand early in the following spring. Then Amir Timur returned, crossed the Jihun, and encamped at Kurshi. Kurshi was so-called because Kapak Khán built a palace at [that spot which is] *2½ farsangs* distance from Nakhshab, and in the Moghul language a palace is called *Kurshi*.

There Amir Timur remained during that winter, and he caused to be erected on the spot a citadel [first], which was completed by the end of the winter.

[1] The Iron Gate.
[2] Or Baghlán, which would be on the direct road from the Shibr Pass to Sáli-Sarai.

THE LAST DAYS OF ILYÁS KHÁNJÍ, AND THE FATE THAT THEN BEFELL THE FAMILY OF KHÁN.

CHAPTER XVI.

The [illegible] also [illegible] the Mughals [illegible] Ilyás Khán's Khán. We [illegible] have [illegible] from [illegible] *Zafar-Náma* [illegible] after the death [illegible] took place [illegible] Sultánand and [illegible] up [illegible] which fell among [illegible] events [illegible] Mughal [illegible] Mughal [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

One of Tughluk Timur Khán's sons, who was still at the breast, being concealed by Amir Khudáidád, and his mother, Mir Aghá, was spared. Kamaruddin sent everywhere in search of him, but they were successful in hiding the child from his spies.

Kamaruddin devoted his attention to the affairs of the State, but in consequence of the hostility of the Amirs, there was disorder and strife in the country. Moreover, the invasion of Moghulistán, which Amir Timur and his army undertook at that time, was a serious obstacle to internal progress. Meanwhile Amir Khudáidád sent Khizr Khwája Khán from Káshghar to the hills that are between Káshghar and Balakhshán, that he might be safe from the machinations of Kamaruddin, which matter shall be presently related, but first of all it will be well to give an account of Kamaruddin and his times.

CHAPTER XVII.

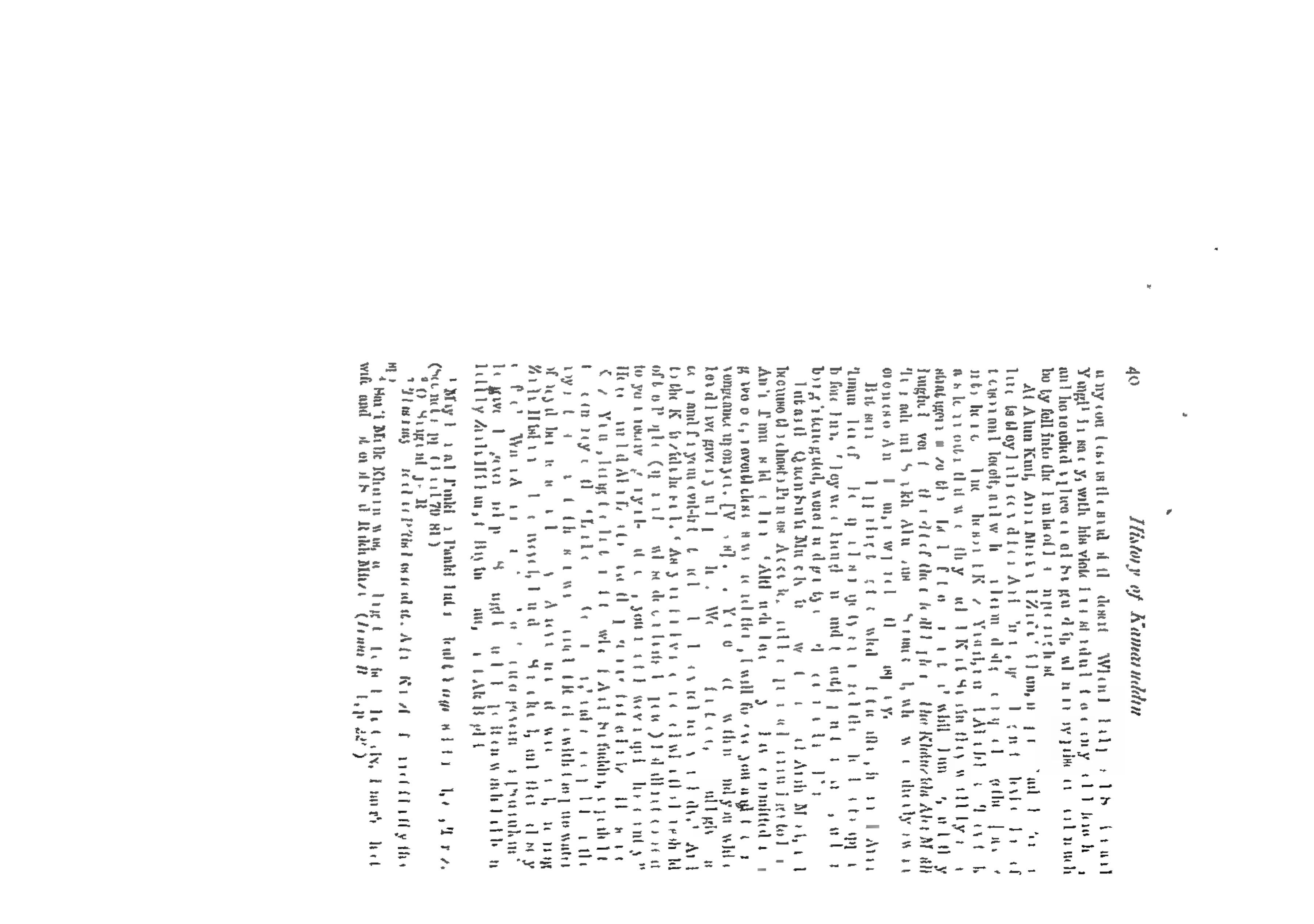
HISTORY OF KAMARUDDIN.

It has already been said that Kamaruddin tried to assume supreme authority, but that he met with determined opposition from the Amirs. Thus it was that Kunzah, together with Uzbeg Timur (who was of the tribe of Karáit), went over to the side of Amir Timur. Then Amir Timur raised an army, and himself remaining within his own dominions, sent Amir Bahrám Jalair, Khitái Bahádur, and Shaikh Ali Bahádur to the territory of Almalik.[1] On reaching the banks of the river Áish Khitun they attacked the men of the Karáit.[2] After this battle, having concluded a peace, they returned. But Amir Timur not approving the peace, invaded the country in person. This expedition is related in the *Zafar-Náma* as follows:

The successful Amir Timur who when he had once undertaken any business was never content till he had carried it through to the end, was dissatisfied with the gentle way in which his generals had treated the enemy, in uttering the plains of enmity and warfare with peace. For this reason he sent royal mandates in all directions for troops to be collected [verses] . . . A victorious and veteran army assembled before the palace of the Sháh—an

[1] The modern *Vierny*. (See note, p. 182.)

[2] Properly *Kerat*, or *Kirat* is the name of the tribe, though it is sometimes written *Girat*. The final I is merely the Mongol plural. (See note, p. 16, above; also, for some remarks on this passage and the word "Karáit," Howorth i., pp. 10–11.)



CHAPTER XVIII.

THE THIRD INVASION OF JATAH (THAT IS TO SAY MOGHULISTÁN) BY AMÍR TIMÚR.

On Thursday, the first day of the month of Safar of the year 776 the Hare [A.D. 1375], Amír Timúr, having collected an army, marched out towards Jatah which is equivalent to Moghulistán. On the route he encamped at the Rabát-i-Karadán, where the coldness of the weather caused the sun suddenly to withdraw behind the veil of the clouds, and much rain and snow began to fall.

[Verses]. No one ever yet saw so much snow,
The world looked like a mansion in the snowy mouth

The violence of the storm deprived the soldiers of their strength, and they were no longer able to look after their horses, because of the risk they ran of losing their own lives. In this way many of the men died and a quantity of horses perished. Amír Timúr, being moved to pity at this sad state of affairs, commanded them to break up the camp and return to Samarkand, where they remained about two months, until the rigour of the weather had in some measure abated. On Monday the 1st of the month Shawwál, at the beginning of the year of the Hare (Tushkán), he again led out his army against the country of Jatah—which is equivalent to Moghulistán.

He sent Amír Ḥusayn forward to reconnoitre; and to accompany him he sent Shaykh Muḥammad Bayán Sálduz and Aḥlátí, to whom he had entrusted the post of Jáldí, on the death of the latter's father, Bahrám Sálí. Having passed Sarán, they came to a place called Imrún, where they seized two of the soldiers of the army of Jatah and sent them on to Amír Timúr. When I was asked for news Kamáluddín, who was of the tribe [*Ulús*] of Dughlát, I mentioned that Kamáluddín had collected an army and was then stationed at Kankúrtúkh, waiting for Ilyás Khwája but that news of his advance. Amír Timúr had received Kamáluddín Tarkhán ordered a recommencing pursuit from then onward, while he himself remained halted there.

When Kamáluddín heard of these things, he withdrew his army to an inaccessible spot called Bárkah-i-Ghurídán[2] [the Pond of the Ghurs]. In that place there are three very deep ravines, through which flow three great rivers. Kamáluddín having crossed two of these valleys with his army, pitched his camp in the third, protecting the approaches thereto with barricades and entrenchments.

But Prince Ilyás Khwája marched forward at the head of his experienced soldiers, to the small district known as Aktúp. After they had

[1] Or Kuk Pipa, the "Blue hill-folk."

[2] The Landsdowne MSS. says *Arshdl Atáb*. The original character is many dots but, taking the probable position of the Turkish army into consideration it is possible that *Otdi*, some forty miles west-north-west of Kashgar may represent *Arshdl Atáb*.

wounded and killed many of the enemy with their arrows, they came to close quarters with them, and when night fell, all the enemy took to flight; so that on the morrow not a single man of the army of Jatah—that is to say, Moghulistán—was found in the camp. But our victorious soldiers followed in their pursuit, and put to death many of those left there. When tidings thereof reached Amír Timúr, he mounted and pressed on the rear of the enemy. Hoth-kún and Amír Sayid Dúdái, however, with Ilchi Kutlúgh Bahádur in pursuit of the enemy, had come up with his leaders, they all were on the other side of the river, and Hussain was dwelling in Aksu. On hearing these news they again crossed the river, and pitched their tents on the banks of the Chú. Amír Timúr, however, sent a force after them, which overtook them at Sairám, and put many of them to the sword. But they speedily sought and were admitted to mercy, and then went on to Sauran and Aksu. Amír Timúr advanced as far as Bitik with the purpose of meeting the enemy; but Amír Zádah, taking with him a regiment of Karáunás, fell upon Kamar-ud-dín by night, defeated him and took him prisoner. Thereupon Timúr hastily retreated, and all waste the country of Uzkend. [1] He came up with Kamar-ud-dín in the mountains, and pursued him beyond the limits of his own country; he also captured much booty and took many prisoners. Among the latter were Imám Aghá, his wife Sultán Bakht, and Dilshád Aghá. The last-named was the sister of Amír Timúr, who during her childhood had been betrothed to Amír Husain, but had not married him because of his youth. When, however, the festival fated to unite the lovers arrived, the bride, having secretly kissed Amír Husain's feet, presented him with a quantity of costly jewels and valuable presents, which Dilshád Agha had amassed during the days of her virginity.

After this, in the summer time, a quarrel arose between Amír Husain and Amír Timúr, which ended in the latter's marching against Amír Yazdi, who, during the absence of Timúr, had been busily engaged in besieging Kesh, and had reduced the Amír to the last extremity. Timúr, however, on hearing of the approach of Amír Husain, raised the siege of Kesh, and marched against his enemy. Amír Husain, on learning of Timúr's approach, fled from Samarkand to Karshi, and Timúr, having entered Samarkand, proceeded to Karshi in pursuit of Amír Husain. Amír Husain, however, fled from Karshi to Balkh, and Timúr returned to Samarkand. Amír Husain, on hearing of Timúr's return, left Balkh and fled to Badakhshán, whence he proceeded to Kunduz, and thence to Khuttalán, where he was slain by his own people, and his head was sent to Timúr. [2]

Mr V. P. Nalivkin notes that Kath is a village in the Alai district of Fargana, and says that its ancient name was Pitang. (*Hist. de Khanat de Khokand*, 11.)

[1] Possibly this first refers to the two places named Ush, near the eastern border of Fargana, but I know of no place with a name like *Uzkend* in this direction. Dr Bellew has Ush Bulúr or Ush Atúsh; the latter place, however, would seem likely to be connected with the native, who, however, was to all intents and purposes a Kashgharian. Dr. Bellew also (*Kashmir and Kashgar*, p. 301) says that the *Ush Barkan* range is on the left bank of the Upper Kizil, while the road to Kashgar runs along the right bank, having been built after the destruction, early in the sixteenth century, of the old town, which was on the left bank. Had *Uzkend* been mentioned Kashgar would be forty stages distant, but a town named of Kizilghar would be only half that distance. In connection with that of *Uzkend* the name *Kara Kamal*, which is immediately below it, is probably the name of an uninhabited place, or camping ground, and should be looked for in the hills to the north-west of Kizilghar. Be it of such, though loaded with debt, does not contain the name. (See also p. 30., for *Ush Barkan*, which Mirza Haidar puts at three *farsakhs*, or twelve miles, from Kizilghar.)

[2] Aqsu and Yizi: two rivers springing from the same range of hills near the eastern confines of Farghana. (See map for the position of the pass.)

CHAPTER XIX.

MARRIAGE OF AMIR TIMUR WITH THE PRINCESS DILSHÁD AGHÁ.

Amir Timur, in accordance with the text of the Korán: "Thou shalt marry whatever woman thou pleasest, even unto the number of four women," set the eye of his favour upon Dilshád Aghá and resolved to marry her. The officers of the Court made preparations of every kind and festivities. Wine and song and instrumental music were not wanting, and the whole ceremony was conducted with the greatest pomp and magnificence. The revels having been brought to a close, Amir Timur broke up his camp, and crossing the Yázir Dalán,[1] went and pitched his royal tents at Uzkund. Here he received his eldest sister Kutlugh Turkán Aghá, who, accompanied by several princes and nobles, had arrived from Samarkand; she had the honour of kissing the Emperor's feet, and took part in the festivities which were now again renewed at the Court. From Uzkund they proceeded to Khojand, when Adilshah, being obliged to show his submission, organised feasts and merry-making in honour of Amir Timur, and made him presents of horses and other things that his homage might gain the Amir's approval. His heart, however, was of another colour, for he had really the design of taking him by surprise in the midst of the rejoicings. But Amir Timur (whom God used to watch over continually) by his happy intuition, observed signs of this hidden treason, and detected the evil intentions of the conspirators by their movements. He thereupon rose from the banquet, mounted his horse and returned to his camp.

At the time when he was advancing to attack Kamaruddin, Shaikh Muhammad Bayán Saldúz, Adilshah Jaláir and Turkán Aulád had resolved to seize Amir Timur whenever an occasion should present itself. But their schemings were of no avail against one who was carefully watched over by the Eternal, and thus he reached his capital without accident. He then disbanded his soldiers, while he himself went to take up his winter quarters at Yurtu Sú, which is two months to the west of Kash. During the winter Adilshah arrived, and having paid his respects at the palace, confessed to the Amir the evil designs he and the other conspirators had had against him. When Timur heard this, he was wise enough to pretend not to have heard, and showed Adilshah great favour. When the winter had passed, he issued an order for his soldiers to muster, with the object of making another war upon Khwárizm. All the generals, princes, and soldiers having assembled around his palace, he ordered them to seize Shaikh Muhammad Bayán Saldúz and to put him on trial. After his case had been heard, his guilt being clear, he was handed over to the brother of Karimuddin Saldúz, a relation of his own, whom he had unjustly killed with his sword. The brother avenged Haqnulk by killing Shaikh Muhammad in a like manner. Ali Darvish, son of Bayázid Jaláir, was also put to death after being found guilty, while the government of the Tumán of Saldúz, together with the administration of justice and police [*Sabt*], was entrusted to the brave Ak Timur Bahádur.

[1] Evidently the pass (Dibin) between the Yázi and Arpa rivers, alluded to in the last note.

CHAPTER XX

THIRD EXPEDITION OF AMÎR TIMÛR IN KHWÂRIZM, AND HIS RETURN ON ACCOUNT OF THE REVOLT OF HÎN MUNÂ, APPEARS AND DISAPPEARS

In the beginning of spring of the year of the Hijra 777 A.D. 1375], on the year of the Cow (1) of the Turkish cycle, Amîr Timûr, happening by chance to be at Balkh, determined to make an expedition into Khwârizm, preparatory to engaging with Toktamish.

Having therefore appointed Amîr Akbûghâ Barlâs and Jahângîr Barlâs, and Jahângîr Amîr Sûfî Bîgî, Adil Sûfî Hasan, Khalîl Bahâdur, Hâjjî Sîfî Bîgî, and other commanders of tens with 6,000 men, cavalry and infantry (which is equivalent to Moghal tûmân), I gave them express orders to march rapidly for Kunâ-Urgânj, and to kill Hîn Munâ wherever they might find him; he then mounted his own victorious standard and set out for Kunâ-Urgânj with the army. On reaching a place called Shîrgân on the Jîhûn, called Shîrgân because Amîr Arîk-buqa had encamped there on the occasion of the first invasion of Khwârizm, but he had not been able to cross the river, but had returned with his army to Kunâ-Urgânj. Amîr Hasan the emir sent Pahlawân Bahâdur with a few men. They marched day and night, and Jahângîr and Arîk-buqa came up to the right and left[1] which is on a river, where Tûrâ-Timûr and the Turk-mans had taken refuge, and plundered the property of the Khwârizmîs, but they were not able to effect the complete capture of the Khwârizmîs, because they had taken to flight the night before, and had crossed the river Jîhûn. Such large quantities of grain, fodder and cattle were found that the army was loaded for four months, and the remainder was burnt, and left there, as it could not be carried away. Then Amîr Hasan the emir sent Pahlawân Bahâdur with a few men. They marched day and night, and Jahângîr and Arîk-buqa came up to the right and left[1] which is on a river, where Tûrâ-Timûr and the Turk-mans had taken refuge, and plundered the property of the Khwârizmîs, but they were not able to effect the complete capture of the Khwârizmîs, because they had taken to flight the night before, and had crossed the river Jîhûn. Such large quantities of grain, fodder and cattle were found that the army was loaded for four months, and the remainder was burnt, and left there, as it could not be carried away.

[1] A misprint, probably, for *Khwârizm* (as given with explanation, at the end of the 18th century, by Khwândamîr in the Habîb-us-siyar).

[2] Here is a remarkable misunderstanding. *Leads* is *Tîgâb* (Persian *Tîgâb*) which means the *Amû or Oxus to the south-west of Balkh*, and *Jangal* (Persian *Jangal*) means *Forest* (Hist. of Timûr Bec, i. 11, pp. 212) especially when that the *Tîgâb* of the Amîr Timûr is obviously impossible. It seems, however, that he was told *Tîgâb* by Arîk-buqa's men, but he understood *Tâlâb*, which means a small valley. It is in the neighbourhood of Balkh. It was quite Azîzî to confuse the *Tîgâb* with *Tâlâb*, which latter is only twenty-eight miles from Balkh, but in which direction there is no mention. Again, he tells us that Balkh stands on the water of the *Tîgâb* emerging from Tâlâ-i-Barfar not far from Marv-al-Rûd. The latter being fifty parasangs, or five days' journey, east of Marv-i-Shâh-Jahân, situated fully not far east of the Murghâb. It is this last *Tîgâb* (which is no) that is most prominent in the text. But in my case, the movements of Pahlawân Bahâdur are inexplicable, as I could not have passed Andkhûd (or Andkhûd) to reach upon the Murghâb or 100 miles east of Marv-i-Shâh-Jahân (S. Abul Ghâzi (2) ii. 195 and 118). The only map I know that shows the *Tîgâb* is that of James Fraser, who marks its place about halfway between Balkh and Marv-al-Rûd (S. *Hist. of Nadir Shah*, 1742).

furious,[1] made a bold rush at him, and they wrestled together for some time, till at last Puládí got the upper hand, and crying out, "Long live Amir Timur!" struck Tukan to the ground. He then cut off his head and returned in triumph.

Arjá Sa badáí, who had gone in pursuit of Tukan's brother, Kazan, now came up with him, overcame him, and severed his head from his body. His corpse became meat for the wild beasts, while the heads of the two were taken before Amir Timur.

Of those Amirs whom Timur had sent into Jatah (that is to say, Moghulistán),[2] Sárí Bughá and Adilshah, when they found the country empty, prepared another plan of revolt, they seized Khitái Bahádur, and Hasan Bughrá, while Hamadí, whom Amír Timur had made Governor of Andakan [Andijár], allied himself with them. Having collected their tribes, namely, the Jaláir and the Kipchaks, they set out against Samarkand, and began to lay siege to it. But the inhabitants defended themselves so successfully with arrows and darts, that they could not surround the town. Amir Ak Bughá, who was governor of the town, wrote of this matter to Timur, who having passed Kát[4] had just arrived at Kás when this news reached him. He immediately made preparations to return, and, having sent forward his son Jahángír, in command of the vanguard, he himself followed with a large army. When he reached Bokhárá he put his men into fighting order, and went and encamped at Rabát-i-Malik.

Prince Jahángír came up with the enemy at a place called Kamina, where a battle took place. The air was filled with the sound of cymbals, and much blood was shed. But the Prince Jahángír, relying on the aid of the Eternal God, at length overcame the enemy, who fled into the deserts of Kipchák, where they put themselves under the protection of Urus Khán[5]. Timur Bughá finding himself victorious, returned in peace to his capital. He then divided the tribe of Jatah between his Amirs, and appointed his son Omar Shaikh (*the years of Andakán* [Andijár]).

Alishah and Sárí Buzal remained in the service of Urus Khán. But at length they thought to rebel, and engaged the better of them, and once, while Urus Khán was absent at his summer quarters, they ran away, and drawing the sword of treachery from the sheath of infidelity, made war on Uchuba, a lieutenant of the Khán, and killed him. They then fled to the court of Kamaruddín in Jatah (that is, Moghulistán) and tried to stir up him a spirit of revolt.

[1] *Puládían* is merely a play on the word *Puládí*, which means *steel*.—R.

[2] It may be observed here that it is Mirza Haidar and not the author of the *Zafar-Náma*, who thus points on each occasion to remark '*Jatah* is *that at present Moghulistan is*.' That *Jatah* is equivalent to *Moghulistan*.

[3] *I.e.* offered no resistance.—R.

[4] Marked on Pétis de la Croix's map (vol.) on the bank of the Oxus, a little above Kalva. D'Herbelot mentions Kát as the ancient capital of Khwárizm, and says it lay twenty-four miles from Hazarásp down the Amu (Babel, p. xxix.; see also Sprenger's map No. 3 in *Post- und Reiserouten des Orients*).

[5] Ruler of the White Horde of Kipchak, and a descendant of Juji Khan.

CHAPTER XXI.

AMIR TIMUR'S FOURTH EXPEDITION INTO TATAR (THAT IS, MOGHULISTÁN).

Amir Husain Baghdad Adilshahi had attached themselves to Kamaruddin, they used every persuasion to take the field in the cause of amity which he naturally cherished against Amir Timur. Kamaruddin finally left Samarkand, entering the country of Andikán, where the Hazárat of Kunduz, leaving Omar Sunkal, joined the side of the enemy. Ibn Omar Shaik, having taken up a fortified position on the mountains, sent a messenger whose name was Dilshad, to Amir Timur to tell him that the enemy had marched with a large army, and that they had overrun the whole of Andikán. Amir Timur was much enraged when he heard this, and immediately set out with all haste for that country. When Kamaruddin heard of the advance of Amir Timur he retired from the place where he was encamped, and having caused his household and tribe to leave Aftábah, he hid himself, with 1000 cavalry, in a place of ambush. When Amir Timur reached that spot, being quite unaware of the trap [which Kamaruddin had] laid for him, he sent forward the whole of his force in pursuit of the enemy.

Few stayed behind, however, of the army 5000 cavalry and seven thousand foot, [namely, the Amirs Ilyás, Khájí Bahádur, Shaikh Ali Bahádur and Amir Timur. Khájí Bahádur and Shaikh Ali Bahádur discussed how the enemy could best be destroyed. They determined to display the utmost bravery and audacity, and thereupon set out in pursuit of the foe, so that finally there did not remain more than 200 men with Amir Timur.

Kamaruddin, now seizing his opportunity, rushed out of his ambuscade with his 4000 cavalry, sword in hand, bent on avenging himself on Amir Timur. But Timur recalling to mind the words of the Koran: "How many small armies have overcome great hosts by the help of God!" was in no way disturbed or alarmed, but encouraged his men and opened his heart to them, saying "Victory is from the Giver of all good gifts: not from the multitude of soldiers is it to be obtained. Your sole duty is to acquit yourselves like men; for should you show even the smallest sign of cowardice or hesitation we are lost."

No sooner had he said these words than he turned his charger against the enemy, and full of trust in God, entered the fray. [Verses.] . . . .

After the fight was over, Timur avowed that it was only by the aid of Heaven that such a handful of men could have overcome a force of four thousand cavalry, bent on vengeance. . . [Verses and rhetoric.] . . . .

One day after this event, he fell asleep, and there appeared to him, in a dream, Shaikh Burhán-ud-dín Kilij (upon whom be the mercy of God). Amir Timur advanced towards him with great reverence, and asked him to pray to God for the recovery of his son Jahángir, whom he had left on the bed of sickness at Samarkand. The Shaikh answered, "God be with you"; but of his son he said nothing. When Timur awoke from his dream, he felt convinced that his wishes concerning his son were not fulfilled, and was so distressed about Jahángir's safety that he despatched Bu Kutlugh, his private secretary,

with a letter (from Sang), that he might obtain correct news of his son As soon as his secretary had started, he had another disturbing dream about Jahángir, and became more anxious than ever, saying to his courtiers "I sadly fear I am for ever separated from my son, do not hide the truth from me any longer!" But they, going down on their knees, took a solemn oath, saying, "Thy servants have absolutely no news of this matter, and have heard nothing of your son's condition"

Departing thence, they again met with Kamaruddin at Sang Zighaj, a fight took place, and they again put him to flight. Amu Uch Kará followed close after him, and when [the pursuers] had gone a little way, Kamaruddin, being surrounded by the Amir's soldiers, turned round with eight of his followers His horse was killed under him by an arrow, and he himself only just managed to escape on foot, covered with wounds In the same fight Pulád received an arrow wound in the hand, by chance, also, as fire broke out, and the efforts which Pulád made to extinguish it, increased the inflammation of his wound that he died

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CHAPTER XXII.

THE DEATH OF PRINCE JAHÁNGIR

Amir Timur having left Atákum, crossed the Sihun and arrived at his capital, Samarkand, where he found

[Verses]: The people wearing clothes of black and grey
And tears of sorrow streaming from their eyes,
And all had sprinkled dust upon their heads
And as a sign of mourning beat their breasts
They came in haste to greet their lord the king,
Their heads they bared, and on their necks they hung
Black felt and sackcloth, thus they left the town
Filling the air with moans and lamentations.
"What pity that Jahángir, just and good
Should thus be carried off in early youth,
As is a flower by the cruel wind"

When Amir Timur heard these wailings he could no longer doubt but that His forebodings had been correct. The death of his son, which he now learned, caused the whole world for him to become black his looks were continually wet with tears and he became almost inconsolable to him. The kingdom, which should have been overjoyed at the return of its mighty monarch, was become, instead, a place of desolation and mourning. The whole army, clothed in black and grey, sat down in mourning. The generals put dust upon their heads, and their eyes were filled with the blood of their hearts.

Though the Emperor was greatly overcome by grief at the loss of his son,

[illegible]

CHAPTER XXIII.

AMIR HUSAIN AND AMIR JAHAN TAKE SERVICE.

Amir Husain and Amir Jahan decided by the leading [illegible] to join the [illegible]

[Verse. Why should I [illegible]
[illegible]
Why should, for [illegible],
[illegible]
With [illegible]
Shall I make to run the white wall red?

[illegible] Amir Husain angrily [illegible] saying: 'It is A[illegible] of the [illegible] of the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[V[illegible]
But if he [illegible] King to all usage,
His State will surely [illegible],
And if the Salt no [illegible] bright,
[illegible]
[illegible] Sultan is the Sl[illegible] of the [illegible] of Allah,
And from his Shadow shall the world become [illegible] and bright.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

. If the desire of their noble sovereign was to please God, nothing could be more acceptable in the eyes of the Preserver of Mankind, than the administration of justice and care for his subjects, for the most perfect and wisest of all men (upon whom be the most excellent prayers) said that he preferred one hour of his life, which should be spent in the administration of justice, to sixty or seventy years spent in worship

Amir Timur accepted favourably the counsels of his servants, feeling that it was purely out of affection for himself, that they had addressed those words to him, and he thereupon began again to turn his attention to the affairs of the State. He also reassembled his troops and prepared them for an expedition

At this time, news arrived that Adilshâh Jalâir was wandering about the hills of Karâjuk, with a few other persons, whereupon Amir Timur despatched Jahân Khwâja Kukildâsh and Ilchi Baghâ, together with fifteen horsemen, in search of Adilshâh and his party. They set out from Samarkand in the night, and when they reached Otrâr a few chosen men were despatched to the mountains to look for Adilshâh They eventually found him in a place called Aksumâ, when they seized him and put him to death in accordance with the Yasâ. Aksumâ is a column [*mil*], built on the summit of the mountains of Karâjk, to serve as a watchtower (*didh bâni*) whence one may look out over the plains of Kipchâk.[1]

Shâh Bughâ also, who having deviated from the high road of reason, had become rebellious and fled now, after two years' absence, being led by the true guidance of intelligence, returned again to court [illegible] pardoned by the merciful monarch, and received the government of his own tribe and country.

Shortly after this, Amir Timur saw fit to send his son Omar Shaikh against Kamaruddin, and with him he despatched Amir Akbughâ, Khitai Iddeki and others of the Amirs, commanding them to do their utmost to sweep the enemy from the face of the earth. This undertaking was a great effort, they set out with all possible speed. In the district Kunâr they came upon Kamaruddin, and by the aid of the Almighty, their swords of cruel fate became fully-coloured [perhaps: impregnated with fighting, and the faces of the enemy grew pale when they saw the] glittering swords [illegible] fight the enemy badly, scattered in all directions. When Kamaruddin fell, the victorious army plundered all his country and returned in a cloud of dust and victory.

[1] 'It was well, the manly may have recollect the spot marked as a place called Aksumâ, 'Aksumâ Tower' [illegible] as observation the large tower called Ak-tagh [illegible] plains of Kipchâk [illegible] Dr Bellew [illegible] 'a sepulchre built on the Kara Tagh' (*Garland Mission Report*, p. 162)

CHAPTER XXIV.

AMÍR HUSAIN'S [illegible]

[illegible] (in Moghulestán), from Amír Husain's [illegible] in Lake Issik-kúl, [illegible] Muhammad Husain, with Amír [illegible], and eight [illegible] Sa'íd-i Mughul, [illegible] with Kamaruddín, [illegible] fight. Peyton-oghlís [illegible] number [illegible] Kamaruddín [illegible].

At this place we [illegible] Ogdai, having [illegible] by his [illegible] Amír Timúr [illegible] the Amír *Husain, Timúr Uzbek, eager and most fortunate with all possible honour and ceremony, and [illegible]* Amír Husain [illegible] Sarúk and Jastiy.

On [illegible] by Timúr Uzbeg [illegible] with [illegible] Amír Husain [illegible] and with all the [illegible] Sa'íd-i Mughul [illegible] Ogdai's [illegible], [illegible] Kamaruddín [illegible] Peyton-oghlís [illegible] Sa'íd-i Mughul [illegible] Kamaruddín [illegible] Sa'íd-i Mughul [illegible].

END OF EXTRACTS FROM THE ZAFAR-NAMA

CHAPTER XXV.

THE LAST DAYS OF AMÍR KAMARUDDÍN.

[illegible] Mughulestán, [illegible] the end of his life, Kamaruddín was afflicted with dropsy.[1] While he was ill his sister's [illegible] news came, one day, that Amír Timúr was approaching, with

[1] Kuhkán, or Kerúlen, is [illegible] the Chin, [illegible] Kul Sea (see the map).

[2] Tokta-bek was [illegible] and subsequently [illegible] Khán [illegible] Khán (Sect. 1, p. 46).

This sentence may [illegible] Instead of the form *Inaghu*, Dr. Bellew has read *Inaghit*, and it is likely to be correct, or nearly so, for in the [illegible] immediate neighbourhood of Kuchkán, he calls it *Inaghán* or *Anaghit*. I can find nothing to answer to *Inaghu*.

[3] Some details, descriptive of the final symptoms of the disease, are omitted.

his army, but Kamaruddin was so weak from not his horse or to hold the bridle. So his people carried him into the depths of the jungle, and left him there with two of his concubines, and provisions for a few days. The rest then fled. After the invading army had withdrawn, and the scattered inhabitants had returned, they sought for Kamaruddin in the jungle, but not a trace of him or of his attendants, either dead or alive, could be found. Thus were the people released from his oppression[1] After his disappearance Amir Timur's mind was not at rest with regard to Moghulistán and he made no sixth invasion of that country. In fine, the Moghuls enjoyed peace and rest.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE REIGN OF KHIZIR KHWÁJA KHÁN, SON OF TUGHLUK TIMUR KHÁN.

It has been mentioned above, that Tughluk Timur Khán's youngest son was Khizir Khwája Khán, and that while he was yet at his mother's breast, he had been saved from the cruelty and enmity of Kamaruddin by Mir Ágha, the mother of Amir Khudáidád. When Khizr Khwája Khán attained the age of twelve years, [his friends] still fearing Amir Kamaruddin, removed him from Káshghar. Amir Khudáidád wished him to be accompanied by a few trustworthy men, but Mir Ágha opposed his plan, saying: "Do not send any of your own servants, for when the boy becomes Khán, base born people [such as they] will be more influential, and then they will prove enemies to yourself and your children They will imagine that the people do not pay them sufficient respect, but say among themselves, 'These are only servants.' For this reason rather send others than your own retainers and strangers' So twelve men were sent with him of whom every one eventually became an Amir, and many of their descendants are alive now. Among their number was Arjin ák, from whom are descended the Amirs of Ilinji; Táji of Khwárizm, from whom are sprung the Amirs of Kunji; while another was of the tribe of Chálish Sáidi [or Sayyádi]; and

[1] Amir Kamaruddin was one of the Amirs who were governors of districts in Moghulistan, and were called Amirs Dughlat Amirs (*i.e.*, provincial governors), originally appointed by Chagatai Khán The districts were Tulugh at Kashghar, Bulaj at Aksu, Kamaruddin at Atbashi, Shamsuddin who is mentioned as having taken part in the battle of Lai (or the mire), and Shaikh Daulat of whom nothing but the name can be traced Pulik, the eldest was succeeded as Ulusbegi by Bulaj, and he by his son Khudáidád, who was seven years old when his father died (See Bellow, *Yeti Hesar*, p 151)

his sons also became Amirs, with the style [*lakab*] of Kushji, but they are also called Kukildásh.[1] These persons all attained the rank of Amir, and did also the commander of the twelve.

In short, they came to Khizr Khwája Khán up to the hills, which lie between Badakhshán and Káshghar. But as the queen Kamarnisa got news of his hiding-place he was obliged to abandon it and take flight to the hills of Khotan. There again, finding discovery, he passed on from this place to Singh Singhan,[2] Jurjan, and Sol Kalas,[3] in which regions he continued twelve years. On the death of Kamarnisa, which was made to Khizr Khwája Khán, and Amir Khudáidád sent secret people to fetch him from where he was in hiding. As soon as he was brought in, Khudáidád called the people together and raised him to the Khánship. Thus did the splendour of the Khán come to illumine the sovereignty of the Moghuls, so that the affairs of Moghulistán prospered.

The Khán then concluded a peace with Amir Timur, who formed an alliance with him by marrying, Tavakkul Khánim,[4] a maiden from the royal haram. During his reign the Khán undertook a holy war [*ghazát*] against Khitái. He, in person, attacked and conquered Kaikhoja and Turfán, two very important towns, situated at the border of Khitái, and forced them to become Musulmáns so that at the present time it is called "Dár al Islám."[6] As a seat of the Moghul Khákáns Turfán country stands next in importance to Káshghar. It is mentioned that, in that campaign, this country was divided up in the manner ordained by the Holy Shariat. And there fell to the lot of the Khán, one piece of satin and one grey cow.[7] The Khán's object in doing this, was the glorification of the realm of Islám.

[1] The Turki MS. has *Bahádirán* (the Persian equivalent for *Kukildásh* or *Ghuldásh*), meaning sworn friends or brothers, which is not at all appropriate reading.

[2] The country of the Singh or Yellow Uighurs, to the east of Khotan and Chárchan (see notes, p. 1 and 10).

[3] *Chárchan* or *Charchand* between Khotan and the Lob Country.

[4] Or *Lob Kand*, the district at Lake Lob. (For *Kand* or *Kan*, see note, p. 12.

[5] Site of the Khán's daughter.

[6] Which of the two towns—Turfán or Kuchu—was at that time called 'Dár al Islám,' 'the Seat of Islám,' Mirza Haidar leaves the reader to conjecture. They are in reality some twenty-six or twenty-seven miles apart. In any case Turfán was the more important, and already then the capital of the State. But in earlier times Kuchu was the capital of the whole country, and the Seat of Islám, which date he is speaking of. It is possible also, that by Dár al Islám to indicate the whole state, or province, of *Uighuristán*, as he it was in all the Khanate which lay west of the eastern Kara-tau and Bogdo-ula. More anon, will be seen to what geographical end of meaning the writer or districts and sources speaks of the same part of Uighuristán as 'Chi'ish-Turfán.' (For the identity of Kuchu-Uighur (the Chinese Hui-hu) with the ancient Kao-Chang (to see Stein's Ancient Khotan.)

[7] The 'piece of satin' and the 'grey cow' may have been some emblems of

It is related in the *Zafar-Náma*, that as soon as Amír Tímúr had satisfied his lust for conquest in the north, south and west, he prepared an expedition against the countries lying to the east, especially against Khitái, which is the most important of these, and a long description is given of the projected expedition, the substance of which is that he mustered an army of eight hundred thousand men, supplying them with provender sufficient for seven years, as was his custom in the armies of Turk and Rum.[1] As a country lying between Khitái and Máwará-un-Nahr was but little devastated, he thereupon published, decreed each man to take, in addition to other supplies two milch-kine and ten milch goats following, that when the supplies should be exhausted, they were to subsist on milk; and when, in turn, the milk should come to an end, they were to convert the animals themselves into provisions.

Having completed these preparations, Amír Timúr set out from Samarkand, and for the purpose took up his quarters [illegible] in Mughistán. While there, he sent to seek Khizr Khwája Khán if it would be possible to cultivate the ground in Moghulistán, in order to furnish supplies for the army.

I have frequently heard my father (upon whom be mercy of God!) relate that in the beginning of the spring, he now [illegible] had come on, and in that day, according to an ancient Moghul custom, they had prepared. As Amír Khudáidád was about to depart to bring up Khizr to the Khán, one of the chiefs [illegible] the arrival of an ambassador from Amír Timúr and stated the purport of his mission. The envoy added: "If he [illegible] he [illegible] that we have no power to resist him, and that we should [illegible] pay him tribute." At these words [illegible], the Khán, [illegible], whereupon Amír Khudáidád said: 'You must now drink of the cup of tranquillity (*ráhat*), in conformity with the request

[illegible]
[illegible]

I am [illegible] "I have heard that if an apple be thrown up [illegible] sky, God has had time to bestow a hundred blessings [illegible] and soon is again [illegible] down then you will be passed, however many thousand favours may [illegible] to you. These are enough to bring you comfort."

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

Scarcely had he done speaking, when they saw advancing rapidly from the shore of Lake Kará, a man mounted on a black horse and clothed in white robes. He did not ride up to the tent, where it is customary to dismount, however, but rode on without stopping, right past the tent in which were sitting in a line. The chamberlains *quickly* ran up here and there to try and stop him in his course, but he rode at such full speed till he came up to where Ilchi was standing. Then he called out in a loud voice "Amír Timúr is no more, he has died at Otrár!" Having uttered these words he galloped off at full speed. Many horsemen were sent after him, but none could overtake him, and no certain intelligence of the news was to be had. However, after an interval of forty-five days, intelligence arrived that Amír Timúr had died at Otrár; so there could not remain any doubt about the matter, and the Khán was relieved of all anxiety and distress.

The Khán was born before the year 77[1] of the Hijra and the above recorded events took place in 807.[2] The Hijra not it is not known how long the Khán survived Amír Timúr, but known here.

When the Khán ascended the throne of Khanate, the dominations of the State which, under the usurpation of Amír Timúr and the ascendancy of Amír Husain, had been much shattered, were more strengthened and consolidated. Old customs and exploits, which had fallen into disuse or oblivion, were revived, while the affairs of the kingdom and the army were set therein to order. Among other matters that received attention were the most ration to his nights of Amír Khudáidád.

From the reign of Chingiz Khán hereditary engagements to the service of Amír Khudáidád the following seven privileges: 1 *nauba* or *Tabl* (or the drum). 2 *Alam* (or the standard), the former being called in Turki "*nakára*" the latter "*tugh*". 3. Two of his servants might wear the "*Kushun tugh*," *Kushun-tugh* synonymous with "*chápú tugh*" [1] He might wear the *Kushun* in the coronation of the Khán, though it is a custom among

[1] *Yazdí* may be translated in duration, as it is in modern use.
[2] Timúr's death took place in February, 1405, about the middle of the Hijra year 807 which began on 10th July, 1404, and ended 28th June, 1405.
[3] In the text as read by Mr Erskine it is *nauba* or *kettledrum* corresponding to appear to be meant by *Tabl* (See *Hist of Inda* i 4 where however the latter is given) From this slight MS translation and Baber Mubammad Haidar's that Mr Erskine found only *chatr* described, as is the case in that to which used by Mr. Ross Dr Bellew (*Yarkand Mission*, p 154) has taken it differs in many respects from the one given above. The word *nauba* means, I only, *effigies*, *Tabl*, *drum*, *Alam*, *standard* or *pennon* answers the meaning. A good account of the prerogatives is given by Professor Blochmann in his *Ain-i-Akbari* (pp 101–7), as derived from the *Ahkám-i-Timúri* of Al Tusi Shahi *ghadir* = *qurt*, though the text we have not apply that name) Bellew translates *qurt* as (p 153) as Mr Blochmann

the Mogh ule th n n one but the Khin may carry his quiv r in his hand. 7. Certain privileges n connecti with the Khán's hunt.[1] 8. He was to be an Amir over all the M „huls, and in the *Asámi* l's the was to be called "Si. Ca. the Ulus M „ul." 7. In the p sence of the Khan, he the Am rs were to sit with legth further than he from the Khán

Such were the seven privileges bestowed upon Bahadur Chiug z Khan When Amir Sil' ti brought up Juk Timur Khan from the battle by h k, and also hir r the thr e the Khán's ste, he, in turn for his services, received in addition to his own privileges already enumerated, two others, so that he enjoyed nine in all. The first of his new privileges was, that he should have the power of inv sting, or appointing Amirs of *Kushauet* (that is Arm's who had no thousand allowance) without applying for, or consulting with the Khan on those always to follow. But one he has already held previously to this, was to be called the first of the seven Amirs, and he should have the following conditions. He was to sit up on the left hand side of the throne, and should when he should please to do so, be at liberty to speak to the Khan from an elevation. When the interrogatory and investigation had been conducted in this fashion, if the offence charged against him, and the other nine Amirs should stand by and watch him while his arms were pinioned and all his skirts drawn tight behind him. Then he should perish. Then the two Amirs would bring and present all the way his body out.[2]

These nine privileges were attached in a *Yasáq* issued and

[illegible]

[1] The original p rtion will then consist of *Tarkhán* privileges, really nine, viz. Mogul (Sanskrit *Mahá Mátra*, appointed by *Jelláir* and duly ratified by Arabic autograph, the Khán's own particular seal, and always read by him. The Arabic, in the *Jelláir* and twelve of the *Yasáq* (*Institutes*) were added by Timur: Barlas, Jaráshan, Argún, Jalair, Arlát, Duál, Mogul, Sulduz, Tughái, Kipchák, Aitát, Lulat. See the same multiplying distinctions observed by subsequent Timurides (Bray's *Institutes of Timur*, p. 91.) The word Bahadur means 'hero,' and is often translated by 'valiant' and other equivalent meanings also. Mr. H. H. Howorth has lately shown that

the soul of Tughluk Timur Khán, which I one drew myself. For it was handed down in our family, and ultimately came into the hands of my father (upon whom be the peace of God) It was somewhat destroyed [illegible], in the disturbed times of Shah Rukh [illegible] It was written in the Moghul language and character, and I saw the date and place of the year of the Hegira at Kunduz, which goes to prove that Tughluk Timur Khán's rule extended as far as that. No one alive now knows anything about the reign of that Khan, but I have copied into his history here and of it given in the *Zafar-Náma*.

Since Khizr Khwája Khán had been saved from the yawning abyss of Kamaruddin's violence, and had been placed upon the throne of the Khans, by the aid of Amir Hussain son of Amir Khudá dád, he rewarded the latter Amir by augmenting these privileges to the nine existing ones; making the prerogatives of Amir Khudáidád twelve in number. Thus

10. That on the occasion of festivals when the King's chamberlains [*yasáwul*] arranged the ranks, even the chamberlains of Amir Khudáidád, taking part in the proceedings, should stand on the right hand side, holding the Khán's cup, and on the left side, should hold the cup of Amir Khudáidád, and these two cups were to be exclusively reserved for the Khan and Amir Khudáidád.

11. That he should set his seal on *farmáns* that might be issued, but that the Khan's seal should be set above his.

12 [No 12th *manṣab* is mentioned in any of the texts.

Such were the twelve prerogatives [*manṣab*] for which *yarlighs* was granted to Amir Khudáidád, after whose death they descended to his son Amir Muhammad Shah Kurkin. When the latter died, they devolved on Amir Sayyid Ali Kurkin, the son of Muhammad Shah's brother, and after Sayyid Ali to Muhammad Haidar Mirza Kurkin his son, and after him to his son Muhammad Hasan Mirzá Kurkin, father of the present writer Muhammad Haidar, known familiarly as Mirzá Haidar.

After the martyrdom of my father, my uncle, Sayyid Muhammad Mirzá, attached himself to Sultán Ash-Shahid-Sultán Said Khán; the Khán Said Shahid confirmed all these privileges to my uncle. The particulars of the matter are recorded in the Second Part of this *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*. These privileges (that is to say, the first [seven of them) were in force from before the year 625 of the Hajra, which is the date of Chingiz Khán,[1] down to the death of the Khán and the murder of my uncle, the date of which was the

[1] Shahán Khan, the Uzbeg leader

[2] This date is mentioned, evidently, for that of Chingiz Khan's death, which is usually taken to be 1227. The Hijra year 625 began 12th December 1227, so that nearly the whole of it fell within 1228. But the date of the Tartar Chronicle is very variously stated in different old books.

[illegible] 1st of Muharram, [illegible] of the Hajra.[1] When this dignity took place and the Khánkhánán to Sultán Khalíl the customs of our forefathers were observed on [illegible] and very different practices [illegible] Prince's [illegible] age [illegible] in that when my turn arrived [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] and judges [illegible] the Khans, for the great *umarah* [illegible] [illegible], as human nature [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the whole [illegible] the salvation of this world and the next. [illegible] [illegible] way [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] spiritually independent and prosperous!

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible],
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible],
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible],
And [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

CHAPTER XXVII.

[illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

The Malfúzát-i Khán-zamán of Khizr Khwája Khán and Sharíf, [illegible] Malfúzát-i Khán [illegible] among those who [illegible] Shihábu'd-dín Ahmad Nahshabí [illegible].[1] After Islám Shah, [illegible] [illegible] Taj Khán, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the country of the Moghuls who was of [illegible] rank of Khánán. This fact I have already mentioned. After the death of Fughlak Timur Khán, Amír Kamru'd-dín [illegible] Fughlak's sons, [illegible] that there were [illegible] but Khizr Khwája Khán. (As I have also already [illegible]) That last Shah left many sons and grandsons [illegible] the details of the lives of all of them have not, however, been preserved in the Moghul traditions. In fact, I have recounted what I consider worthy of [illegible], the history of the sons of the Khákán. But I have not [illegible] to learn any details [illegible], their modern [illegible]. Consequently I have briefly mentioned the name of Khizr Khwája Khán as [illegible] Sayyids, Muhammad Khán [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] of Moghul Khákáns [illegible] [illegible].

Malfúzát Khán was a wealthy prince and a good Musulmán. He persisted in following the path of justice and equity, and was

[1] See Khán-i Jahán's account. He [illegible] Sayyid Muhammad Mírza was murdered by the [illegible] and [illegible], Rashíd was [illegible] two months afterwards [illegible] 1st Muharram, 937, [illegible] 14th July, 1530.

[2] The discrepancy of [illegible] authors regarding [illegible] names cannot [illegible] Khizr Khwája Khán [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

so unremitting in his exertions, that during his reign most of the tribes of the Moghuls became Musulmáns.

It is well known what severe measures he had recourse to, in bringing the Moghuls to believe in Islám. If a man or a Moghul did not wear a turban (*Dastár*, a punishment with which he was driven into his head, and treatment of this kind was many (May God recompense him with good!)

In the Moghul records it is stated that Amír Khudáidád Khán raised six Kháns to the Khánate, and that Muhammad Khán was one of the number.

Muhammad Khán built a *Rabát* on the northern side of the defile of Chídir Kul. In the construction of this building, he employed stones of great size, the like of which are only to be seen in the temples (*Imárát*) of Kashmír. The *Rabát* contains an entrance hall 20 *gaz*[1] in height. When you enter the door, you turn to the right hand along a passage which is about 40 *gaz*, and is artfully proportioned. There is a passage round the dome, and in the sides of it; and in the passage itself are beautiful cells. On the western side there is also a room 10 *gaz* in height, which has more than twenty doors. To while building, it first met the eye the doors there are hung with locks, which I thought very wonderful, being as in the temples of Kashmír.

[illegible] diameter and height of [illegible] Apparently in olden times mountaineers inhabited the place. Here at long about a mile, but it was popularly reported that little less than seven miles. Mirza Haidar's geography [illegible] (see *Notes*, p. [illegible] the note, p. 2[illegible])

[illegible] The ancient fortress Kohna-kurgán was the capital of the history. The *Rabát*, as it now stands (save that the [illegible] to have been built by Muhammad Khán) is a square of [illegible] wall with [illegible] Almati (*i.e.* Vierny) to Kashgar, by way of the Narat, and has been seen often by several Europeans. Of these Mr. Ney Elias, who accompanied Forsyth's mission to Yarkand, has published [illegible] account of the building in question. Lastly, Dr. Regel, who has published [illegible] of travels in Central Turkestan, [illegible] Mirza Haidar's description, that it may [illegible] 'Reise,' as Dr. Regel is not a little astonished [illegible] age, about 48 paces long by 36 wide, with a flat roof, from the middle of which rises a rough, half-ruined square tower, [illegible] and vaulted, conducts to an interior with a wide [illegible] sort of channel or hall, with [illegible] high, from [illegible] numerous doors in the form of [illegible] arches. The [illegible] has [illegible] on [illegible] by, and in these, as in the [illegible] separate cells, which [illegible] square at bottom, circular at top, and [illegible] except where the [illegible] in the [illegible] The [illegible] also sometimes to necessitate [illegible] and [illegible] niches, or places to sit or sleep. No [illegible] place, throughout the building, which [illegible] local blemish and roughness exist. In the central hall are [illegible] of plaster, but [illegible] of [illegible] ntation.' On the whole, Dr. Regel is [illegible] the building has [illegible] unblamed to the rest-houses [illegible] Asia; but I am not [illegible] that [illegible] with any [illegible] from the fin

CHAPTER XXVIII.

SHIR MUHAMMAD KHÁN, SON OF MUHAMMAD KHÁN.

MUHAMMAD KHÁN, also, had several sons by two wives, namely Shir Muhammad Khán and Shir Ali Oghlán. Shir Muhammad Khán succeeded his father and as long as he governed, the people were peaceful and prosperous. During his reign, his brother Shir Ali Oghlán died at the age of eighteen, and thus never attained to the rank of Khán. He, however, left one son, Vais Khán by name, between whom and Shir Muhammad Khán there arose great disputes, as will be related below. Shir Muhammad Khán, who was also a contemporary of Mirzá Sháh Rukh, enjoyed a longer reign than Muhammad Khán.

CHAPTER XXIX.

EARLY LIFE OF VAIS KHÁN.

SULTÁN VAIS KHÁN was the son of Shir Ali Khán;[1] after the death of his father, he was in the service of his uncle, Shir Muhammad Khán. After a time he began to find this condition irksome, and therefore fled from the court, and took to the life of a soldier [*Kazáki*]. Many distinguished Moghul youths volunteered to follow him. Among this number was my grandfather Mir Sayyid Ali. I am the grandson of Vais Khán, on my mother's side. And

Ghi's-ud-Din Jamshidi: and, lastly, Ulugh Beg. The geographical tables were first published in England by Greaves in 1711, and the tables of fixed stars, by Hyde, of Oxford, in 1768. In France, Lalande published the astronomical tables in 1792. Baber in his description of Samarkand, notices the college observatory and all things erected by Ulugh Beg. The observatory I have stood on the skirts of the hill of Kohik, and was three stories in height. — By means of this observatory, and the instruments and apparatus, Ulugh Beg Mirza composed the Zich-Kurkani, which are followed at the present time, scarcely any other tables being used. Mr. Schuyler was shown a hill called Chupán Ata, the city of Samarkand, on which the observatory is said to have stood. There is now, however, no trace of it. (See Stanley Lane Poole's *Mohammadan Dynasties* p. 288; Erskine's *Hist. of India*, i. p. 108; *Ib., Mem. of Baber*, p. 61. H. Schuyler's *Turkistan*, i. p. 283; also Blochet's *Oriental Biograph. Dict.*, 1881, p. 270; and Herbelot's *Bibliothèque Orientale*).

[1] Properly, Shir Ali *Oghlan*, not *Khán*. He is called by Erskine and many other writers *Shir Kuli*. But *Ali* and *Kuli* may easily be taken one for the other by Persian copyists. (See the Genealogical Table attached to this volume.)

Sayyid Alí is my paternal grandfather,[1] and this Amír Sayyid Alí was the son of Sayyid Ahmad Mirzá, son of Amír Khudáidád. I think it is fitting in this place to give the history of Amír Sayyid Alí.

CHAPTER XXX.

AMÍR SAYYID ALÍ AND HIS RELATION TO HIM.

As has been already mentioned, Amír Khudáidád lived in Moghulistán in the service of the Khán. His native country was Káshghar, which had been given as a fief *altán* to his ancestors, by Chingiz Khán. This matter however will be referred to in the Second Part, when I speak of the country of Káshghar.

Amír Sayyid Ahmad[2] had an impediment in his speech, and only those who were accustomed to hear him speak, could understand him. He was also hard of hearing, so that it was necessary to speak very loudly to him in order to make him understand. His father sent him to Káshghar as governor, which position he retained for a considerable time, till at length Khwája Sharíf, one of the nobles of Káshghar, became very powerful and talked to him for help and advice. Khwája Sharíf was a noble-minded man, but he was displeased with Sayyid Ahmad Mirzá, so he handed over the government to Mirzá Ulugh Beg, while Amír Sayyid Ahmad fled from Káshghar to his father, and soon afterwards died.

Amír Alí, the son of Sayyid Ahmad Mirzá lived with his grandfather, Amír Khudáidád, who loved him better than all his other children; for he was without rival in stature and strength as well as in courage, talent and understanding. He used to be called Sayyid Alí *Alif*.[3]

When Amír Sayyid Alí took the daughter of Ivan Beghí Khán for his son Muhammad Haidar Mirzá (as will be related below) he marked his joy by striking a nail into a wall, which I have myself seen. If one man stand upright, and a second, placing his foot on the first, also stand upright and stretch out his hand, he will not reach the nail by about an ell [*gaz*].

On this account[4] Amír Khudáidád loved Amír Sayyid Alí better than all his children.

[1] Sayyid Alí was the author's great-grandfather, as he shows knowledge of the genealogical tables of the Moghúls in Book II. of Introduction.

[2] It is curious that this Khán's name should be written sometimes *Sayyid Ahmad* and sometimes *Sayyid Ahmad Mirzá*, which I have also seen in texts, however have been told was not correct.

[3] In allusion to the upright figure—like the letter *alif*.

[4] On account of his stature, etc.

At this time Ahmad Mirza, one of the Timur Mirzas of the line of Mirza Shah Rukh, having fled from his own country had come to Moghulistan. He had with him a sister, for whom Amir Sayyid Ali conceived a great affection; so much so that Amir Khudáidád and others begged her to ask Amir Sayyid Ali's wife. She, however, refused, saying, "I cannot stay in Moghulistán, but if he will accompany me to my own country it can be arranged." She then hastily set out for her own country, accompanied by Amir Sayyid Ali. When she arrived at Andijan, Mirza Ulugh Beg instructed a man to kill Ahmad Mirza, and himself married his sister, at the same time throwing Amir Sayyid Ali into prison at Samarkand, where he remained for one year. Here he fell sick of dysentery, and when on the point of dying, Amir Ulugh Beg sent for the doctors, whose remedies, however, were all without effect. One day somebody brought some kumiz. The Mirzá implored the doctors, saying, "As the medicines have done me no good, I should much like to try a little kumiz, for which I have a great craving." They then agreed to grant his request as a desperate experiment, saying: "It will very likely give him strength." They then gave him as much kumiz as he wanted, and from that moment he began to show signs of recovery. On the following day they gave him some meat, and he became perfectly well.

About this time, Mirza Ulugh Beg was going to wait on his noble father Mirzá Shah Rukh. Amir Sayyid Ali being quite recovered, Mirzá Ulugh Beg ordered a dress and arms to be given him, that he might accompany him to Khuttalán. His object was to show off Amir Sayyid Ali to the people of Khuttalán, as if he would say: "This is the son of body we took in Moghulistán." One night when the Mirza was in his tent, the torch-bearers were passing by and he saw Amir Sayyid Ali with his bow, which was *fourteen spans long, longer than that of any body* else. The Mirzá thought to himself: "If this man wishes to aim his arrow at me, who will be able to prevent him?" He became very nervous, and immediately sent for Amir Sayyid Ali and said to him: "This journey into Khuttalán must be very irksome and unpleasant to you. You can return to Samarkand: when I get back I will give you leave to go to Moghulistán; and you shall be the intermediary between myself and Shah Muhammad Khán, so that matters may be settled in a peaceful way."

So he gave him leave to return, and sent a man to accompany him. He also wrote to the Governor of Samarkand, telling him to treat him with every mark of respect. But he sent a secret message to the governor telling him to keep Amir Sayyid Ali in prison.

When Amir Sayyid Ali arrived at Samarkand with his companion,

ho gathered from the l wer n l a fall n th h was n ge'ng to b well tre t d Wh n th y l ntered th t w hi s ampm n pl ced him in a hous and himself went off to b govern r. No s n r was h gone than the Amir left th l ag, n foot, and pr c ded to Tâshkand Whon the men returned to th hous s n visiting the gov nor, h found th Am r h s, a l s rvants, but the Amir himself had disappe r d ' y inp't l d l in f r his servants, wh rep lied h f l ' s l p n t d t Th y th n s rched ev rywhere for the Am r, n c uld not fin him.

Meanwhile the Amir had fall n in with s me Kalandars on th r d, and having dr ss d himself as one of them, arrived in safety at Tâshkand The Kalandars gave to Amir the name of Ashiq Ali Lâl, and l ft w rd on h r s me of the provisions out of their wallets. Thus, in the guise of a Kalandar, he reached Turkistân, which is an hon r d for Yasgi wh n I was originally b Shaikh of the "Shrine of the Companions of the Cave," which is called in Moghulistân 'Ahmad's Ass.' The shaikh m t him n r Shâsh with the Amir, and sent him to be conducted into Moghulistân and brought before Amir Khudâidâd The Shaikh Shâdika became one of the Amir's intimates, and gained the title *lalah* of Vakîla the Faithful. Two of his descendants are still alive, but they have not attained to any celebrity.

After five years, when the Amir considered the service of his distinguished relation, Amir Khudâidâd, Vais Khân had separated from his uncle Shir Muhammad Khan, and had taken to highway robbery. Amir Khudâidâd said to Amir Sayyid Ali, "I think you had better go and join Vais Khan, for if you stay here you may come to some harm." He then selected sixty young men and despatched them with Amir Sayyid Ali, to Vais Khan. The Amir

[1] The name will appear in Persian as Ishaq Valî, and in Turki as *Ishâk Wali Niki* or *Nikî*, which literally translated means the "Shaikh who is with the *dig*," that is to say, the Shaikh who is with the Amir, and who was the spiritual (see f. pp 78 b) Shaikh of the Amir's army. I think it probable that he may have been a Nogai, as many Nogais at that time settled in Turkistân, and the Nogai Tartars still have a Shaikh of the Shaikhs of the Nogais, who resides in the town of Tura, in the Crimea. Mr. Erskine thinks that he was the ancestor of the Valîkhanov family, but this is not probable, for the Valîkhanovs are descended from Sultan Ahmad Tura, who died in 1680, very many years after the time of Amir Sayyid Ali. Mr. Erskine also says that the Valîkhanovs are descended from Ishak Ata, who was buried at Turkistân, but this is not probable, for Ishak Ata died in 1599, and Sultan Ahmad Tura, who died in 1680, very many years after the time of Amir Sayyid Ali, who were all of the same family. The

served the Khán well, and obtained in return the Khán's sister, Uzun Sultán Khánum, in marriage.

Countless were the laudable actions which Amir Sayyid Ali performed whilst in the service of the Khán. They would, however, take too long to relate. I have mentioned a few of them in my account of Vais Khán.

CHAPTER XXXI.

DETAILED ACCOUNT OF WHAT PASSED BETWEEN SHIR MUHAMMAD KHÁN AND VAIS KHÁN.

When Vais Khán, as has been related above, fled from his uncle Shir Muhammad Khán, a number of people attached themselves to him, and they took to plundering in, and on the confines of, the territory of Shir Muhammad Khán, especially in the neighbourhood of Lob Katak and Sárigh Uighur.

It is related that when Uzun Sultán Khánim was given in marriage to Amir Sayyid Ali, this latter, in order to prepare food for the feast, went out hunting, and returned, having killed two stags [*Gavaran*], which were eaten at the banquet. From this one can form some idea of the splendour of the marriage festivities.

But [Vais Khán] finding little scope for activity in that country, [left it and] went to Turkistán. At that time Amir Shaikh Nuyán, son of Sárí Bughá Kipchák, one of Amir Timur's great generals, was Governor of Turkistán. With him the Khán had some intercourse, and since he was at enmity with Shir Muhammad Khán, he gave his daughter Daulat Sultán Sakaj,[1] in marriage to Vais Khán. He also gave the Khán much assistance in his attacks on Shir Muhammad Khán, and for a long time there was continual conflict between Vais Khán and his uncle, the latter being as a rule, victorious. One of these encounters took place at a spot in Moghulistán called Karang Kángligh. Vais Khán, after a long and rapid march, surprised Shir Muhammad Khán in his camp at midnight. [The assailants] were four hundred strong. When the alarm was raised, Shir Muhammad Khán threw himself into a ditch, while Vais Khán, surrounding the camp, searched till dawn for Shir Muhammad Khán, slaying all whom he met. Yet, notwithstanding their search and the violence they used towards the people in the camp, no trace of Shir Muhammad Khán was to be found. When day broke they fled. Then Shir Muhammad

[1] The Turki MS. has Daulat Sultán Begim.

Khán came out of the ditch, and having quelled round him, he set out in pursuit of Yán Khán, who had by this time collected another army. In fine, they continued between hostilities and friendship with Shih Muhammad Khán, whereupon Yán Khán succeeded to the Khánat.

CHAPTER XXXII

THE KHÁN IS CALLED YÁ KHÁN

When he first came Yán Khán showed himself to be religiously inclined; he was moreover distinguished among his race for his bravery. Since he had established the Mughul affairs, he made war against the infidel Kalmaks; and though he was frequently defeated by them, he persisted in hostilities against them, not wishing to relinquish the holy war (*jihád*). He was twice taken prisoner by them. The first occasion was in a battle at a place called Mung Lák, where the Khán, having been seized, was led before Inák Tárkh. "Although thou ought'st to humble thyself to me, who is really a descendant of Chingiz Khán, I will not do me any harm, and will keep you as an inferior." When the Khán was brought in he dismounted (for he was on horseback) and Inák Tárkh advanced towards him with a present (*Sar Zánah*). But the Khán turned away his face and did not raise his hands. Inák Tárkh was then enraged, and beating the Khán with much honour, set him at liberty. The Khán, on being asked at length why he had not done obeisance, Inák Tárkh replied: "If Inák Tárkh had treated me in a bodily manner, I should, out of fear for my life, have approached him with reverence. But since he came towards me with bowed head, it occurred to me that this hour of my captivity had arrived, and it is not fitting for a Musalmán to do homage to an infidel or to contemporize in action, therefore I did not salute him." It was thus Inák Tárkh's faithful observance of his religion that saved him from the abyss.

On another occasion, he fought a battle with this same Inák Tárkh at a spot called Kábara, on the outskirts of Moghulistán. Here, too, he suffered defeat. For having shot many an arrow, the Khán was obliged to retire on foot. He was in the point of being captured, when Amír Sayyid Ali, dismounting

Sar-Zánah literally means "Head-uncovered," but here it has a slightly different

from his horse, gave it to the Khán, while he threw himself on his face on the ground. The infidels, thinking him dead, shot an arrow at his head. When they came near enough, the Amir tried to lay hold of one of them (who happened to be a man of some distinction) and lifting him up by his coat, turned him over sideways to serve as a shield against the arrows, running all the while by the side of the Khán's bridle, so that it was impossible to shoot an arrow at the Amir. In this way he continued fighting, and carrying the man by his clothes for a whole *farsákh*, till they came to the River Ailah. He then threw the Khán into the water, and seizing the bridle of the Khán's horse, entered the stream, which came up to his chest. Several men were drowned. The Khan's horse began to swim, while the Amir held up its head, and thus safely conducted the Khán, mounted and armed, across the river. Many men were drowned on that day.

It is related that the Khán had with him, on that occasion, two cousins, Hasan Sultán, who was red-haired, and Sa'id Sultán, who were blue [*kabud*]. They were both drowned in entering the stream. Amir Sayyid Ali, keeping hold of the Khán's bridle with one hand, did his best to save the two men with the other, but could not reach them. The Khán declared he could distinguish their red and blue jackets deep down in the water. Vais Khán gave Amir Sayyid Ali five presents[1] on account of the following acts: (I.) He had given his horse to the Khán and had himself remained on foot. (II.) He had seized the Khán's bridle. (III.) He had used him as a shield for a whole *farsákh*. (IV.) He had brought the Khán fully armed and mounted across the River Ailah. (V.) Although he had hold of the Khán, he was stretched out his hand to save the drowning men. The Khán then added: "I know that the Amir has such strength that if one of my cousins had been able to seize him by the hand, the Amir would have saved him too, and brought him across the water." In consideration of these five actions, he gave the Amir five

[1] The word is *yádgár*, which signifies in Turki "a valuable gift" or "present," or a "trophy, for valour."

[2] The *farsakh* or *farsang*, is usually reckoned at three statute miles.

[3] There is nothing to show in what locality this fight took place. There were Kalmaks on both the northern and eastern confines of Moghulistán, but I can find no trace of Kabak. In all probability, however, it was on the *Ailah*, which may also have been called *Ilal*, as the river is always called "Ila," which passes by Kuldja and flows into the Balkash Lake. "Ila" in the Chinese pronunciation with the Turki-speaking people of the province is called "Ila." As regards its being on the confines of Moghulistán, the author has at Bretschneider quotes Quatremère's translation of the *Masálik-l-Alabsár* to the effect that the Ila river, in the first half of the fourteenth century, formed the eastern boundary of Mávará-un-Nahr (*Med. Researches*, i. p. 18); but the limit was afterwards pushed much farther westward, and at the time of Vais Khan could hardly have been formed by the river. The expression upper and lower waters of the Ila, however, were near two of "the endless"

Amála as a reward. 1. Turkat. 2. Hilat Shináshat. 3. Uzlan, a tribe of Khotan. 4. Dunghu, also a tribe of Khotan. 5. Kukam, also a tribe of Khotan.[1]

Sultán Vais Khán had an affair combat with Isán Tásh, in the vicinity of Turfán, and was defeated and taken prisoner. Isán Táshi said to Vais Khán, enabling him to get hold of him: "If you will only set me free, and give me your sister Makhtum Khánim, as a wife," Vais Khán's daughter was given to him, and the Khán was set at liberty. It is commonly reported that the Khán had sixty engagements with the Káfirs: nowhere was he victorious, or ever did he run away (But God knows the truth.) I have frequently heard from Maulána Khwája Ahmad that the Khán was a very powerful man and that he used, every year, to go hunting wild asses in the valley around Turfán, Turfán, Lukchak, which places have specified in the Second Part. When he killed a man he would skin it with his own hands and take the wool to his other Sultan Khatun, the Khátun would spin it and make it into shirts and the latter him would wear with sumptuous robes outside. In Sultan water is very scarce, and it was the Khán himself who irrigated the land. He did not give his wives from any revenue, but having dug a deep well, he with the supply of water for irrigation. Khidmat Maulá[2] He told the following story of his mother, who used to say, "We have eaten with Khán during the lean seasons, with the help of his [illegible] water from the well in pitchers *Yuzah* and pouring, it himself over the land." His again it to wash on a [illegible] small scale, but the people of that never attained the value [illegible] land; but this saved him for a yearly supply of food.

He was a disciple of Maulana Muhammad Kasani, who was a disciple of Hazrat Khwája Ilam (may God pour out his favour) and Kawája Ilam was a disciple of Hazrat Kutb al-Mashá'il Khwája Bahá'uddín Nakshband[3] (may God be his guide) Being a king, did not practise Khán keeping his mind much to the [illegible] Being, the disciple of the [illegible] Khán, Amir Khalil went on a pilgrim to Mekka. Mughul [illegible] that Amir Khalil [illegible]

[1] All these Abdallar probably [illegible] Nogai [illegible] *Khalasland* [illegible]

[2] The Khwája [illegible] *Shaikh* Bahá'uddín [illegible] 'Nakshband.' He [illegible] (*Ghayát-ul-Hikam Dairy*) [illegible] in Persia in the year 857 A.H. (1453) and [illegible] Sufi-ism called [illegible] *Dáiri-al-Arifín*. A late [illegible] Pir-e-Tariqat, Shah Naqshband Sahib Naqshbandi [illegible] and Kawája Ubaidullah [illegible] still regarded as the chief of the Nakshbandi Order in Central Asia.

Khán to the Khánship, "with his own hand." They were as follows.—Khizr Khwája Khán (whom we have mentioned), Shams-i-Jahán Khán, Nakhsh-i-Jahán Khán, Muhammad Khán Shir Muhammad Khán, and lastly Vais Khán.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

AMIR KHUDÁIDÁD AND HIS JOURNEY TO MIKKA

I HAVE already told the history of Amir Khudáidád in part; but in this chapter I have to relate the rest of his deeds and his death. All the Moghul traditions are agreed as to the country over which he was Amir. I remember hearing from my father (upon whom be the *grace of God*) *and from my uncles (may the pardon of God be on them)* that their father had 24,000 families under him. He was Amir before the year 765 of the Hajra [A.D. 1363-4] and he made his journey to Mekka before the year 850 of the Hajra [A.D. 1446-7] He was Amir for nine-y years.[1] He exercised absolute power over the whole of Kishghar, Yárkand, Khotan, Aksu, Bái, and Kuchár. In spite, however, of all this, he was never a wealthy man, and during most of his life had not even a horse to ride When *travelling from place to place*, the people of the country used to furnish him with a horse And in the army it was just the same He spent much of the revenue of his State in releasing and ransoming Musulmán prisoners. In these days the Moghuls were constantly attacking Turkistán, Shásh and Andijan, and carrying off Musulmáns as prisoners. The Amir would buy these prisoners from the Moghuls, and supply them with provisions and transport to enable them to return home. He used also to provide them with tents, in which they had room to kneel down and say their prayers In the performance of good actions such as these, and pious works, did the Amir pass his life.

[1] A little lower down the author tells us that Mir Khwájá died when he was ninety years of age when he went on pilgrimage to Mekka. Both ninety years as the length of Khudáidád's reign and ninety-seven years for his age, are probably more figures of speech, intended to indicate a great number. A man of ninety-seven could not accomplish a pilgrimage from Kashghar to Mekka and Mir Khwájá, as Khudáidád is said to have done, and in all probability he was a much younger than ninety years. The chronology throughout this part of Mirza Haidar's history is very loose and cannot be relied on. He probably had only rough estimates—little better than guesses on the part of his informants—to go upon, and if in the case of so prominent a person as Ulugh Beg, he could be seven years in error, there is no reason why he should be more accurate in that of the Beg's contemporaries As Mirza Haidar's is the only book (so far as we know at present) that gives the history of this branch of the Moghuls as a whole, there is no other chronology by which his dates can be tested

There are also many miracles attributed to him. One of these, that was related to me by Khalifat Maulánà Khwájà Ahmad, I will put here. Khwája Záhid's Kúshkhánah was at a place called Ahrár Chahárdihi at a personal in Mokhtár's leg, or one of Khwája Záhid's handkerchiefs. The Khwája's wife, however, thought that it was not a thing to send. Khwája Záhid's handkerchief's Moghúl or Moghulistán, and that would be a present. Therefore she sent one that was part of the Khwája's. When it was brought to the Amír, he, with much praising, wiped his face therewith. But the next moment he returned it to the messenger, saying, "If this is, in truth, the handkerchief of the Khwája, I have no need of it." So the messenger returned and gave it back to the wife of the Khwája. At this she was astonished and told the Khwája what had passed. Khwája Záhid reproved his wife, saying, "The Amír is one of the elect: why did you act thus?" Thereupon the Khwája sent his own handkerchief. When the messenger delivered it over to the Amír, he, having wiped his face with it, said, "Truly this is the kerchief of the Khwája: and I have faith in the Khwája." Many miracles, such as this, are recorded of the Amír.

At last when the Amír reached the age of ninety-seven he was persuaded of a very strong desire to make the pilgrimage to Mekka. But in spite of much entreaty, Vais Khán refused his consent to his going. The Amír secretly sent to Mirzá Ulugh Beg, saying, "If you will come I will deal to the Moghuls and deliver them into your hands." Now, as Mirzá Ulugh Beg had suffered much annoyance from the Moghuls, and was continually engaged in repressing them, he came hither with his host and set out for Moghulistán. When he arrived at a certain town in Moghulistán called Ush the Amír having despatched Mirzá Ulugh Beg, and, in consequence, the Moghuls were treated in every direction. When the Amír met Mirzá Ulugh Beg he said to him, "I committed this act because I could not obtain leave to go to Mekka. Now I have many excuses to offer, but now I let them go." Thereupon Mirzá Ulugh Beg, the Amír with all possible honour and respect. When they reached Samarkand, Mirzá Ulugh Beg said to Amír

[1] The Turki MS. says 'Zahíd.'

[2] Probably the "handkerchief" is something equivalent to a shirt sleeve. The word here is *kurtah*, an inner garment, or, in fact, applied to a "chemise, shirt, tunic," etc.

This MSS. throughout is very loosely put together, and the first leaf now ill-arranged, as it is impossible that the story of the Khwája could have been brought into Moghulistán, whilst the Amír was there. The discovery is now visible that about this point of the story *one* leaf, containing *only* a few lines, must have been torn out. The part that is missing, although probably not very extensive, is one that is much mutilated by Oriental writers

Khudádád. "There is no one who knows so much about the *Tuzak*[1] of Chingiz Khán as you do, I beg you to tell me all its regulations, for I have a great desire to know all about it." The Amir replied, "We have completely discarded these famous *Tuzak* of Chingiz Khán, and have adopted the *Shara'at* or Muhammadan Law]. If, however, Mirzá Ulugh Beg, in spite of his common sense and good judgment, approves the *Tuzak* of Chingiz Khán, I will teach it him, that he may adopt it and forsake the *Shara'at*." The Mirzá was much perturbed at these words, and did not learn the *Tuzak*.

In short, the Amir went to Mekka. When my father (God have mercy on him) went to Khorásán as I have mentioned in the Second Part, he found there one of the generals of Sultán Husain Mirzá, named Sultan Ali Barlás, who was a very old man, being nearly one hundred years of age. He had been held in great honour by the Mirzá. My father questioned him concerning his ancestors and their times. He replied "My father's name was Sháh Husain Barlás. He was one of the Moghul Barlás, and a distinguished Mir. Amir Khudáidád travelled with him from Moghulistán." When my father heard this story, he became greatly interested and begged [the Barlás to narrate the whole history. The latter began, "I was quite a boy when Mir Khudádád undertook his pilgrimage to Mekka, and my father accompanied him, for he was in the service of the Amir. We fled from Moghulistán and wandered from town to town, till we set out upon the journey to visit the holy town of Mekka; when we had been a few days on our return journey, the Amir asked where Medina was, they told him that Medina lay in a different direction. At this the Amir was much distressed, and said 'I have come a great distance and suffered many privations, yet I have not made the *tawáf* [circuit] of the garden of the Prophet (may the peace and prayers of God be upon him), and it is a long journey home again.'

'He then gave all his servants and porters leave to return home with the caravan, sending with them many letters and messages for his children in Moghulistán. One of these letters has been handed down from father to son into my possession, for it had always been carefully preserved in our family. In short, the Amir and his wife started for Medina, unencumbered, making an Arab go in front to guide them. My father sent me with him too, so I was of the Amir's party. After a long journey we arrived at Medina. The Amir made the *tawáf* of the garden of the Prophet (upon whom be the most excellent of prayers), and we passed the night in the house of a darvish. As night came on a

[1] *Tuzak*, as we have seen, was another name for the *Yásá* or *Yasá* of Chingiz Khan.

great change manifested itself in the Amir. He called my father (*i.e.*, Sh. Ibrahim Rafi'i) and said to him, 'Hereafter the latter shall be called *Yamani*;' when my father came to the years '*Medahun Bel*', ... Ali expired. We were astonished at this ... time. With the rocket day, many of the inhabitants of Medina came to the house, saying: 'Did not a man come during last night?' and when we told them, they began to upbraid with us, and said: 'We have this night seen the Prophet in a ship, and he said to us, a guest has come to me to-night, he had made a very long journey overland, and he has died here during the night: bury him at the foot of the tomb of the Commander of the Faithful, Osmán.' Then the Prophet drew a line with the end of his stick. As soon as we awoke, we went and found that a line had been drawn there. Happy the man who has been favoured with such a favour. The nobles of Medina buried the Amir at the foot of Osman, with great honour. On the following night the wife of the Amir died also, and she was buried near where her husband had been laid."

When Sultan Ali Badakshan had first come in his narrative, my father showed signs of great happiness; whereupon they questioned him as to the cause of his delight. My father replied, "The Amir Khalifah was my grandfather." Sultan Ali Badakshi immediately got up and having embraced my father, said: "What I have told you is true. But no news of the death of the Amir reached Maghistán, for on our return journey we settled for some time in Irak, and then in Khorásán, and I was the first to bring the news into Mekhistan. Thanks be to God that I have been able to give this news to you, and tell you what a noble death Amir Khalifah died."

Mughul tradition says that when Amir Khalifah went to Mekka, his rank and titles were given, by Vais Khan to Amir's eldest son Mir Muhammad Shah.

CHAPTER XXXIX

HOW MIRZA MOHAMMED HUSAIN

After a short time after the departure of Amir Khalifah for Mekka, and the accession of Mir Muhammad Shah to his father's rank and title, Vais Khan's destiny was achieved. It came about in the following way. Sátuk Khán, one of those men upon whom Amir Timur had conferred the title of Khan, had been placed with four others, within the centre of the town. The place is called

nowadays, in Samarkand, *Hayát-i-Khán* the walls of the Khán.[1] It is a large place and each division of it has a separate name. One of them is the *Hauz-i-Bostan-i Khán* the reservoir of the Khán's garden, which is one of the palaces in Samarkand. In the days of Amír Timur, Yusunghúr ash Khán occupied this place, he, however, went away to Turk and Sultán Mahmúd Khán was appointed to the Hayát-i-Khán instead. All the mandates [*manshúr*] of Amír Timur bear the name of these two Kháns. So also the mandates of Mirzá Ulugh Beg bear the name of Sátuk Khán. Mirzá Ulugh Beg removed this Sátuk Khán from the Hayát-Khán, and put some one else in his place, whom he also made Khán. He then sent Sátuk Khán into Moghulistán.

Vais Khán was in Issigh Kul, at Bakábulung.[2] I have heard Maulánd Khwája Ahmad say, 'Khwája Abdul-Karim, my cousin, who was on very intimate terms with Vais Khán, used to relate that one Friday, just before the service, Vais Khán, who had performed his ablutions and had been shaved, came to me and asked "Of what is my head, in its present state of cleanliness worthy?" I replied "A jewelled crown." He said, "No, it is worthy of martyrdom." He had scarce uttered those words when a messenger came running up, to say that Sátuk Khán had arrived. Vais Khán immediately ordered them to sound the drums while he himself began to put on his armour. The men who were near at hand quickly gathered round him, and they set out to meet the enemy. There was a stream running between them. When the two forces came in contact, the Khán himself charged forward, and wished to make his horse jump the stream, but the horse sank up to his head [in the mud] on the bank of the river. One of the servants of Mír Muhammad Shah (Jáku by name) was such a good archer that he had not a single rival in the whole tribe, and for this reason the Khán had begged him of Mír Muhammad Sháh, for his own service. At the moment when the Khán fell from his horse Jáku arrived on the spot, and mistaking the Khán for one of the enemy, aimed an arrow at the waist of the Khán, who on being struck rolled over on his back. Then Jáku rushed on the Khán, and threw himself upon him. When the news reached

[1] Perhaps better, the *Enclosure* or *Citadel of the Khán*.

[2] This name usually stands *Sayrghatmish*. Here no indigenous dates occur between *1369 to 1388*, and that of Mahmúd from *1388 to 1408* (See E. Bon's *Multan Dynasty*, p. 268). They were both appointed by Timur, and while Mirza Haidar briefly refers to them he shows why they were chosen by the great Amir.

[3] Or *Yakábulung*, but the Turki MS. does not mention the place. There are two rivers called *Balbdan* in Moghulistan, on Ritter and Ortz Pasha's but neither is near Issigh Kul. One is some distance to the north-west of the lake, and the other a tributary of the Lower Chu. The name of *Arabdanan* occurs on the east shore of the lake, and though less likely than the text, it is possible that *Bakbdan* may represent the spot mentioned by the author.

[4] Probably 'ran to his aid' is intended.

Sháh Khán, he set out on the road, and in many days the Khán arrived upon the banks of the Indus, the seat of his father's power.

The Moghul tribes were in a great state of confusion, some were, [illegible] by Sultán Ahmad, but this latter still maintained Moghulistán, but retained Káshghar. He was succeeded by Rashíd Sultán Ahmad Mirzá, who was a grandson of Amír Sultán and Sultán Nigár Khánum, Mírzá Khán's daughter. He was succeeded by his son Abd-ur-Rashíd Sultán Mirzá. Yúnas Khán's son Sultán Ahmad Mirzá married the daughter of Sultán Sa'íd Kabúli, whose boy cut him in half.

CHAPTER XXXV.

[illegible]

After the death of Yúnas Khán the tribes of the Moghuls fell into great disorder. But they became more tranquil when they learnt he was dead of the death of Sheikh Khán. Yúnas Khán had two sons Yúnas Khán and Isán Bughá Khán. Yúnas Khán was born, and at his father's death was thirteen years of age. [illegible] two women named Isán Dilán Begum and Mánik Turkomán, who had first been in the service of Amír Khudádád and afterwards in that of Sultán Abú Muhammad Shaibání. But at the death of Yúnas Khán, these two women had separated themselves from Abú Muhammad Kurlás Shah, were Sunnís, and having attached themselves to Yúnas Khán, began to exert themselves in his favour; while the rest of the people were on the side of Isán Bughá. But as most of the great men were on the side of Isán Bughá Khán, it became impossible to the party of Yúnas Khán in Moghulistán. So Isán and Mánik Turkomán set off with thirty thousand households and Yúnas Khán after to Sairám, while Isán Bughá Khán and the rest of the Moghuls remained in Moghulistán.

The *ulus* [illegible] by a number of *tumáns*, a *tumán* by *hazárás*, a *hazára* by *sadas*, *dihs* and *tens*. In reality there were only two *tumáns* in the whole of Moghulistán generally and in particularly, [illegible] under whom were all the [illegible] called *Moghuls*. Here [illegible] to these [illegible] Isán Bughá Khán and Mánik, were the two chief [illegible] Moghuls [illegible] (*Yúnas*, p. 11.)

CHAPTER XXXVI

RELATION OF YUNUS KHÁN AND IRÁZÁN, IN SAMARKAND, BY MIRZÁ ULUGH BEG

When Mirzá Ulugh Beg heard of the approach of Irázan Khán and Mirák Turkomán, he set out from Samarkand to meet them. On their arrival, he promised to supply them with provisions, and said. 'Every household must come into the fort separately, where the members will have their names written down, each Moghul will receive an ass's load of provisions and then pass on." Thus, hopeful of supplies, the people entered, but when they arrived at another door they were obliged to wait. Then their chiefs were killed and the rest of them were taken prisoners. Of all that entered the fort no one came out again to tell his story. Mirzá Ulugh Beg finished this business in a few days, and then despatched Yunus Khán, with a fifth of the spoil, to his father Mirzá Sháh Rukh. The Khán was kindly treated—more like a guest than a prisoner. He was sent to Maulánd Shamf-ud-Din Yazdi, that under him he might continue his studies. Many of the Maulánd's verses and *Kassidas* are dedicated to the Khán.

He spent altogether twelve years with the Maulánd, in the acquirement of science and letters. In fact, as long as the Maulánd lived he remained with him, but on the death of the latter, he quitted Yazd and made a journey through Irák, Arabia and Turán. He was twenty-four when the Maulánd died, and he returned to Moghulistán, as *pádisháh*, at the age of forty-one, as will be mentioned below (if God will).

CHAPTER XXXVII

TRANSIT OF ISÁN BUGHÁ KHÁN, SON OF VAIS KHÁN, AND THE RUIN OF IRÁZÁN.

After Mirák Turkomán and Irázán had carried off Yunus Khán to Samarkand, the whole of Moghulistán became subject to Isán Bughá Khán: all the Amirs offered to serve him, and thus his affairs of the Khán made great progress. Amir Sayyid Ali was untiring in his efforts to help the Khán and as soon as the latter was firmly established on the throne, Amir Sayyid Ali begged him

for permission to go to Káshghar. Then, as I have already related, Khwája Shirak of Kashghar had given that land to Ulugh Beg Mirzá, and had expelled Mir Sayyid Ahmad, the father of Amir Sayyid Ali. Mirzá Ulugh Beg sent, in the place appointed Amir Sultán Malik Dulátí to be Governor of Kashghar, and after him Haji Muhammad Shaykhlí, and after him Pir Muhammad Barlás.

Amir Sayyid Ali sent to tell that it was very necessary to him to go to Kashghar, and added: "I will see if I cannot restore to my family its possession, of which for many years it has been deprived. I trust I shall visit you soon." The Khán thereupon gave his consent.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

AMIR SAYYID ALI'S EXPEDITION TO ANDIJÁN AND KÁSHGHAR.

At this time, the province called Mughúlistán was under the administration of the Dughlát. But Andiján and Kashghar had fallen under the government of Samarkand; while Isan Kul, from the numerous vicissitudes to which it had been exposed, was sinking into disruption, the rest of the country, however, was still in the hands of the Dughlát Amirs. Just at this period the two brothers and cousins of Amir Sayyid Ali were governing in Aksu, Kás and Bái. Amir Sayyid Ali came to Aksu, and leaving his family there, proceeded to Kashgar. When the Amir arrived in Aksu, a great conflict took place between himself and his two brothers, Muhammad Mirzá and Sayyid Mahmud Mirzá. The Amir came off victor, in the end, after having killed many of his relations. About this matter there are many conflicting traditions. It appears, at all events, that he first got the upper hand of his relatives and then set out for Kashgar. He had 7000 men in his following. When he arrived within the territory of Kashgar, Haji Muhammad Shaykhlah received intelligence that Doh Bakhán, which is at the three *farsakhs* distant from Kashgar, to oppose him, with 10,000 cavalry and infantry. But at the first attack of the Amir, Haji Muhammad Shaykhlah took flight. The Moghuls started, in their haste, after the Chaghatái, who in order to gain greater freedom in their flight, threw aside their armour before the enemy were able to overtake them, and uttered cries of distress. For this reason the battle was called "Sálí Begum," that is to say, "*Mir-i-man bandázam*," or "I threw down my Mir." This was the

of the most famous battles ever fought in that country, and formed an epoch in its history. The people of Kásghar enabled the fugitives to creep into the citadel, while the Amir laid waste and pillaged all without, and then departed with the spoil.

The following year, when the Amir was in Aksu, the Amir returned, and no one dared to leave the city. Pír Muhammad Sáyistah fortified himself in the citadel, while the Amir ravaged the whole country round. He laid siege to, and captured, one of the neighbouring fortresses, called Aláku, and again retired.

Then Khwája Sharíf went to Samarkand to implore the assistance of Mirzá Ulugh Beg. While he was there, the Mirzá one day asked him: "Are there any donkeys in Káshghar?" Khwája Sharíf replied: "Since the Chaghatái have come, there are a great number of donkeys." Khwája Sharíf took Pír Muhammad Barlás with him to Káshghar, while Mirzá Ulugh Beg withdrew Haji Muhammad Sháyistah to Samarkand. When Pír Muhammad Barlás arrived in Káshghar, the people gave him the surname [*lakab*] of Bangi, but they derived no benefits from him,[1] and Khwája Sharíf began to despair of the Chaghatái.

When the Amir advanced against Káshghar for the third year in succession, the people of that country addressed a complaint to Khwája Sharíf, saying: "We have lost the crops of two successive years, if we lose this year's crop too, there will be a famine in the country."

On the Amir's arrival in Káshghar, the people of that town, having bound Pír Muhammad Barlás, gave him up to the Amir.[2] The Amir thereupon divested Pír Muhammad Barlás of his mantle of life, and entered the town of Káshghar, where he administered justice to the people. He governed the country during twenty-four years; and under him the State was so prosperous and happy, that he is talked of to this day. During all this time, the Amir paid so much attention to agriculture and the breeding of cattle and sheep, that when he died, leaving three sons and two daughters, one of his sons, Muhammad Haidar Mirzá, my grandfather, received as his share 180,000 sheep.

I once heard from Khwája Fakhr-ud-dín, a merchant of polite birth and pleasant of speech, that the Amir occupied himself with hunting during three months every winter. No one but soldiers were allowed to take part in the royal hunt. But as many soldiers as the Amir was able to provide for, used to join the party, and during those three months, each one was supplied with corn and flour, which was distributed to them at the different halting-places [*manzil*]. On some days as many as 5000 sheep were given out,

[1] That is, he is changed in governor during the very first year.
[2] Lit., as a *ishkishi* i.e., the present offered to a king as a sacrifice usually those who go out to meet and welcome him on his arrival.—R

o_ol n w th n j t'n n n t ll ■ ml l ul y d hay. 8 n o y n, 3000 p n w v n t t lu v n A n, ml ch n w gv n hu j vi i n l n ml lt n hu l'l t f villg s w d ys nxi s f th An' c m t y in th n v llg ml th hu ng j ufy, c ih n v l, w ld n f n j ubli p f in h i wn st o g,o l h'ug,s l'kh ldh l to ld th fl v n n, whom h y hud ght l in com v llg, which is At ch, the Amir's mss g the hunt *Mu shán* having brough some t , gv i to a p r woman o lk, p mis ,, h , as a wage f h wok, on of the six l v s, which w to b mad fm the flom he had supplid h wi h, but when the woman b ught he loves, he f s l to give h on of th m, saying, 'I supplied h fl m and the wood and the sal ; what have you deserved fm?' At that moment the Amir happ d p ssing by on h s h k. He stopped and asked the woman what her trouble was: the woman laid her complaint before the Amir, who hen questioned he master of the hunt As the latter acknowledged the truth f h poor woman's story, he Amir said to him "Why did y u t k you own l d, ms of doubl , this woman?" Th n Amir then sent f a blacksmith's-shop h r son , m , and mad all the wr tch d man's ch ns to be hown fm his body. I have rep t d this tale as a proof of the Amir's justice. Th re s still existing in Kish,h a, many st ct l edifi s and chantable ins tu ti ns, which were founded by the Amir. Dring the twenty- n years of his g vern m n , many important events occ r d, w i h shall hereafter b related in d il

CHAPTER XXXIX.

THE WAR BETWEEN THE KHÁN AND THE AMIR.

When Yúsus Kh'a left the country, the whole f h submitted to Jahán Hng,l á whom and for a few y rs the country e joyed tranquillity. The Khán, however, by reason of his youth, was but lightly esteemed by his Amirs. One of his Amirs, a certain Timur of the Uglma tribe of Turkín, had enjoyed the special favour of the young Khán; the other Amirs l ng annoyed at his elevation, and at the small degree of attention they themselves received, could no longer c mmand their wrath, and one day, in the

[1] No cable, *rtush* or *Allo Ad ah* n t s p r f the lle r d t such heights f Kashgh r - clay hills sometimes rising to a few hundred

presence of the Khán, seized the unfortunate man and cut him in pieces. After this there was a division among the Amirs, and the Khán, much alarmed at what had taken place, fled.

When this news reached Amir Sayyid Ali in Káshgharia, he at once set out for Moghulistán. He found the Khán at Ak Kulán, and, accompanied by a few men, carried him off to Aksu, of which town he made him governor.

Meanwhile the Moghul Amirs were acting on it in his own way. Mir Muhammad Shíh had taken up his abode in Alláshí, but after some correspondence and promises of friendship, between himself and his nephew Amir Sayyid Ali, he joined the Khán in Aksu, where he was beloved and esteemed to the end of his life.

Another was Mir Karim Bardi, who was also a Dughlát. He built a fort on the frontiers of Moghulistán, on the side of Andijan and Farghána. It stood on the summit of a hillock at a place called Aúghí, and its ruins are still to be seen. He spent his time in ravaging and plundering Andijan and the Musulmáns.

Mir Hakk Bardi Bogjik went to dwell in a place called Kui Sui, which is in Issigh Kul. Here he built a fort, and put his wives and family on the island in Issigh Kul,[1] that they might be

[1] This appears to mean that *Kui Sui* was the name of the island. There are now no islands in Issigh Kul but the name of *Kot-Su* is found in some maps, among these of small rivers discharging into the eastern end of the lake. Kostenko tells us that although no islands exist there are numerous shoals in the waters and since there is every reason to believe that the level of the lake has altered within historic times it is possible that some of these shoals may have been above the surface four hundred years ago. He quite sees evidences of the lake having fallen rather than risen, but in speaking of large levels in one instance, and of a statement of the local Kirgiz that the water has subsided during the last ten years' in another. Mr Semyka gives a good account of the lake and comes to a different conclusion. He writes: 'Lake Issik-Kul, which is a large body of water, 120 miles long by 40 wide, has at present no outlet. Its shores, however, afford indubitable evidence of *enormous* elevations and depressions.' He admits that 'at one time' the water may have reached the bases of the mountains 100 feet above its present level, but adds (in another place) "the fact that ruins are visible under the water will seem to show either a subsidence of the soil or that the lake is lying on land once was." He relates that "diamond-shaped tiles, some plain and others covered with a blue glaze have been obtained partly from the lake and partly from ruins ploughed up by the peasants. At a place on the northern end of the lake called Koroi Sardi, and in two places at the eastern end, remains of submerged cities are still to be seen a few feet under water. Many relics may have been found here, some thrown up by the waves and others fished out of the water, chiefly broken pottery and pieces of metallic vessels." He then tells of the discovery of two ornamented copper kettles, along bearing an inscription in unknown alphabet, etc., and continues "I could not myself investigate, but in 1869 General Kolpakofsky examined some of the ruins, and says that between the mouths of the streams 2nd and 3rd *Kot-Su* stones may be seen in the shore and at a depth of three feet, large and visible through the water, which go parallel to each other at a distance of a few feet until the depth of the lake prevents them being seen. He also saw a large stone, on which was carved the representation of a human face, and which he succeeded in getting out of the water. Subsequent observers, who had succeeded in *dragging out a boat*, assured me that especially near the river Tub, on a clear day, they could see there many signs of buildings.'

mote from the attack of the Kálmáks. Having done this, he won for himself the whole Turkistán and Sarám. The Amírs of Jatah and of his tribe of Bárlás went to join Amír Hájí, son of Jalair Bákhi, who was [chief] in the land of the Kálmáks, while Kilaji and Baighipi and several families from Alaikhan Khán in Turkistán. The Amírs of Kunji and several others were united, in consideration of their [services], yet the desert plains of Mughulistán

But when Isán Bugha Khán had come from Yarkand [and] established in Aksu, first of all Mír Muhammad Sufi came to him and submitted, and after that others returned to him in numbers. The Khán, too, repenting of his former deeds, began to treat him with great kindness. As soon as he had regained complete authority, he made a simultaneous attack upon Sairám, Turkistán and Tashkand, and having devastated those countries returned home. This expedition took place before the year 855 of the Hijra (1451). A second time also, he made a similar foray into this country. At that time Sultán Abu Said Mirzá was *pádsháh* of Mávará-un-Nahr. He pursued the Khán and overtook him on Yángi, which in books of history is called Turáz. The Mughals

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Issigh-Kul [or warm lake], which is also called the Lake of *Thelhan* [Chinese *Yen-hai*, salt lake (for it was believed) and *Tsing-hai*, clear lake]. By the Kirghiz it is usually called *Tar-Kul* [mountain lake], and by the *Tarikh-i-Nizámi*, *Ilmish*, [which] is the name of the [region] in which it is situated. Shuyski [also] states that the [name] of the province [of] Issigh-Kul, which the Calmucs [Kalmaks] call Temurtu, i.e. Iron, on the [account] of Issigh-Kul, which the Calmucs call Temurtu, i.e. Iron, on the [account] of its [being] surrounded by mountains of iron. Another [account] says that the Arabs, who [first] [visited] Tartary, [called] it

fled without offering battle, and Sultán Abu Sa'íd Mírzá returned to his own country (Máwará-un-Nahr) but when he had taken [illegible]

[illegible] "Hirát" [illegible] Yúrgh [illegible] called Yúrgh-Kúl [illegible] Qutaiba to look [illegible] name for *Ohad*, [illegible] Little had to [illegible] Yúrgh [illegible] at times may [illegible] lined with *Kand, Ilasa, Shi* [illegible] Nowlan, Newport Nowadays [illegible] "new" [illegible]

Ohad as we have [illegible] Shewhead [illegible] the *Tal* river, [illegible] Aral-Ana [illegible] still [illegible] hundred and sixty miles, [illegible] distance to [illegible] eastward of *Ohad* [illegible] has the only influence is, [illegible] plus [illegible] by some of the Oriental writers. There was indeed [illegible] in this part [illegible] rogers for Mr Forel, [illegible] 1807 explored and made [illegible] equated with the ruins [illegible] an ancient *Yangi*, or *Yangi-Kent* [illegible] the Sihun, some distance below Ohad.

As regards Ptolemy *Yangi* mentioned in reference to the pursuit [illegible] Meghuls by Abu Said it is clear that at either [illegible] Sihun can be [illegible] Hirát, for we are only told (1) that the Meghuls were flying towards [illegible] were cut off, and (2) that they were defeated at *Aspara*. If they had passed by *Ohad*, they would not have [illegible] going in the direction of Meghulistán and there is no *Farab* in that direction. In order to retreat to Meghulistán, on the other hand, they must necessarily have passed by, or near, *Farab*, while beyond that place they would have come to *Aspara*. Thus it is, I think, sufficiently clear to identify the *Yangi* of *Yangi-kand* of Mírzá Haidar with *Farab* and to regard the *Mandal* of Nizám-ud-dín as a mere misspelling of the latter. Moreover it was a small matter but may have led [illegible] Mr Erskine [illegible] Although, as Lakemba [illegible] has a [illegible] plus, and all [illegible] with *Mandal* or *Yangi*, still [illegible] to signify [illegible]

But if Barkine and *Mandal* are equivalent for *Farab* he is not singular, for Quatremère thought it too original [illegible] the sun, or many other ways. He also translated [illegible] and Kent but which [illegible] *Mandal* and *Farab*. I ought to note that perhaps the word *Mandal* may stand for *Yangi*. This, however, [illegible] question for [illegible] the text of Hafiz Rízi would probably show that the word was written in the same way [illegible] Mírzá Haidar's writing.

Further on, in this history, we shall see that Mírzá Haidar again refers to *Farab* as a city [illegible] he has, where it is written that the Meghuls call *Farab*, *Yangi*. How then is one to [illegible] they shall get hence. He [illegible] that traces of several other ancient towns are found in the neighbourhood, but that it is not known which of these should be *Yangi*, or what were the names of the others. His point may be cleared up by a reference to Quatremère's translation of the *Masálik Al Absár* (a work of the first half of the 14th century), where we are told that from Sauran only days' journey was reckoned, and that the latter city stood on two towns, separated from each other by a distance of one "parasang". The first was called the Upper-Kouloue, and the [illegible] Yangi, the [illegible] Yangi-kand. The Upper-Kouloue, [illegible] (Quatremère) it is said that [illegible] also the name of Yangi" while in the geography of Sháikh Bahá'i (Ousley) we find the two [illegible] together thus "Yangi-Farz, a city of Turkestan". The Aral writer Mukaddasi (according to Sprenger) included *Farab* in a list of towns belonging to the province of *Isfijáb* which is also ancient name of Sairám, near Chemkent. Istakhri and Idrisi (according to those [illegible] authority) make the distance from Samarkand to *Farab* twenty-two and twenty-three days respectively. Ibn Khordádbih reckons it about five days (twenty-six parasangs) from *Isfijáb* while Arab Shah (on Bretschneider's authority) places it about four days from Sairám (which

Khwárizm, he repaired to that country. Isán Bughá Khán went to Andiján, where Mírzá Ahmad Kukuldásh, having been put to death by Mírzá Sultán Abu Said, had fortified the citadel. The Khán had to pass through a wide belt of jungle and then a triple line of fortifications. He burnt these in every direction. The outer fort was taken. . . . Finally peace was concluded, and many complimentary presents given *pishkash*. The Khán having taken possession of the whole district of Andijín, departed. There are to this day in Kishghar, descendants of the men who were made prisoners in this war, and they are Moghuls.

When Sultán Abu Said Mírzá heard this news, he was at a loss to know how he could put a check on Isán Bughá Khán. For if he advanced into Moghulistán, the Khán would withdraw to the farthest extremities of the country, whither it would be impossible for the army of Samarkand to follow him, and when the army should retreat the Khán would follow after it. Again it was out of the question to leave waiting people to oppose him; for Isán Bughá's strength and numbers generally proved obstacles to the Amirs who were sent.

All his time Mírzá Sultán Abu Said was intent upon an expedition against Irák, but on account of the trouble and annoyance caused him by Isán Bughá Khán, he was not able to carry out his plan of marching in Irák. So he sent to summon Yunus Khán, the elder brother of Isán Bughá Khán, from Irák,

against family with Khwárizm) though he makes it fifteen days from Samarkand. These discrepancies, explainable by the hasty method, would suit well if applied to the *Yalpiz* valley.

On the whole, no further evidence is, I think, needed to demonstrate (1) that *Mughal*, or *Mongol*, merely means nothing of *Yargi* and (2) that *Yanga* or *Yangi* were one of the many petty tribal names, the same as the modern Andijan-Atsin, though there were several other *Yangis* in Central Asia. To these we added here that D'Avezac gives no less than seven variations of Yang Kent, or Yangi-Kent, culled from old authors—*viz.*, *Yanikiu*, *Yenikiu*, *Ykyt*, *Sedan*, *Sangui*, &c.

(See Bábar, pp. 4, 11, 12, 101, 102; Erskine's *Hist.*, i. p. 17; Yule's *Cathay*, p. cxii; Schuyler, i. pp. 101, and ii. pp. 120-1; Bretschneider, i. p. 252; Sprenger, pp. 1, 22, 23; Quatremère, *Notices*, xiv. pp. 221-24; D'Avezac, *Recueil de Voyages*, iv. pp. 705 and 513; Sainte Croix, p. 50; Howorth, ii. pp. 480 *seq.*; Chavannes, *Doc. Turcs*, pp. 4 *seq.*)

Sultan Abu Said Mírzá was great-grandson of Amir Timur, and grandfather of Bábar. He was murdered Mihmán-i-Núrúz in 1451 to 1458 and at the time spoken of in the text (863 H. or 1458) had also conquered Khorasan and Balkh. He was perhaps the most powerful of the ruling princes of Central Asia, and his capital, Herat, was famed for its institutions, its architecture and its men of learning.

[a] An untold glib passage [six words] counted.—R.

[b] This is the literal translation of the sentence. The meaning probably is as Erskine has inserted it in the Introduction to his *Hist.* (p. 18)—"and by no means become perfect Moghuls."

[c] This is exactly the difficulty that Timur experienced in dealing with the Moghuls under the leadership of Kamaruddin Tarkhan and Kazaghan, as described here, seemingly to have rendered them formidable to their western neighbours.

whom, as has been already mentioned, Yunus was living at that time, he then despatched Yunus Khán against Isán Bughá Khán, in order that while the two brothers were engaged in fighting one another, his own enemy might easily be put down. The Moghul Amirs who had separated from Isán Bughá Khán and all those who, having made excuses, would not yield obedience to him, the Khán did not oppose in their proceedings, in the hope that they would again return to their allegiance to him.

At that time Abulkhair Khán exercised full power in the Dasht-i-Kipchák. He had been at war with the Sultáns of the race of Juji; while Jání Beg Khán and Kasim Khán fled from him into Moghulistán. Isán Bughá Khán received them with great honour and delivered over to them Kazi Bishi,[1] which is now Aksu, on the western limit of Moghulistán, where they dwelt in peace and content. On the death of Abulkhair Khán the *Ulus* of the Uzbegs fell into confusion, and constant strife arose among them. Most of them joined the party of Kasim Khán and Jání Beg Khán. They numbered about 200,000 persons, and received the name of Uzbeg-Kazáks.[2] The Kazák Sultáns began to reign in the year 870 [1465–66 (but God knows best)], and they continued to enjoy absolute power in the greater part of Uzbegistán, till the year 940 1533–34 A.D.[3] Kasim Khán was succeeded by Buranduk Khán, who was in turn succeeded by Kásim Khán, the son of Jání Beg Khán. Kásim Khán subdued the whole of the Dasht-i-Kipchák. His army numbered more than a million a thousand thousand men. Except Juji Khán, none had never reigned as great a Khán than he in his country. He was succeeded by his son Mamish Khán, who was succeeded by his brother Tahir Khán. During the rule of this Táhir Khán, the Kazáks began to diminish; after him his brother Birdish reigned. During his rule there were only 20,000 Kazáks left. In 940 he died, and the Kazáks disappeared entirely. From the days of Isán Bughá Khán to the time of Rashid Khán,[4] friendly relations generally existed between the Moghuls and the Kazáks. But Rashid Sultán upset this state of affairs, as will be related (God willing) in the account I shall give of Rashid Khán.

[1] Another reading of this name is *Jul Kazi Bishi*. It is not traceable on modern maps.

[2] This brief statement is valuable as showing not only how this particular tribe came into existence but, generally, how we know little with any certainty arise from mere local circumstances and passing events. For some remarks on this particular event and on the passages which follow, see note 1, p. 272 and Howorth ii, p. 6.

[3] Isán Bughá reigned from 832 to 866 H. (or 1429–62 A.D.). Rashid's reign dates from the end of 908 H., or 1503, and lasted till 937 H., or 1530–31; but the alienation of the Kazáks took place in the early years of his rule. Thus the alliance continued for about a hundred years. Regarding the author's statement that the Kazáks "disappeared entirely" from about the year 940 H. (1533–34), see note 1, p. 272, and Sec. vi of the Introduction.

CHAPTER XL.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE KHÂNSHÎH OF YUNUS KHÂN.

Sultán Abu Said Mirzá, son of Sultán Muhammad Mirzá, son of Muhammad Mirzá, son of Amir Timur, got the upper hand of his cousins and took Samarkand from Abdullah Mirzá of Shiráz. After the death of Mirzá Bábar Kalandar,[1] son of Mirzá Baisanghar, son of Mirzá Shah Rukh, son of Amir Timur, there was no *pádisháh* in Khorásán. So [Sultán Abu Said Mirzá] took possession of Khorásán; his heart was set upon appropriating for himself Irák also, but, as has been mentioned, the opposition of Isán Bughá Khán prevented him from absenting himself upon so long an expedition. He therefore sent to fetch Yunus Khán, the eldest brother of Isan Bughá Khán, from Irák (the reason of whose going to Irák has been explained above), and having established his court at Kushk-i-Bágh-i-Nighár,[2] he instituted princely feasts in honour of the Khán. They made many compacts and agreements, and among other things, Sultán Abu Said Mirzá said to the Khán: "In Amir Timur's first expedition, his generals would not obey him as they should have done. Now, if he had ordered them all to be put to death, he would but have weakened his own power. The generals said to him: 'You should appoint a Khán, whom we must obey.' So Amir Timur appointed Suyurghatmish Khán over them, and the generals submitted to the Khán. All *firmáns* were issued in this Khán's name, but Amir Timur kept careful watch over him. After his death, his son Sultán Mahmud Khán was appointed in his stead. But from the reign of Amir Timur down to the time of Mirzá Ulugh Beg, the power of these Kháns was only nominal, and in my own time the Kháns have generally been prisoners in Samarkand. Since I have ascended the throne, my power is so absolute that I have no need of a Khán, so now I have divested you of the garments of poverty and, having clothed you in princely robes, am sending you back to your native country on the following conditions.—For the future you must not follow the example of your ancestors and say, Amir Timur and the race of Amir Timur are our vassals, and have been for generations.' For although it was formerly so, things have changed now, and I am

[1] His real name was Abdul Kásim Babar. (See Genealogical Table of Timurí, attached.)

[2] The *Bágh-i-Zaghán* is a celebrated garden situated outside the north-western angle of the walls of Herát. Its foundation is attributed to Shah Rukh and is also Gauhar Shád Aghá, and thus dates from the first half of the fifteenth century. (See Khanikoff in *Journ. Asiat.*, 5 série I, xv, June 1860, pp. 587–13, and plan.)

pádsháh in my own right; thus, now if you are going to be my vassal you must leave the name of 'friend' *Khán-i Mahbán* and do away with the name of 'friend.' You may, however, write to me in the way 'to Kháns once I wrote to Mirzás, but in a friendly way,' and these additions not apply to 'your sons and your sons' sons.' Yunus Khán agreed to all these conditions, and swore a solemn oath to fulfil them. He was then allowed to depart accompanied by all the Moghuls who were in that district.

CHAPTER XI.

FURTHER ACCOUNT OF THE ACTIONS OF YUNUS KHÁN.

I HAVE only given a summary account of Yunus Khán in the above Chapter; I will now enter more in detail.

Yunus Khán was the son of Vais Khán, son of Sultán Ali Oglan, son of Muhammad Khán, son of Khizr Khwája Khán, son of Tughluk Timur Khán. I have never heard the date of his birth, but from the date of his death and the length of his days, I may be informed that he was born in the year 849 of the Hijra (1445), but God alone knows. He succeeded to the Khánate upon the death of his father, Vais Khán. There was much dissension between himself and his brother Isán Bughá Khán, and the Amírs Ilyás and Malik Turkomán had seized the Khán and several of the chiefs of families, and had taken them to Ulugh Beg in Samarkand. This was when the Khán was sixteen years of age. This disaster *vidán*, which took place in the year 813 of the Hijra, forms down to the present day, an epoch among the Moghuls.[1]

Mirzá Ulugh Beg sent the Khán to his father, in the manner related, and the Khán was received with all honour and respect by Mirzá Shah Rukh, who put him under the guidance and care of Maulána Shamsu-d-Dín Yazdi. The Maulána was a man of profound learning, and had not an equal in all Samarkand, Khorásán or Irak. In former times originas *muammá* were of a different sort to what one commonly meets with nowadays. This new kind was introduced by the Maulána, and he has written a book concerning the solution of these enigmas. He is the author, too, of the *Zafar-*

[1] The meaning probably is—"Be to the world, and officially you are only my vassal or subordinate but you may write to me privately as a friend, and not with the humility that the Kháns had to use to the Timurí Mirzás."

[2] Or, more literally, [illegible] the principal dates in Moghul history.—It

Náma. He also wrote some mystical commentaries on poetry,[1] and he has never been excelled, at any time, in this style of commentary. Many other works were written by him, which it would take too long to enumerate here. I only wish to demonstrate how very talented he was. The Khán studied twelve years under him, with the result that there never was, either before or after, so wise a Khán as he, among the Moghuls.

When Khidmat Maulá died, he (Khán) left Yazd and made a journey in Fárs and Azarbijan. He profited much by his travelling, and gained great experience of life. He finally selected Shiráz as a residence, there he mixed with the learned men of the place and acquired many useful sciences and crafts, so that he became known as Ustád Yunus.

In the meanwhile, Mirzá Sultán Abu Said had seized Khorásán and was meditating the conquest of Irák, but was prevented from carrying out this project by the frequent incursions of Isán Bughá Khán into Moghalistán, Sháh-rukhiyá and Turkistán, which caused all ideas of an expedition into Irák to be temporarily abandoned. In the year 860 of the Hajra, Mirzá Sultán Abu Said sent people to summon the Khán from Shiráz, under the conditions above mentioned, and to conduct him to Moghulistán. The Khán was then forty-one years of age.[2]

[1] Quære, is this the text-book mentioned by Ruieus, *Bibl. Mus. Catalogue*, i, p. 179, Bernoulli's *Oriental. Biogr. Dict.*, Erskine's *Babar*, p. 11; Erskine's *Hist.*, i, pp. 15 and 19.)

[2] A biographical work of Shamsu-d-Dín, the best known to Europeans as the *Zafar-Náma* (called sometimes by the *Tárikh-i-Sháh Kirdár*), accordingly edited by Mirzá Muhammad Ibn Diwánji for the history. Ibn Arabshah, quoted by Shamsu-d-Dín, is said to have been a contemporary and to have assisted Ulugh Beg with the observations used in the astronomical tables. The *Zafar-Náma* is by no means as well known as history, as Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Arabshah, who died in 854 A.H. (1450 A.D.), and whose biography was published in 1723 and 1724, together with a Latin translation by Manger de Cassia. It was translated into Turkish, which translation was published in 1787 A.D. (1201 A.H.), and into English by Dr. Rieu, who has unfortunately failed to have it finished before the end of Yunus Khán. If Yunus was twenty-one years old in 858 (as Mirzá Haidar says at p. 7), and if he died in Moghulistán as Khán when he was forty-one, he must have reigned for seventeen years after the Maulána's death, and thus began to reign in 877 or 878 A.H. If, however, his capture by Isán Bughá be placed in 872, and he was thirty years old when the Maulá died in 858, and forty-four at his restoration, if that event occurred, as the author states, in 860. There is thus a difference of fifteen years in the dates of the beginning of his reign. Abú'l-Ghází gives an account of these transactions, but unfortunately mentions no dates. He says that after Yunus at Shiráz, Sultán Ahmad (see Ismail Shah Rukh and Governor of Fars), and was succeeded by his son Abú Bakr Mirzá, under whom Yunus took service, and for seventeen years until he was invited to Hor and made Khán of Moghulistán by Sultán Abu Said Mirzá. Further it will be seen that Khán Ali says Yunus was born in 818 and died at the age of seventy-four, in 892. If this account, and of his captivity till 882 [illegible] of two years in his age [illegible] but it does not help us in the dates of the beginning (See Rieu's *Brit. Mus. Catalogue*, i, p. 179, Bernoulli's *Oriental. Biogr. Dict.*, Erskine's *Babar*, p. 11; Erskine's *Hist.*, i, pp. 15 and 19.)

CHAPTER XIII.

ARRIVAL OF YUNUS KHÁN IN MOGHULISTÁN.

I HAVE already shown that in Moghulistán, each Amir had for himself whom he supported for a time. After the defeat of Tímur Ughlán, Isán Bughá had withdrawn to Aksu. When Yunus Khán arrived in Moghulistán, the first of the Amirs to join him was Mír Karim Bardi, and after him, Kunji, together with several of the dispersed Moghuls, entered the Khán's service. The Khán then married the daughter of Mír Pír Haji Kunji, who was at that time Amír Umará of the Kunji [clan] and enjoyed absolute authority. Her name was Isán Daulat Begum. By her the Khán had three sons, each of whom will be spoken of in his proper place. Of the Begtpik Amirs in Issigh Kul, Mír Pír Hake Bardi had died, and had been succeeded by his nephew Mír Ibráhim, who also came and attached himself to the Khán.

All these Amirs offered their services to the Khán, but as they had for so long a time been acting independently, and each one for himself, they did not fulfil their duties, or offer the Khán fitting allegiance. Nevertheless, he honoured them in every way possible.

When some years had passed in this manner, the Khán set out against Káshghar. Amír Sayyid Ali was now grown very old, so that he could no longer sit on horseback. He sent a messenger [to ask help] of Isán Bughá Khán, and meanwhile fortified himself in the citadel of Káshghar. Isán Bughá Khán happened, at the time, to be in Yulduz of Moghulistán, which is on the extreme side of his dominions. When the message reached him, he immediately collected a large army, which numbered 60,000 men; with this force he marched from Yulduz, and arrived at Káshghar several days later. Only 6,000 men were with him, the others were still on the road so great had been the rapidity of his march. He was then joined by the Amír with 30,000 men. A battle was fought at Khwán-i-Súlír, which is about three *farsakhs* from Káshghar in the direction of Aksu. The fight was fiercely maintained, but finally Isán Bughá Khán and Amír Sayyid Ali were victorious. [Yunus] Khán was compelled to take flight, while his wives and family fell into the hands of Amir Sayyid Ali. At that time Mihr-i Nigár Khánim, the eldest child of Yunus Khán, by Isán Daulat Begum, was still at the breast. They were supplied with necessaries and sent after the Khán.

When Yunus Khán reached Moghulistán, he was deserted by his followers and finding it was impossible to remain in that country, he left it and proceeded to Khotan, where he presented himself before Mirzá Sultán Abu Said. But the Khán was in such a state of destitution, that he could find nothing to offer as a present [*peshkash*] to the Mirzá. So the Khán said to Buyan Kuli, who was one of his most devoted servants: "I am going to give you as a slave to the Mirzá, by way of a 'peshkash'." And when the man offered no objection, the Khán presented him to the Mirzá, and entreated the Mirzá, saying, "You must give me some country [*wilayat*] as a possession, so that I may inquire the Moghuls with confidence." The Mirzá gave him Yatikand,[1] which is on the confines of Andijan. When the hour of the Khán's departure arrived, Buyán Kuli began to weep. The Mirzá questioned him as to the cause of his tears. Having told his story, the Mirzá took pity on him, and supplying him with a horse and provisions, sent him along with the Khán.

On re-entering Moghulistán, the Khán was soon more joined by his scattered adherents. At this time Amir Sayyid Ali died in Káshghar. On the dome of the mausoleum of Amir Sayyid Ali which is in Káshghar, is written the date 862. Yunus Khán was relieved of much anxiety by the death of the Amir.

CHAPTER XLIII.

RULE OF MIRZÁ SHAHRUKH IN KASHGHAR AFTER THE DEATH OF HIS FATHER, AMIR SAYYID ALI.

The Amir had leaving two sons. The elder was Mirzá Shahr, whose mother was of the family [*Tribe*] of the Amirs of the Jaláir; and the younger was Muhammad Haidar Mirzá, whose

[1] This name is subject to many different orthographical changes. Strictly speaking the *Yanghi Kishlák* but from the Ashtarkhánian and Bukhárian it is usually transliterated *Yanikand Yanikand Bahrúd, Iliand*, etc. Mirzá Haidar, however, gives a word down (p. 180), the Persian equivalent of which is *Haft Dih* and thus settles the question, for *Haft Dih* or *Seven villages* translated into Turki, would be *Yeti-Yand*. This last form has been adopted, therefore wherever the name occurs. He tells us that the district was situated on the confines of *Andijan*, but in this instance, it is possible that he may be using the word *Andijan* to denote the whole province of *Farghana* in fact, as an equivalent for *Farghana*. In some modern maps a district called *Iliand* or *Ilkand* is marked to the north-east of Kokand and Tashkand but it seems hardly possible that this list has reference to the *Yettiland* of the fifteenth century. It must have stood more to the north-west in the direction of England and will have constituted the extreme western limit of Moghulistan. (See note I, pp. 80 f.)

mother was Ulus Sultán Khánim, the aunt of Yunus Khán. According to Moghul custom, Sámr, being the elder, succeeded to the government. He was a violent, but generous man. Out of respect and reverence for his mother, and his love and affection for his brother, he gave Kishghar and Yárkand to the Khánim, and Muhammad Haidar Mirzá respectively, while he chose Yiráland for his seat of government.

Although Muhammad Haidar Mirzá was connected with the Yunus Khán and Isán Bughá Khán party by marriage, he was friendly with the latter, because Amir Sayyid Ali had taken Dawlat Nigár Khánim, the daughter of Isán Bughá Khán, as a wife for Muhammad Haidar Mirzá.

Soon after the death of Mir Sayyid Ali, Isán Bughá Khán died also; this was in the year 806. His son Dust Muhammad Khán succeeded to the Chánate. Muhammad Haidar Mirzá allied himself with Dust Muhammad Khán, while Sámr Mirzá, on the other hand, became a partisan of Yunus Khán. Under these circumstances it became impossible for Muhammad Haidar Mirzá to remain in Káshghar, so he left and joined Dust Muhammad Khán in Aksu.

After this, Sámr Mirzá governed Káshghar so well, and dealt justice so evenly, that his name was looked back on with envy by those who came after him. He ruled here seven years, and died in the year 80[illegible]. He fell from his horse while hunting, and sustained such severe injuries, causing wounds which proved fatal. After his death the inhabitants of Kishghar brought Muhammad Haidar Mirzá to their town, while Dust Muhammad Khán advanced on Yárkand where he married the wife of Sámr Mirzá, Ismil Aghá by name who had given Sámr Mirzá two sons, viz., Mirzá Abu Bakr and Omar Mirzá, and one daughter, called Khán Sultán Khánim, all of whom the Khán took back with him to Aksu. (I will speak about them below.)

CHAPTER XLIV.

REIGN OF DUST MUHAMMAD KHÁN.

When Isán Bughá Khán died (a natural death) he was succeeded by his son Dust Muhammad Khán who was then seventy-one years of age. He was an accomplished youth, and his actions were unreasonable. He was never for a moment in his senses. He much affected the ways of Kalandars, and gave himself and all his Amirs such names as are usually borne by Kalandars. His own name was Shams Al Hál, and in the same way all his actions

and public offices were called Al lák this and Abdíl that, and had to transact their business under these names. He was, moreover, excessively generous.

He reigned seven years. During this time he made expeditions against Yárkand and Káshghar. First of all he attacked Yárkand, where, after the death of Sháh Murád, the Amirs had shut themselves up in the citadel. The Khán asked them to surrender the widow of Sháh Murád: when she had been given up to him, he asked for the children, of whom they sent the eldest son Murád Allábakh. He then ceased hostilities, and went on to Káshghar. At the time when he had set out against Yárkand, Muhammad Haidar Mírzá, upon the overthrow of the people of Káshghar, proceeded to their town. When the Khán neared Káshghar, Muhammad Haidar Mírzá set out to meet him; the Khán sent him to Yangi Hisár, while he himself entered Káshghar, and when he had plundered it, he returned to Aksu. In consequence of this, Muhammad Haidar Mírzá was much enraged, and went over to the side of Yunus Khán (as will be mentioned below). Soon after Dust Muhammad Khán's return to Aksu, he gave his sister, Husn Nigár Khánum, to Mírzá Abú Bakr in marriage. But Mírzá Abú Bakr was much alarmed at the unbalanced state of the Khán's mind, and finally fled to the camp of Muhammad Haidar Mírzá, in Káshghar, whither his wife was, soon after, permitted to follow him.

Not long after this, the Khán fell in love with one of his father's wives, and in consequence tried to obtain permission from the Ulamá to marry her. He put to death seven of the Ulamá in succession, who declared against the union. At length the Khán came to Maulánú Muhammad Attár, rocking with drunkenness and with a sword in his hand and said to him: "I want to marry my own mother; is it lawful or not?" The Maulánú who was one of the most learned of the dervishes and a most pious man, said to the Khán, "For such a one as you it is lawful." So the Khán immediately ordered preparations for the marriage to be made. But on the night of the nuptials he saw his father, in a dream, mounted on a black horse, who, coming up to him, said: "Oh! wretched one, in that after we have for one hundred years been Musulmáns, thou shouldst apostasise and become an infidel." [His father] shot him below the ribs with an arrow, then dismounting, he rubbed his hand on the bottom of a kettle, and blackened the Khán's face, who thereupon awoke, in alarm. Breathless and penitent, he rushed out of the house of his mother and washed himself. He was seized with an acute pain in the side, which, in the morning developed into fever.

The people sent for Maulánú Muhammad Attár, and said to him, "It was you who granted the *fatwá* [decree legalising this

marriage]." The Khán said: "To no, I blame the Mullá, for I had already killed seven persons when I asked his opinion, so what could he poor Mullá do?" But the Mullá said: "I gave you no *fatwa*, I simply said that the marriage was lawful for an infidel such as you are." Dust Muhammad Khán was next seized with pleurisy [*Zatulpanb*] and died after six days' illness at the age of forty, in the year 873 (1468). Khwaja Ahmad of Káshghar divined the following chronogram on his death: "*Khak mad*", the pig died. He had reigned seven years. On his death great disorder ensued. He left seven sons, Kalak Sultán Oghlán, who was seized by some of the opposition and carried away to Turfán and Ghalish,[1] while Yunus Khán came down and captured Aksu.

CHAPTER XLV.

SECOND RETURN OF YUNUS KHÁN FROM [THE COURT OF] SULTÁN ABU SAID.

When Yunus Khán was sent back by Sultán Abu Said into Moghulistán he was, on his arrival in that country, again joined by all the Amirs; he remained there some time, his headquarters being generally Yatikand. He was not, however, allowed to control the territory of his Right Chiras. When the latter and Amir Sayyid Ali died, Dust Muhammad Khán became *pádishdh*, and was joined in Aksu by Muhammad Haidar Mirzá, while Sámiz Mirzá, who had been at enmity with Muhammad Haidar Mirzá, attached himself to Yunus Khán, to whom he was of great service. Yunus Khán entered Káshghar several times, but the Amirs of Moghulistán refused to stay there, so the Khán was always compelled to withdraw. This happened several times, but I will not give any details, as it would take too long, and the accounts I have heard differ considerably. The substance of the whole matter is that the Khán was very fond of cities and houses, but the Amirs and soldiers of Moghulistán always avoided the towns, and for this reason the Khán spent most of his time in Moghulistán. When Sámiz Mirzá died, the Khán was joined by Muhammad Haidar Mirzá. A short time after this, Dust Muhammad Khán also died, whereupon Yunus Khán entered Aksu and subdued the subjects of Dust Muhammad Khán, while the son of this latter, Kalak Sultán Oghlán, was seized by some of his well-wishers, who fled with him to Turfán

[1] Ghalish = Qarashahr = Karashahr

Yunus Khán wished to dwell in Aksu. In company with Moghulistán, Aksu is like a town; but he considered, from the manner of the Moghuls, that if he stayed there much longer, they would all go over to the side of Kebek Sultan Oghlán, who was compelled to call together all his tribesmen and return with them to Moghulistán. At this time Amásinji Táishi, son of Isán Táshi (whom I have mentioned in connection with Vais Khán) came to Moghulistán. For Isán Táishi had given him in marriage Makhtum Khánum, sister of Vais Khán, as long as the Khán's life, and by her [Amásinji Táishi] had two sons and one daughter. When Vais Khán had bestowed his sister, he had obliged his brother-in-law to become a Musulmán, and they were married with Muhammadan rites. The Khánum caused all her following to become Musulmáns and named her two sons Ibráhim and Ilyás and her daughter Kidik Barak Mirzá, after Mir Karim Barak. This conversion to Islám was the cause of a conflict between Ibráhim Ung and Ilyás Ung, on the one hand, and Amásinji Táishi on the other. (In the language of the Kipchaks the son of a Khán is called "Ung.") Amásinji fled before them into Moghulistán with forty times 100,000 men, while it is stated, thirty-seven times 100,000 stayed behind with Ibráhim Ung and Ilyás Ung. These two, however, quarrelled with the Khán of the Kálmáks, and therefore fled from that country into Khitái with 10,000 men. The captive [*amání*] between the brothers [and Amásinji] took place before the death of Dust Muhammad Khán, which occurred in 873. The flight of Ibráhim Ung and Ilyás Ung into Khitái took place, probably, in 910 [1504–5].[1] These two both died in Khitái. Ibráhim left one son, Bábulái by name, whose descendants are still to be met with in that country, and who still bear the same name of Bá'ulín. Mansur Khán made a holy war [*ghazát*] against Khitái and came in contact with that very tribe (as will be mentioned shortly).

Ibn Amásinji Táshi, having separated himself from Ibráhim Ung and Ilyás Ung, came to Moghulistán. Near the river Ailak he came upon and defeated Yunus Khán. In that fight many Moghul Amirs were killed . . . and all the Moghul *Ulus* moved

[1] Mansur Khán (Kipchak) only a small place, if there would own it, while in Moghulistan it would be the life of the supply.

[2] This passage is somewhat obscure. The word *amán* should mean *safe-conduct*, or *pardon*, which does not appear to refer to the flight of the brothers into Khitái or Chinese territory. But the latter which the author mentions now, I think, that the conflict between them and Amásinji, and the latter's flight into Moghulistan, are the events I speaks of when using the word *amání*. If this is correct, a period of twenty-six years must be placed between these events and the retreat of the brothers into Chinese territory, *i.e.*, from some date prior to 873 (1468 f) to the year 910 (1504 5). These accounts are not traceable in the translation of the Persian history of the Moghuls published by Dr. Bretschneider in his *Mediæval Researches*.

A passage of five words here omitted by Haidar.

to wards Turkistán, spending the winter at a place in Turkistán, on the banks of the Sihun, called Sam Turkán Burun Oghlán made a raid upon them, as will be hereafter related.

CHAPTER XLVI

YUNUS WHICH FOLLOWED ON THE DEATH OF ISAN MUHAMMAD KHÁN; THE RISE OF YUNUS KHÁN, AND THE MURDER OF ISHAN KHÁN, SON OF ABUBAKR KHÁN OF TASHKAND.

In the year 875 Abulkhair, a descendant of Jagi was *pádsháh* in the kingdom *yurt* of Juji Khán, son of Chingiz Khán that is in the Dasht-i-Kipchák; and he was the greatest king *pádsháh* of his time. After his death his people became very demoralised, and a number of them joined the Kazáks, Sarai Khán and Jáni Beg Khán (whom I have had occasion to mention). There was a standing quarrel between these two Kazáks, and the sons of Abulkhair Khán. For this reason the sons of Abulkhair were also at enmity with the Moghul Kháns for these last had always been the supporters of Kasim Khán and Jáni Beg Khán. After the death of Abulkhair Khán, his subjects gathered round his eldest son Burunj Oghlán. Seeing that Kasim Khán and Jani Beg Khán had become very powerful, Burunj Khán thought he had better keep at a distance from them, and so returned to Turkistán.

When the inhabitants of Turkistán learnt the news of the advance of the Moghuls on their military, and having learnt for that Yunus Khán was at Kará Tukín, they sent Burunj out with all speed to attack him. On that day the Khán happened to be out hunting with all his men near the banks of the Sihun. Burunj, crossing the river on the ice at mid-day, found the camp of the Khán undefended; he had 20,000 soldiers with him, and there were at that time 60,000 families of Moghuls. They entered the camp

Possibly the *Kara Sonqir Tal* of Timur's campaign (See Appendix I.)

[a] Abulkhair died in 871 A.H. or 1466 A.D. (See Howorth, I. p. 611 where, however, the A.D. year is wrongly printed 1869)

[b] The name of Burunj Oghlan does not appear in Sir H. Howorth's pedigree of Abulkhair's sons. His father was Shah Buzurgh Sultan, the father of the renowned Sháh Beg, Shaibani Khán and Sir H. Howorth is disposed to think that Burunj was only another name for Shah Buzurgh. This is probable, for several of the Abulkhairi Uzbeg chiefs had two names, or nicknames. Dr Bellew calls Burunj Oghlan the son of Jani Beg, who was a grandson of Abulkhair; but apart from the fact that the names do not agree among Jáni Beg's sons as they are known to us none of these latter would have been too young to take the part which Burunj is stated to have taken by Mirza Haidar (Howorth, I. p. 611. How *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, p. 150.)

and each sallied into his respective enchanted house. They settled down in the Khán's camp, occupying themselves with the appropriation of all his wealth and splendour they found there.

When news of this attack reached the Khán he immediately ordered his hunt, and set out in the direction of his camp without waiting, to collect his men; when he reached the river he found it was frozen over. Now the Khán's camp was pitched on the opposite bank of the river. The Khán could blow the horn *nafir* better than any one of his day, and all his men knew the sound of his blast. He now gave a loud blast on the horn, and then rushed across the ice, accompanied by six men, one of whom was bearer of the great standard [*Shash Tughi*]. The women [hearing] the approach of the Khán [seized] all the Uzbegs who were in their houses. When Buruj Oghlán heard the sound of the horn and saw the six men and the standard, he rose up with the intent of mounting his horse, but the female servants had seized both his groom *akhtají* and his horse. Some women at that moment came out of their houses and seized Buruj Oghlán when the Khán, arriving upon the scene, ordered them to behead him; this order was carried out immediately, and of the 20,000 Uzbegs a few only escaped. The Khán then again settled down victorious, in his camp. On the morrow, when the army had reassembled, the property of the enemy was confiscated, and all the Sultáns of Abu'l-Khair Khán who survived, were scattered in different directions. They will be mentioned, separately and individually, in different parts [of this book].

CHAPTER XLVII.

SHAIKH JAMÁL-UD DÍN AND HIS CAPTURE OF THE KHÁN

HAVING passed the winter at Kará Ertkín, the Khán proceeded in the spring to Táshkand. At that time there was, in Táshkand, one of the Amirs of Mírzá Sultán Abu Said, Shaikh Jamál-ul-Dín Khán by name. Sultán Abu Said Mírzá had just died in Irák[1] and had been succeeded in the rule of Khorásán by Sultán Husain Mírzá; while his son, Sultán Ahmad Mírzá, succeeded him in Samarkand. The government of Hisár, Kunduz and Badakhshán had devolved upon his son, Mírzá Sultán Mahmúd, and Mírzá Omar Shaikh became *pádsháh* of Andijan, and *wálí* of Farghána. Yunus Khán made all three of these Mírzás his sons-in-law. (I will mention

[1] Abu Said died 874 A.H.=1469 A.D. Rieu (*Oriental Biogr. Dict.*) gives the exact date as 25 Rajab, 873, or 8th February 1469.

each of them in his proper place). In short, this Shaikh Jamál Khán was one of Sultán Abú Sáid's Amírs, and had been appointed Governor of Táshkand, subject to Mírzá Sultán Ahmad of Samarkand; but his allegiance to the Mírzá was very imperfect. The Khán, on account of the scarcity of barley in Moghulistán, came to Táshkand, where he mixed freely and unsuspectingly with the above-mentioned Mírzás. Had he (Shaikh Jamál) come without any apprehensions; but the Moghul chiefs had sent secretly to Shaikh Jamál Khán, inviting him to come and oppose the Khán, to which the Shaikh, after much persuasion, agreed. He approached the Khán as if to do him homage, but when he drew near, all the men who were with the latter went forward to meet the Shaikh, leaving the Khán alone. The Khán asked where his men were going, to which they answered that they were going to meet Mír Shaikh Jamál. When Shaikh Jamál Khán came up to the standard and drum of the Khán, he remained on horseback; there was no one with the Khán, so the Shaikh sent one of the Khán's own servants *to seize him, which was easily managed. The Khán was* bound and kept in prison one year. The whole Moghul *Ulus* submitted to Shaikh Jamál.

Bíbí Daulat Begum, the wife of Yúnus Khán and mother of his children, has been mentioned above as the mother of Mír-i-Nigár Khánum, who was given in marriage to Sultán Ahmad Mírzá, and of Kutluk Nigár Khánum, who was wedded to Mírzá Ulugh Shaikh. This same Bíbí Daulat Begum was given, as a present, by Shaikh Jamál Khán to one of his most distinguished officers. When the Begum heard of this, she made no objections, but appeared pleased. They then informed Khwája Kalán (as this officer was named) of the Begum's pleasure; he too was much pleased, and in the evening went to her house. He found her servants standing outside. He himself entered her room. Now, before his arrival, the Begum had arranged with her female attendants [*dáhán*] that on a given sign from herself they should make fast all the doors of the house. So when Khwája Kalán had entered he (the Begum) had barred the doors, *the female attendants had hold of him and put him to death*, by stabbing him with knives [*izlik*]. When day broke they threw his body outside. Some persons seeing the Khwája's dead body, went and reported the matter to Shaikh Jamál, who sent to ask the Begum the meaning of it all. The Begum replied, "I am the wife of Sultán Yúnus Khán; Shaikh Jamál gave me to some one also, thus is not allowed by Muhammadan law, so I killed the man, and Shaikh Jamál Khán may kill me also if he likes." Shaikh Jamál commended her words, and, taking pity on her, sent her back with all honour to the Khán her husband].

When the Khán had been one year in prison, Amír Abdul Kudus, the nephew of Amír Kamr Barlás Dughlát, with the assistance of

whole of men, fell on Jo Shaikh and slew him. He thought night he handed the Shaikh to the Khán, and set him at liberty. The Amirs who had gone over to the Shaikh, now returned to their allegiance under the Khán. They explained that the reason for the hostility they had shown him was, that he had always tried to make them settle in towns and cultivated countries but that these places were hateful to them. So the Khán repented and said: "Henceforward I will give up all idea of living in towns and cultivated countries" [*shahr u vilâyat*]. To record this event they invented the chronogram: *sar-i-khar girftah Abdul Kadus*, which is enigmatical, for "sar-i-khar" is equivalent to the letter "*kh*" and has to be added to [the numerical value of] Abdul Kadus in order to produce the date 877 [1472–3].

At this time [in the same year] the Kálmáks returned to their own homes [*yurt*], and Moghulistán being left unoccupied, the Khán led his Moghuls back to their country.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

CONCLUSION WHICH PASSED BETWEEN YUNUS KHÁN AND THE KINGS OF MÁVARÁ-UN-NAHR, AFTER THE MURDER OF SHAIKH ZAMÁL KHAN

As soon as the Khán had again established himself on the throne of the Khanate, the Moghuls and the Amirs made him promise never, for the future, to attempt to make them dwell in cities or cultivated countries [*shahr u vilâyat*], which had been the cause of all their sedition and revolts. The Khán was obliged to comply, and they then re-entered Moghulistán, which had been wasted by the Kálmáks. During several years the Khán never even made mention [*hawá*] of towns or houses, — that at length the Moghuls became much attached to him.

Muhammad Haidar Mirzá, who was in Káshghar, yielded fitting obedience to the Khán, from whom he, in return, received demonstrations of paternal affection; and complete tranquillity prevailed in Moghulistán and Káshghar.

Soon after the Khán's return, the followers of Kabak Sultán Oghlán (son of Dost Muhammad Khán), who had fled in the direction of Turfán, having killed their master, brought his head to the Khán. But the Khán, in spite of Kabak having been his enemy, was (for Kabak's brother's sake) very angry, and ordered the murderers [to be put to death] by way of retaliation.

The Khán had now no enemies remaining on any side. After

he had killed Buruj Oghlán, to send his eldest nephew Miran Nigár Khanim, to Sultán Ahmad Mirzá, son of Sultan Abu Said Mirzá, saying, "Sultán Abu Said Mirzá turned the enmity out against Mughulistán into friendship, therefore now to cement this friendship with a family alliance, and therefore offer my daughter, as a wife, to the son of Sultán Abu Said Mirzá." Miran Nigár Khanim remained in the house of Mirzá Sultán Ahmad as long as he lived. (I shall have more to say of the Khánim in the second part of this work.)

After the Khán's return to Moghulistán, when Shaikh Ahmad Khan had been put to death, he gave his daughter, Kutluk Nigár Khanim, who was younger than Miran Nigár Khanim, in marriage to Omar Shaikh Mirzá son of Sultán Abu Said Mirzá. This was in the year 880. There existed between the Khán and Omar Shaikh such an affection as is seldom even found between father and son. Omar Shaikh used to go and spend a month, or two months at a time in Moghulistán, and sometimes he would bring back his father with him to Andijan, and the Khán would be his guest for a month or more. About this time Omar Shaikh tried to induce the Khán to march to Samarkand, and after depriving his brother Mirzá Sultán Ahmad (the eldest son-in-law of Yunus Khán) of the throne to raise him (Omar Shaikh) upon it, in his brother's stead. But the Khan would not hear of such a measure. When Sultan Ahmad heard of his brother's end, he set out to oppose him with an army. But Omar Shaikh Mirzá appealed to the Khán for succour, giving him, at the same time, some of his own territories. Thus Sultán Ahmad was hindered from making an invasion. This state of affairs was constantly recurring. It was, however, at length agreed that the Khán should come every winter to Andijan attended only by his own personal servants, leaving the *Ulus of the Moghul in Moghulistán.* Omar Shaikh Mirzá was to give to the Khán whichever of his territories the latter might select. In the spring, the Khán was to return to Moghulistán, and the Mirzá again take possession of his own territories.

On one occasion, Omar Shaikh Mirzá, being in want of one of his brothers, sent to Yunus Khán for supper, while he gave over to him Akhsi. The Khán took up his winter quarters in Akhsi, hearing of which, Sultán Ahmad Mirzá abandoned his hostile intentions. Omar Shaikh Mirzá, though his mind was set at rest with regard to his brother, nevertheless did not like the Khán's residing in Akhsi. For Akhsi was the largest town in Farghana and its capital. On this account he rose in arms against the Khán, and fought a battle against him at the Bridge of Pikú Sugnakan.[1]

[1] This name has been transliterated accurately, as it stands in the Persian text—the Turki texts reading Ter. The meaning would be the Camel's

The Khán at first remonstrated with the Mirzá, but in vain and a battle ensued in which the Mirzá was defeated and taken prisoner. He was brought bound before the Khán, who rose up to meet him and ordered his hands to be set free. He then made him presents and sent him away, saying: "Return home at once, that your men be thrown into confusion. I too will follow you to your house." When Omar Shaikh Mirzá returned to Andján, the Khán allowed his *Ulus* to go back to Moghulistán, while he himself proceeded to Andján with his family *[sic]* and a few followers. He remained in the house of the Mirzá for two months, and nothing disturbed their friendship.[1]

On another occasion when the Mirzá called the Khán for assistance, he gave him Maghulán. While the Khán was in Maghulán, his Holiness, the Axis of pious works, the Cynosure of the pious, the Beloved of God Khwája Násiru'ldín Ubaidullah (may God sanctify his sepulchre) came there in order to bring about a reconciliation between the Khán and Omar Shaikh Mirzá, on the one hand, and Sultán Ahmad Mirzá on the other. I have often heard from trustworthy narrators, that when His Holiness arrived near Maghulán, all the Moghuls and the inhabitants of the town came out to meet him in *istikbál*, but none of the Moghuls had the presumption to approach him to salute him [such was their great regard for this holy man]. Men and women halted at a distance and, dismounting, fastened their horses to the ground, while they themselves kept their eyes fixed on the dust of the road. His Holiness then approached them. There was one among his retinue who recognised the Khán and he said to his Holiness, "This is Yúnus Khán." His Holiness immediately dismounted, and having raised the Khán's hand from the ground, embraced him.

I once heard from His Holiness, the Refuge of Piety, Maulánú Muhammad Kází (upon whom be mercy), who on a certain occasion went to Maghulán, the following: "I had heard that Yúnus Khán was a Moghul, and I concluded that he was a boundless man, with the ways and manners of any other Turk of the desert. But when I saw him, I found he was a person of elegant deportment, with a full head and a Tájik face,[2] and such refined

[1] Lit. No vexation came between them.—R

[2] Or Pajik "footprints." That is, the Maulána found Yúnus to be of Aryan and not of Mongolo-Turkic countenance, a circumstance that shows how little of the Moghul was left, even in the fifteenth century, in a Khán of Moghulistán

speech and manner, as is seldom to be found even in a Turk." In short, when his Holiness had seen the Khan, he addressed letters to all the Sultáns around about, saying: "I have seen Yunus Khán and the Moghuls are a people fitted for *pádishdhi* and are worthy of captives. They are a people to slay." Then thus they found, no more Moghuls were brought as slaves in Mawarannahr. Nahr and Khanish-i Jafr to his, the Moghuls had been purchased as other Kings do purchased

CHAPTER XLIX.

RULE OF MUHAMMAD HAIDAR MIRZÁ IN KÁSHGHAR.

After the death of Sultán Mirzá son of Amir Sayyid Ali, the government of Káshgar was given to Muhammad Haidar Mirzá, son of Amir Sayyid Ali (as was related above). When he had become firmly established in that place, Dust Muhammad Khán did all

Yunus Chan, in order to satisfy the Moghul *Ulus*, gave up all into one unified kingdom cities and cultivated lands. Muhammad Haidar Mirzá in Káshgar acknowledged the supremacy of the Khán, who in return treated him in a fatherly way. Muhammad *Haidar Mirzá* reigned in peace and prosperity *for twenty-four years* in all: that is from the year 800 to 886 (or six and ye ars) he had absolute authority; and for the remainder, partial authority only.[1]

The family of Yunus was well-known for some generations past, from remarkable wisdom and greatness. Though they, combined with the Persian training, would seem to have given them habits more like those of ordinary Moghuls.

The word *Yasá* in the passage translated as "the will" or *Jihád*, is elsewhere used in a general, social sense, and is not a term applied to the *Yasá* Chingiz Khán. But the subject has been treated of already in Book I. of the Introduction, and more need not be said here. It may be remarked, however, that the *Jahád* the ghazis of this story were of the same nature as the spoken expeditions of the Kings Aryan Indians—namely, forays, razzias, and by "infidels" were meant Buddhists. It was in all seems that the word was not applied in the sixteenth century to wars between Muhammadan Moghul Sultáns and their subjects also, which is a sign of the Christian

[1] Thus the remainder would be eighty years, from 801 to 80 . Erskine makes those periods "six years with imperfect and eight years with full authority." But the MSS. [illegible] that is the meaning of the passage. (Erskine's *Hist.*, i, p. 5)

CHAPTER I.

BEGINNING OF THE REIGN OF ABÚ BAKR MIRZÁ.

On the death of Sámiz Mirzá, Dust Muhammad Khán went to Yarkand, and took the widow of Sámiz Mirzá to wife. He then proceeded to Aksu, taking with him Alá Baka Mirzá, the eldest son of Sámiz Mirzá. Not long after this, he gave his sister Husn Nigár Khánim, in marriage to the young Mirzá But Abú Baki, fearing the unsoundness of Dust Muhammad Khan's mind, fled to his uncle Muhammad Haidar Mirzá; and Dust Muhammad Khán sent Husn Nigár Khánim after him to Káshghar (all of which I have already related).

Dust Muhammad was a very brave and generous man, and of so great a height, that if he stood on foot in the midst of a hundred people, any one seeing him would have said he was on horseback. But Muhammad Haidar Mirzá having, inherited his power did not know the value and importance of an army. The distinguished generals and captains which Amir Sayyid Ali had collected round his person during a life of eighty years, were in the time of Muhammad Haidar Mirzá, for the most part dead, and those who yet remained alive, were worn with age; while their sons and grandsons had no relations with Muhammad Haidar Mirzá All the young men and the princes *(mirzádah)* were in favour of Mirzá Abú Baki. It would be a long story, to account all the details concerning those who were parties to those intrigues; moreover, though it is only twenty years ago,[1] not one of them alive now, and the various and conflicting reports which were at that time spread about, are now entirely forgotten. It is, however, certain that Mirzá Abú Baki fled from Muhammad Haidar Mirzá and presented himself before the Governor of Yárkand Showing him a forged order, he by cunning, and deceit, made himself master of Yárkand. He then sent certain persons to his uncle Muhammad Haidar Mirzá, offering complete submission to him, which the Khán accepted, and sent him, for his own service, 3000 young princes from Káshghar. His brother Omar Mirzá who was in Káshghar at the time, now came to join him in the government of Yárkand. They united their efforts in an attempt to subdue Khotan Having mentioned this town here, I think it necessary to say something about Khotan and its governors

[1] It was, in fact, much more than 20 years—rather about [redacted] 70 years

CHAPTER LI.

ACCOUNT OF THE MIRZÁS OF KHOTAN.

KHOTAN is one of the most famous cities in the East. In the Second Part, I have given all that I have been able to learn from Imperious, and other books, concerning Khotan. When the Amírship *Inákat* of the Dughlát tribe descended to Amír Khudáidád (upon whom be mercy), he divided all the dependencies of the Dughláts among his children and his brothers. To his youngest son, Sayyid Ahmad Mirzá, he entrusted Káshghar and Yárkand. Amír Khudáidád had two maternal brothers *amcá-zád*, Ilyás Sháh and Khizr Sháh by name. To the former he gave Aksu, and to the latter Khotan, marching them both on to Sayyid Ahmad Mirzá, to whom he gave all they won of their dismissal on appointment. Those two, like all his other officers, used to come and wait on the Mirzá yearly, and then, when they were going into leave, they returned to their respective provinces. This practice was observed until the time of Amír Sayyid Ali.

When Amír Sayyid Ali gave Aksu to Isán-tughá Khán there was, in the service of the latter, one of the grandsons of Ilyás Sháh Mirzá, who was also named Ilyás Sháh, and who, till the time of Dost Muhammad Khán, had the command of the fortress of Aksu. But after Amír Sayyid Ali there were in Khotan two brothers, descendants of Khizr Sháh Mirzá; the name of one was Khán Nazar Mirzá, and of the other Kul Nazar Mirzá. The former was not his equal in strength and power of the arm, for Mirzá Abú Bakr, away even to Amír Sayyid Ali. He showed a spirit of independence, and threw off his old allegiance to Káshghar. Mirzá Abú Bakr begged permission of Muhammad Haidar Mirzá to go and occupy Khotan, on the ground that Khán Nazar and Kul Nazar had sought to deviate from that high-road of obedience, which was due by the sons to their fathers. Muhammad Haidar Mirzá, being himself displeased with these two brothers, granted the request, and encouraged him [in the undertaking]. Thus Mirzá Abú Bakr acted freely in the matter of Khotan.

Khán Nazar Mirzá had made himself an iron club, which no one but he could lift with two hands; he, however, could wield it with one hand, and whatever he struck with it, were it a horse or a cow, inevitably fell. But his younger brother, Kul Nazar Mirzá, was a young man of great modesty. These two brothers aimed at becoming kings.

CHAPTER LII.

CAPTURE OF KHOTAN BY MIRZÁ ABÚ BAKR AND THE EXPULSION OF THE MIRZÁS OF KHOTAN.

In those days, when Mirzá Abú Bakr was intent on the conquest of Khotan, he had with him Omar Mirzá. His elder brother disapproved of his proceedings, and wished to join issue with him. Upon Mirzá Abú Bakr ascertaining this, he contrived to lay hands on him, and having blinded him, sent him to Muhammad Haidar Mirzá. After the destruction *anán* of Káshghar, Omar Mirzá went to Samarkand, where he was treated with kindness, till, in the year 921 he returned to Káshghar. Here he died, and was buried in the mausoleum of Amir Sayyid Ali.

In short Abú Bakr being released from the molestations of his brother, continued his march upon Khotan. On the first occasion he made peace, on the second matters were again concluded with a treaty. The two governors mounted, and having met and conferred together, they arranged the conditions of the peace and took a solemn oath upon the Word of God, in confirmation of the agreement. Mirzá Abú Bakr, having given the bond to his own servants, handed the Korán [the *Kalám Ullah*][1] to one of his nobles, telling him to take it to Khán Nazar Mirzá. When Khán Nazar Mirzá stretched out his hand to take the "Kalám Ullah," the noble seized his hand with both his own, while others attacked him from every side with swords, for the followers of Mirzá Abú Bakr, having previously agreed upon this, had been standing ready. He was taken quite by surprise. None of the retainers of Khán Nazar Mirzá being able to use their arms [to help him], they fled, while some others who had been appointed for the business, seized Kul Nazar Mirzá. The two brothers were put to death with the sword, and by this means the land was cleared from Khotan, thus did Abú Bakr conquer Khotan and gain absolute power. Having finished this affair, Abú Bakr started on an expedition against his uncle, Muhammad Haidar Mirzá.

[1] That is he handed the copy of the Korán containing the treaty. For treaties and solemn engagements are usually written and sealed, by Musulmáns, in copies of the Korán.

CHAPTER LIII.

HE STRATAGEM BY WHICH [ ] MIRZÁ [ ] HIS OWN AMIRS

At the death of Sháh Mirzá, Dust Muhammad Khán (as has been mentioned) took to wife the widow of Sháh Mirzá, whose name was Jamák Ágha. He moreover gave Kishlák to Muhammad Haidar Mirzá. These events took place in the year 800.

On the death of Dust Muhammad Khán, Muhammad Haidar Mirzá married Jamák Ágha, who was the mother of Mirzá Abú Bakr and of Omar Mirzá. By her, Muhammad Haidar Mirzá had two sons, my father Muhammad Husain Kurkán, and my uncle Sayyid Muhammad Mirzá. After the conquest of Khotan, Abú Bakr became still more powerful. In vain were the counsels and protestations of his Amirs, who represented that his whole reason, from beginning to end, had been one of tyranny, that he spared no one that he had seized Yárkand by stealth and by the employment of underhand policy: but after he had put out the eyes of Omar Mirzá, he had put to death Khán Nazar and Kul Nazar. How could they would look with theeye of trust upon such a man? He still longed for Kishlák, and his whole object in life was to make his kingdom into a new empire (*Ulúsh*). In spite of these days, the same had before Muhammad Haidar Mirzá the latter, on account of his affection for his nephew, made light of Abú Bakr, and his wife, who was the mother of his children, and the mother of Mirzá Abú Bakr, said to him, in opposing the remonstrances of the Amirs: "He is your son. Yárkand belonged to one of your Amirs. Since Yárkand was the capital of his father, it is his by right but you did not give it him. If he has been presumptuous, he at least came on on you for forgiveness. What matter if they make him out a bad man to you? Khotan, too, was in the possession of another. What harm was there in his supposedly [the usurper]?"

In this manner she excused all the actions of Mirzá Abú Bakr, so that Muhammad Haidar Mirzá was appeased and remained [ ] when she touched on the hostility which Abú Bakr had displayed towards Muhammad Haidar Mirzá, she declared that it was all owing to the Amirs who had spoken badly of the Mirzá. She then secretly wrote to Mirzá Abú Bakr, asking him how she was to excuse his hostility [to her husband], and stating the reason she had already given. Then Mirzá Abú Bakr, in conformity with

[1] Meaning, apparently, [illegible]

this, replied: "As long as the Amirs are in power, I cannot offer fighting service, for they seek to do me harm by vilifying my character to you. If you will dismiss these Amirs, I will be not only a son to you, but a slave also." Muhammad Taiba Mirzá, in the simplicity of his heart, credited these lies and discharged his Amirs. Since he most influential of the generals were thus removed, the power of his kingdom was broken, and Mirzá Abú Bakr began to ravage all the country round about Káshghar and Yangi Hisár, but as all the greatest generals had been dismissed, there was no one to watch over and protect the country.

CHAPTER LIV

YUNUS KHAN OBTAINS AID FROM MUHAMMAD HAIDAR MIRZÁ AGAINST MIRZÁ ABÚ BAKR, WHO DEFEATS THEM BOTH.

Amir Abdul Kudus, who was mentioned above as having slain Shaikh Jamál Khan and released the Khán from prison, was treated with great kindness by the Khán, and had been given the title of Kukáni; all the privileges [*mansab*] of the clan [*Tamán*] of Dughlát had been bestowed upon him. In consequence of this he grew proud and presumptuous and treated the Khán in such a way as to make him frighten at his own acts; but it would take too long to explain all this. Abdul Kudus, however, finally fled to Kashghar, to Muhammad Haidar Mirzá who had just dismissed his generals, on which account his affairs had fallen into confusion, and he was repenting his deed. When Abdul Kudus arrived, he treated him with every respect gave him his own daughter Ághá Sultán Sultánum in marriage, showed him marked favour, and having raised an army, sent him against Mirzá Abú Bakr. He fell upon the Mirzá, who was on a plundering foray in Yangi Hisár. Mir Abdul Kudus was, however, defeated, in spite of his force being greater than that of his enemy. He was so ashamed of himself that he did not go back to Muhammad Haidar Mirzá, but moved first to Shahriz, and then set out on the road to Badakhsán. He went with 300 men to Mirzá Sultán Mahmud, who showed him every kindness and attention, and bestowed on him the government of Khust, which is one of the most important districts in Badakhsán and Kunduz. He was [afterwards] slain in that country by some infidels of Katur.[1]

[1] Khust, or Khost, is a district on the northern slopes of the Hindu Kush, between south and south-east of Kunduz, and lies very near to hill tracts known in our times as Kafiristán, or the country of the Siyáh-posh and other Kafirs. Sh

In short after the departure of Mir Abdul Kadus, Isp wer Mirzá Alá Beki increased With his deceit and cunning, he had caused Muhammad Haidar Mirzá to send away his greatest generals and commanders, and he had deceived Mir Abdul Kadus; so that dark days had come upon the dynasties of Muhammad Haidar Mirzá. But Ak Ághá repented of what she had done, but it was of no avail. Finally Muhammad Haidar Mirzá made ready an army of nearly 30,000 cavalry and infantry, and took the field against Mirzá Alá Beki, who opposed him with 4000 men After a battle was fought, and Muhammad Haidar Mirzá suffered defeat Leaving camp to Kishghar, he told the whole matter to Yunus Khán all that had happened, and begged his assistance The Khán selected 50,000 men from his own army, and out of this collection he gave his nephew, marched in person against Alá Beki. Muhammad Haidar Mirza having again collected an army, joined the Khán, and they all proceeded together against Yárkand. Mirzá Alá Beki fortified the citadel of Yárkand. The Khán had taken the east on side of the citadel. On the next day Mirzá Alá Beki drew out his cavalry and infantry from the citadel in the following they were 3000 in number, all the sons of the generals and chief *beháduráán* of Mir Sayyid Alí whom Muhammad Haidar Mirzá had slighted But Mirzá Alá Beki had collected them in a body. The Khán moved forward with a large army and Muhammad Haidar Mirzá from another Mirzá Alá Beki did not like the Khán forcibly to oppose Muhammad Haidar Mirzá, but brought all his strength to bear upon the Khán, and after many attacks and retreats, finally put him to flight. When the Khán fled, Muhammad Haidar Mirzá also took flight, and thus this great army was defeated.

When the Khán and Muhammad Haidar Mirza arrived at Káshghar, the Khán said to the latter "Thinking it would be an easy matter, I only brought a small force. Stop in your own country this year, next year I will come with a complete army

[1] Yule quotes several authorities who show that among the Kafir tribes which still retain their religion, twenty-three still call themselves, or are called *Kafir* or *Kafar*. Baber, in his Memoirs, also speaks of a district of Kafiristan, to the north-east of Kabul, called *Kattar*, while Colonel H. Lumsden says that the family name of the rulers of Chitral is *Kattar*, and remarks that "the name of *Kafir* seems to have been applied to the country in early times, before the present *Kafar* family was founded." The name *Shah Kator* is mentioned in one of the lists of Chitral rulers. Thus the *Kafirs* of the text would point to Kafiristan and probably also to Chitral, for it is quite possible that, though divided now, the two states may have been united in the fifteenth century. According to Ritter, the Kafirs were a people much feared by the Muhammadans of Badakshan at the beginning of the fifteenth century, and to whom they paid tribute from them. There is nothing improbable therefore, in the story of the Kafirs sailing into the neighbouring district of Khust and killing the Muhammadan governor (See Yule, *Cathay*, p. 551; Biddulph, *Tribes of the Hindu Koosh*, p. 118; Baber, p. 110; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, vi, pp. 206-7)

and w l settle Ali Baki's affairs.' The Khán then returned to Moghulistan, while Muhammad Haidar Mirzá remained in Káshghar.

CHAPTER LV.

YUNUS KHÁN'S SECOND EXPEDITION AGAINST YÁRKAND, AND HIS DEFEAT AT THE HANDS OF MIRZÁ ABÚ BAKR.

In the following year, 885, the Khán came to Káshghar with the whole of the Moghul troops, who numbered 60,000 men. Here he was joined by Muhammad Haidar Mirzá, who had a better ordered army than he had had the year before, and they advanced together on Yárkand. The two armies together amounted to 90,000 men, cavalry and infantry. Mirzá Abú Baki again fortified himself in the citadel, as he had done the year before. He had mustered an army of cavalry and infantry to the number of about 5000. The cavalry consisted of 3000 of those princes of whom I have spoken, chosen young men, whom Muhammad Haidar Mirzá, in his ignorance, had let slip out of his power. The 2000 infantry were chosen archers, all of whom the Mirzá had brought together by promises and hopes [of gain]. The Khán's army encamped in a circle round [the town].[1] The Khán himself took up his quarters in Kiik Aj Búi, a well-known place to the north-east of Yárkand.

After the afternoon prayer, distinguished men from the battalions and divisions [*tashun u tóbu*] of the Khán's army advanced, of their own accord, below the citadel and opened the battle. Mirzá Abú Baki's force issued from the citadel in the following order: before every two horsemen there was an archer on foot, and in front of each archer there was another foot-soldier bearing a shield. A hard fight took place; but the Khán remained in his own quarters. Some persons came and gave him such a vivid description of the battle that he longed to go and see it himself. So without putting on his armour, he started for the scene of action with a small number of followers. On reaching the edge of a ravine they saw that the infantry of both sides were engaged in close fight. From this position they could not see very distinctly, so the Khán descended into the ravine, and came on to the road in order to get a better view—for the ravine was a road-way. When the Khán came down the infantry became more daring, and fought most fiercely. At that moment Alim Shaikh Bahádur, who was one of

[1] Lit. the army formed a ring and encamped

the Khán's most distinguished warriors, was in his tent; he heard that the Khán had gone to watch the battle, and it occurred to him that he would go and display his valour, that he might become distinguished above his equals. Having, for one of his arms, no sword but one the Khán, and then went in among the infantry who were engaged in the battle.

There was no ground between the infantry of the two armies, and on either side was an enclosure for herding cattle *gárhands*; between these two enclosures was a level passage. Alim Shaikh Bahádur rode up this passage and charged the infantry of Mirzá Abú Bakr, until he came upon a foot-soldier with a shield, who, seeing him come on unhooked, did not attempt to withstand him, but having thrown down his shield in front of the horse of Alim Shaikh Bahádur, ran away. The horse, being terrified at the fall of the shield, reared so badly that Alim Shaikh Bahádur, not able to keep his seat, was thrown. The infantry who were on the other side of the enclosure, now jumped over it and seized Alim Shaikh Bahádur. Meanwhile, the cavalry of Mirzá Abú Bakr charged the Khán's infantry, but these, not deeming it advisable to stand their ground, turned and fled, being followed by those who had come to watch the battle.

The Khán had descended from the edge of the [ravine, but those who were with him now came back [and joined him]. The Khán set out in all haste along the road in the ravine, but when his men, who were on the top saw him approaching in haste, they fled [in a panic]. So that when the Khán emerged from the ravine, he found all his men had taken flight, and that his army was in confusion. He hereupon returned to his camp in order to reassure his men, he tried beating and striking them, but not one of them would move from his place. In the meanwhile Mirzá Abú Bakr charged the infantry, who had come down by way of the ravine, he attacked with his cavalry those who had been watching the battle, charging up the ravine unresisted, then pursuing [the fugitives until his] cavalry threw them into confusion. When the Khán's army already disordered—saw this state of affairs, they suddenly turned and fled all the Khán's efforts to rally them were ineffectual. When the cavalry of Mirzá Abú Bakr came on, the Khán himself took to flight. Thus was this enormous army defeated in the space of one hour.

The Khán retreated to Kashgar, while most of the army deserted him and escaped to Moghulistán. The Khán [had] invited Muhammad Wadan Mirzá not to remain in Kashghar, so the Mirzá accompanied the Khán to Aksu, taking with him 5000 families. Many of the Kashgharis went to Andijan, so that Kashghar was left clear for Mirzá Abú Bakr. These events occurred in the year 885. At that time my father, Muhammad Husain Mirzá Kurkán, was twelve

years of age. When Muhammad Haidar Mirzá went to Akam with Yunus Khán the son of the latter, Sultán Mahmud Khán, took my father with him into Moghulistán, where they became great friends, and to the end of his life he called my father "*Dásh*," which in the Moghul language means "friend."

CHAPTER LVI.

EARLY DAYS OF SULTÁN MAHMUD KHÁN, SON OF YUNUS KHÁN.

As an account will be given of Sultán Mahmud Khán, it is necessary to say a few words about his early life.

When Sultán Yunus Khán returned a second time from Khorásán, Amir Sayyid Ali had died, and Sámiz Mirzá had sought the assistance of Yunus Khán, as has been mentioned. Yunus Khán, in those days, often went backwards and forwards to Káshghar. At that time, the Khán sent Amir Zíá-ud-Dín (who was one of the most eminent Sayyids of Káshghar) to Shah Sultán Muhammad Badakhshi, in Badakhshán, to ask one of his most immaculate daughters in marriage. Shah Sultán Badakhshi was of the race of Sikandar Zulkarnain, Filikus Rumi.[1] Sikandar, after he had conquered the regions of the world, consulted with his wise men, saying, "Find me a place which shall be out of the reach [of the princes of the earth Sultáns of the time], in which I may place my descendants." The councillors chose Badakhshán, and they wrote a Book of Regulations *Dastur ul amal*; so that as long as the regulations were observed, no one prince could prevail in this country.

From the time of Sikandar down to the time of Shah Sultán Muhammad, only they had attacked Badakhshán. Thus they had ruled from generation to generation. When the kingdom passed into the hands of Shah Sultán Muhammad Badakhshi, he discarded the "*Dastur ul amal*" of Sikandar.[2] He was a prince of great natural gifts and refined taste, and he left a "*Diván*," which is exceedingly beautiful. His "*tal hallus*," a poetical name, was Fáiz. His elegance and oldmanness of style were so great that he altered [the wording of] the "*Dastur ulamal*" to suit his own taste.

[1] Alexander the Great and Philip of Macedon. *Filli* so appears to be the usual Oriental corruption of Philip.

[2] The fanciful nature of this account of Badakhshan need hardly be pointed out. It is based, probably, on the claim made by the princes of Badakhshi to be descended from Alexander the Great, rather than on any history of the country known to Mirza Haidar

He had six daughters. He gave one of them to Sultán Mahmúd Kábuli, who was a descendant of Amír Timúr. Another he gave to Sultán Abú Said Mírzá who had, by her, a son named Mírzá Abú Bakr. The Mírzá, after he had killed his father, engaged in war with Sultán Husain Mírzá, and caused much disturbance in his kingdom (all of which is related in the Histories of Mír Khwánd and of Khwánd Mír, of Herát). Another daughter he gave to Ibráhím Barlás, who, by her, had Jahángir Barlás who at the end of the reign received the title of *Amír-ul-Umará* and became chief minister. His second daughter whose name was Shah Begum, he gave to Yúnus Khán, at the request of Sayyid Zá-nd-Dín Káshghari. He gave his fifth daughter to Sayyid Shíh Imám Arhangí (who will be mentioned below) and the sixth to Shaikh Abdullah Barlás, who, by her, had Sultán Vais Barlás, Mírzá Barlás, and Sultán Sanjar (all of whom will be spoken of in their proper places); they are moreover mentioned in the Histories of Mír Khwánd and Khwánd Mír, of Herát.[1]

In short, Sayyid Zá-nd-Dín brought Shah Begum down with him to Káshghar, and delivered her over to the Khán. Yúnus Khán had two sons and two daughters by Shah Begum. The eldest of all was Sultán Mahmúd Khán (how born in 878). Next to him came Sultán Ahmad Khán (whom I shall mention separately). The two daughters were Sultán Nigár Khánim and Dawlat Sultán Khánim (of these also I shall have occasion to speak hereafter). Before Sultán Mahmúd Khán was five years of discretion, the Amírs of Moghulistán (as I have recorded) had behaved rudely and disrespectfully to Yúnus Khán. By the time Sultán Mahmúd Khán was grown up, most of these Moghul Amírs were dead. Yúnus Khán, with the help of his son Sultán Mahmúd Khán, obtained complete ascendency and control over the Moghuls, and over those of their Amírs who were still alive.

On the occasion of Yúnus Khán leaving, located between Yárkand and retiring to Káshghar, he was not accompanied by Sultán Mahmúd Khán; for Mahmúd remained behind in Moghulistán, to keep the people in order.

Yúnus Khán, both to quiet the apprehensions of Muhammad Haidar Mírzá, and for his own pleasure, spent that winter in Aksu. They sent the son of Muhammad Haidar Mírzá, Muhammad Husain Mírzá who was then twelve years of age, to Sultán Mahmúd Khán, with whom he became very friendly; the two remained on good terms, and used to call each other "*Dúst*" [friend]. Muhammad Husain Mírzá stayed in Moghulistán with Sultán Mahmúd Khán, and was treated with great honour and respect.

[1] Most of the names mentioned in this paragraph will be found in the table of the house of Timúr appended to Sec. II of the Introduction.

CHAPTER LVII

THE WAR THAT AROSE BETWEEN MUHAMMAD HAIDAR MIRZÁ AND YUNUS KHÁN AND MUHAMMAD HAIDAR MIRZÁ IN AKSU

That winter the Khán went to Aksu. Aksu is situated on the edge of a swing. It has two forts, one of which the Khán gave to Muhammad Haidar Mirzá, while he established himself in the other. That winter passed peacefully. On the setting in of spring, Yunus Khán wished to move into Moghulistán. He therefore said to Muhammad Haidar Mirzá "Now that the first spring has come I am going into Moghulistán. You stay here and make your men cultivate the land. I bestow the county of Aksu on you. When harvest-time comes round, it will also be the end of the season for summer quarters in Moghulistán. The horses will be in good condition, and we will then go to Káshghar and settle scores with Mirzá Abú Bakr. I shall march from Moghulistán and you from here. We will meet in Káshghar, and there make all final arrangements."

Having agreed upon this plan of action, the Khán appointed people to go to Moghulistán with the flocks. He [also] sent to collect the flocks destined for Moghulistán. But some rebellious men used to instil into the mind of Muhammad Haidar Mirzá, that when the Khán arrived in Moghulistán he would plunder the Mirza's people, and many like impossibilities did they suggest, such as could only proceed from Satan, but the Mirzá in his simplicity, gave ear to all they said, and began to consider how he might get rid of his uncle. These devils [*Shaitán*] said to him: "When the flocks reach the Khán, and he is able to make a start, we will influence his younger son, Ahmad Khán, who is accompanying his father, to separate himself from him. We will then fortify ourselves in this citadel and defy the Khán. When the hour of the Khán's departure comes he will suspect nothing, and will march into Moghulistan, while we shall remain established in Aksu."

This base and senseless plan was acceptable in the sight of Muhammad Haidar Mirzá. Just as the Khán was about to start they suddenly closed the gates of Aksu. Sultán Ahmad Khán fled to Muhammad Haidar Mirzá, and they all rose in rebellion. Yunus Khán sent a messenger to the Mirzá, to treat with him, but to no purpose. So the Khán finally abandoned his march, and entering the other fort, put it into a state of defence. He then despatched a messenger to Sultán Mahmud Khán, who after seventeen days arrived with a force of 30,000 men. Conflicts

ook plac s daily, till at the end of forty days a famine br ke out in he ort of he Mirzá. The pr s n ers of the r bellion began to desert nightly. Sultán Ahm d Khán, alarm d at his own want o. filial p.e y, e.p.. , h s p.aents with a degree and pray. s.t longiveness, but the Mirzá stood u . Suddenly the for was tak n by a general assault. The Khán immediately sent some Amirs to prevent it fr m being plundered. he Amirs went, but their offi s were of no av l, for the men who had made the assault were not of the sort that c uld be withheld. After a hundred struggles they seized the Mirzá and brought him before the Khán. As they approached, they were beginning to bind the Mirzá's hands, but Yunus Khán cried out to prevent them. So they brought the Mirzá forward just as he was. The Khán called him to him, and having upbraided and rebuked him severely, said: "Why did you do this? Abandon your rebellious intentions so that I may depart. Remain here. But if again you rebel I think what will happen."[1]

Muhammad Haidar Mirzá was ashamed, and stood with bowed head, as the thought of his ill-advised actions. The Khán then said. "All is well now, I have given you Aksu, and you should stay there." The Mirzá replied "How can I remain now in Aksu, since so many of my men have gone away?" The Khán, thereupon gave the Mirzá 40 horses, and said "As you my me into Moghulistán, I think, too, the wisest plan will be for me to go to Kashghar as soon as the corn is high and try and take that town for you . . . ."[2]

In short, Muhammad Haidar Mirzá accompanied Yunus Khán into Moghulistán. When the spring came to an end, the Khán turned his thoughts to Káshghar. At the same time Sultán Ahmad Mirzá was planning an expedition from Samarkand, against Farghána, from which country he wished to expel his br ther Omar Shaikh Mirzá. As soon as Omar Shaikh Mirzá heard of his brother's intention, he sent in great haste to Yunus Khán, begging assistance; for by this means he had fr quently (as has been mentioned above) been delivered fr m the cruelty and violence of his brother Sultán Ahmad Mirzá. On the arrival of the news, he Khán set out for Andijan. Now the Khán did not wish that there should be any strife between his two sons-in-law, and had always tried to keep the most perfect peace with each other. On the Khán's entry into Andijan, he was received by Omar Shaikh Mirzá; he was shown great honour, and the province of Uratepa was given to him. The Khán spent that winter in Ush. Entrusting the rest of the Moghuls to the care of Sultán Mahmud Khán, he

[1] This passage is most obscure. It reads: "*An gdh y ighat-garé l han. Ju ehi-tin n ibuh ul?*" Tr.

[2] Some high-flown passages treating of the money Khans are omitted here.—Tr.

sent him back to Moghulistán, while he himself made his winter quarters in Ush, and appointed Muhammad Haidar Mirzá as administrator [*náib*]. When Sultán Ahmad Mirzá heard of the arrival of the Khán, he abandoned his project. And thus Omar Shaikh was rendered safe from his brother. When winter had passed, the Khán came again to Moghulistán. [On the eve of his departure the Khán said to the Mirzá: "You have always suffered great annoyance in Moghulistán. I have now given you this country of Ush. Stay here till next winter, when I will return. In the meanwhile govern the country, as my deputy."

He then left for Moghulistán, while Muhammad Haidar Mirzá remained in Ush. The Mirzá begged his own son, Muhammad Husain Mirzá, of the Khán, and kept him at his side.

CHAPTER LVIII

MUHAMMAD HAIDAR MIRZÁ ATTACKS MIRZÁ ABÚ BAKR IN KÁSHGHAR, AND IS TAKEN PRISONER BY HIM.

When Sultán Yunus Khán reached Moghulistán, Omar Shaikh Mirzá sent an official [*dárugha*] to Ush to replace Muhammad Haidar. The [last-named] Mirzá and his men were no capable of marching into Moghulistán, and it was also impossible for them to remain in Ush. He placed his two sons, Muhammad Husain Mirzá and Sayyid Muhammad Mirzá, under the care of Omar Shaikh Mirzá, and himself set out for Káshghar, thinking that as Mirzá Abú Bakr was his brother's son and his own wife's son, he would go to him and would offer him terms of peace. Under such illusions he approached Mirzá Abú Bakr, who immediately seized him and threw him into prison, where he remained one year. At the end of a year he was sent to Badakhshán, which was at that time ruled by Mirzá Sultán Mahmud, son of Mirzá Sultán Abú Said. Abdul Kadus who was the son-in-law of Muhammad Haidar Mirzá (and who has been spoken of already), was at this time with Mirzá Sultán Mahmud. He [Muhammad Haidar Mirzá] was entertained for a short time as the guest of the Sultán, he then came to Samarkand and paid his respects to his Holiness Násiruddín Ubaidullah (may God bless his spirit) and waited on Mirzá Sultán Ahmad, who received him in a friendly way, and arranged to come to the Mirzá yearly, on the occasion of two festivals [*and*]

Mirzá Sultán Ahmad had three brothers: Omar Mirzá, Sultán Vahid Mirzá, and Talak Muhammad . . . .[1]

In the meanwhile a person came from Yunus Khán to fetch Muhammad Haidar Mirzá. Not relying in the least upon the kindness Sultán Ahmad Mirzá had shewn him, he went to the Khán. This matter will be mentioned in connection with the life of the Khán and his entrance to Táshkand.

CHAPTER LIX.

YUNUS AND THE MOGHULS ENTER TÁSHKAND; DEATH OF ISHÁN DAWLAT BEGUM SULTÁN AHMAD MIRZÁ AND OMAR SHAIKH MIRZÁ AND SULTÁN MAHMUD KHÁN.

The story of the quarrels and contests that arose between the two brothers, Omar Shaikh Mirzá and Sultán Ahmad Mirzá, is a long one, and has no place in this history, it has therefore been given in detail in the history of Mir Khwánd. But it is, nevertheless, necessary to mention in this book, that on the death of Shaikh Jamál Khán, Táshkand passed into the power and jurisdiction of Omar Shaikh Mirzá, as fief for Shahrukhia, which has a fortified castle [*kalah*]. Mirzá Sultán Ahmad became an enemy to Omar Shaikh Mirzá on the subject of these two places, and a fierce dispute arose between them. When the hostility of Mirzá Sultán Ahmad was directed against Táshkand, Omar Shaikh Mirzá desired the Khán [to come and help him in Táshkand.

The same year that the Khán had left Ush and had given it over to Muhammad Haidar Mirzá, Omar Shaikh Mirzá, after the arrival of the Khán, dismissed Muhammad Haidar Mirzá, who went to Kishgha, where he was thrown into prison. The Khán was then in Moghulistán. When autumn *tumán*[1] set in and the hostility of Mirzá Sultán Ahmad was directed against Táshkand, Omar Shaikh Mirzá invited the Khán to [come and help him in] Táshkand. He gave Sairam to the Khán. In the same way that he had given him Ush out of Andijan, so he gave him Sairam out of Táshkand. When the Khán arrived towards Sairam, the Moghuls who could not on any occasion put up with

[illegible] of these passages giving a specimen of three brothers, which illustrates the [illegible]

[1] The word *Tumán* usually, and also always, used in Chaghatai Turki signifies "the first month of summer." Though in Central Asia however, it means *autumn*, and seeing that in [illegible] passages of this history the context shows that Mirzá Haidar must mean *autumn* I have applied it everywhere in that sense

towns and cultivated lands, having led astray the Khán's younger son, Sultán Ahmad Khán, fled back to Moghulistán. The Khán did not follow them for in the family of the Moghul Khákáns there remained no rivals of the Khán] who were worth considering. So he let the people go back to Moghulistán, while he himself went on to Sairám and there passed the winter.

The Khán also sent his eldest son, Sultán Mahmud Khán against Sultán Ahmad Mirzá, with 30 000 men. From the side of Farghána came Omar Shaikh Mirzá, with an army 15 000 strong. These three armies neared each other, and a desperate conflict was about to ensue when the news of what was passing reached his Holiness Nasiru'l-lah Ubaidullah (may God bless his hidden soul). He at once set out, sending a person in advance to announce that he was coming. When the tidings reached the three Sultáns, they all halted where they were. When his Holiness arrived, he alighted in the camp of Sultán Ahmad Mirzá and sent messengers to the Khán and to Omar Shaikh Mirzá, begging them to make peace. No one could resist the entreaties of the blessed mind of his Holiness. Such was his spiritual and moral influence, that he calmed those three Pádisháhs, who had each come for some object of his own, with an army in fighting order, and caused them to sit together on one carpet [*zilcha*],[1] while he sat in their midst and dictated to them conditions of peace, to which they assented. Táshkand was to be made over to Yunus Khán. The two brothers who disputed with each other the possession of Táshkand, were to give up their dispute and concede the place to the Khán.

His Holiness Maulánú and Sayyid Ná Mahdumi Maulánú Muhammad Kázi (upon whom be mercy and forgiveness) has written in the appendix [*zail*] to his "*Salsalat ul Arifin*," that this ceremonies is among the miracles of his Holiness [*i.e.* of Násiruddin Ubáidullah]. It is related there, 'the meeting was so solemn that, in the intensity of my emotion [*dahasht*] I overturned the table-cloth [*dastár khwán*]; when the meeting was terminated his Holiness said: "It is well, I must now return, for I am an old man and can only bear a certain amount of fatigue."'

"The three kings returned, each one, to his own army. His Holiness departed in the direction of the river of Khojand and performed his ablutions [*wazu*] at the waterside. Turning to me he said: 'Maulánú Muhammad owes to account of my deed' His Holiness the Maulánú says that this was his reason for undertaking the composition of his book—the *Salsalat ul Arifin*.

"In short, Sultán Ahmad Mirzá repaired to Samarkand, Omar Shaikh Mirzá to Farghána, and Sultán Mahmud Khán to

[1] This is probably a corruption of the Turki word *zilcha* or *silucha*, a long pile carpet made of wool.—R

Táshkand. Yunus Khán also went to Táshkand, and his Holiness, following him, met him again here. [Muhammad Kázi heard from my uncle, that one day in the assembly of his Holiness [Násiruddin Ubaidullah the conversation turned upon Sultán Mahmud Khán, and one of those present said 'How strong, how proud the prince of his own grandson.' His Holiness replied 'Proud as the Padishah may be, I will break him till his skirt with earth [*khák*]; glory and grandeur belong to God alone. Hence however Sultán Mahmud Khán be proud.' It chanced that at that very moment the Khán came to pay his respects to his Holiness. Prayers began, and his Holiness had risen for prayer. When prayers were already begun, it was noticed in which were some embers. His Holiness said 'Hasten and cover, while prayer is proceeding, and threw earth.' For spite of the number of people present, the Khán sprang up and, going outside, filled his skirt with earth, which having brought in, he sprinkled on the fire; thus he repeated several times, until the fire was extinguished. And he begged of those present that they would allow him to perform, quite alone this service of betoking the earth. After the Khán's departure all the companions of his Holiness expressed great wonder.'

This peace and meeting of the Khans in Táshkand took place in 890. His Holiness remained for a while in Táshkand and then returned to Samarkand. I went to pay a visit to all the princes of that time, to employ one of the disciples of his Holiness as a medium of communication with him. Sultán Mahmud Khán employed for this purpose Maulaná Kázi. About this matter I have heard many anecdotes which, please God, I will give in their proper place.

CHAPTER LX.

END OF YUNUS KHÁN'S LIFE.

The Khán, being firmly established in Táshkand, gave the daughter of Sultán Ahmad Mirzá Kutlugh Begum in marriage for his son Sultán Mahmud Khán. The arrival of Kutlugh Begum will be mentioned hereafter. But in the year Sultán Yunus Khán was seized with paralysis, was bedridden for nearly two years, and died suffering, at the age of seventy-four. No other Chaghatái Khákán ever reached such an advanced age, most of them, indeed, died before they reached the age of forty. The Khán was born in

818 and died in 802. He was buried near the tomb of Burinvá Shaikh, Khawand-i-Pakki [Master of Purification], in Táshkand; and a large mausoleum was built over the spot, which stands to this day and is very renowned

During his illness, the Khán heard that Muhammad Haidar Mirzá had gone from Bakhshán to Samarkand, so he sent to summon Mirzá to him Muhammad Haidar Mirzá left Samarkand, came to the Khán, and waited on him throughout his illness. He was a skilled surgeon and physician. The Khán, during this period, would not allow Muhammad Haidar Mirza out of his presence for one hour, and he treated the Mirzá's children with hospitality. The Mirzá's son Muhammad Husain Mirzá, who had remained with Omar Shaikh Mirzá, had gone to Sultán Mahmud Khán in Andijan, before Muhammad Haidar Mirzá had come [to attend on the Khán] He lived always in the same house and room as the Khán, as shall be related below.

CHAPTER LXI.

WAR BETWEEN SULTÁN AHMAD MIRZÁ AND SULTÁN MAHMUD KHÁN.

Sultán Yunus Khán died in the year 802, and in the course of the same year, Sultán Mahmud Khán was raised to the Khánate with Moghul titles When the news of the death of Yunus Khan got abroad, Mirzá Omar Shaikh and Mirzá Sultán Ahmad became intent on renewing hostilities with one another Omar Shaikh Mirzá sent a large number of his staunchest and most trustworthy followers to occupy the fort of Ushtur in Táshkand, which was an impregnable stronghold. Sultán Mahmud Khán led his forces, in person, against that fort. A fierce battle took place; so fierce, indeed, that it is still talked of among the Moghuls The castle was taken by assault, and all the faithful adherents of Mirzá Omar Shaikh were put to death; no one escaped: they all died fighting. From this victory great strength accrued to the Khán, while the Mirzá lost all power of opposition.

The year following, Sultán Ahmad Mirzá's Amirs impressed upon him that he had given up Táshkand to the Khán without proper cause, and that the longer the Khán's people remained there, the more annoying it was to them. His Holiness sent word to say that he was mistaken, and that he ought to make peace with the Khán, who would do him no injury. why should he annoy him? Finally, however, the Mirzá collected an army 150,000 strong, and

led it against Táshkand. The Khán passed through the suburbs of Táshkand and stood facing [the advancing enemy]. Between them flowed a stream which it was impossible to cross. The armies remained there during three days. In the army of the Sultán was a certain Shíhi Beg Khán, the son of Shíh Baligh Oghlán, the son of Abulkhair Khán. After the death of Buraj Oghlán (which has been described above) Shíhi Beg Khán underwent many hardships (as we related in history) Finally, as he was not able to hold his own in the steppes, he betook himself to Mirzá Nádir and became a follower of Sultán Ahmad Mirzá or rather he became a retainer of one of the Sultán's Amirs He was in this way, and had 3000 fighting men. When Mirzá Sultán Ahmad had remained three days on the bank of the river] Shíhi Beg Khán sent to Sultán Mahmúd Khán to ask if he would meet and confer with him. That same night they met, he from the one side and the Khán from the other; and they agreed that on the morrow the Khán should take Mir Abdul Ali, the master of Shíhi Beg Khán, who, on his part, undertook to throw the army into disorder, and then to take flight.

On the next day the Moghul army was drawn up in battle array, and the infantry passed the Chir; the cavalry also entered the stream, when the infantry of the other side began the battle The Moghul army directed its force against Mir Abdul Ali. At this moment Shíhi Beg Khán turned and fled with his 3000 men, and throwing himself on the baggage [*postal*] of the army, began to plunder the Moghuls In fact, wherever this disordered rabble found themselves, their device was to fall upon the baggage, so that the army of Mirzá Sultán Ahmad was put to flight. By the river Chir, which the people of Táshkand call Parak, was in front of them, and most of his soldiers were drowned in it The troops of the Mirzá sustained a severe defeat, while he discomfited and beaten, fled to Samarkand. He proffered many excuses and apologies to his Holiness, who again arranged a peace between the Khán and Sultán Ahmad Mirzá. The discussion about Kutlúgh Begum was resumed, and after various formalities had been gone through, they brought Kutlúgh Begum to the Khán. This victory did much to raise the Khán in his estimation of the surrounding Sultáns, who henceforward stood in great fear of him, and this his position became secure

[1] See note, p. 92 The mention of Buraj here appears scarcely to be correct Sir H. Howorth's supposition, though it does not disprove it

CHAPTER XI.

ARRANGEMENT FOR THE MARRIAGE OF MY FATHER INTO THE KHÁN'S FAMILY.

My father Muhammad Husain Kurkán, (may God illumine his pivot) from the time of his quitting Káshghar to this date, had always been in the service of Sultán Mahmud Khán, except for the two years that he spent with Omar Shaikh Mirzá (all of which has been related above). The Khán was on such close and friendly terms with my father, that they always lived in the same room; their houses adjoined, and they confided household matters to each other.

When anything was brought for the Khán, something like it was also brought for my father. When the Khán went out riding, two horses would be brought, one of which my father would mount and the Khán the other. Whenever the Khán put on a new robe, another like it used to be found for my father. Thus, in no matter was my distinction made between them. Till the time when the Khán married Karáguz Begum he spent most of the day in the common apartment [*hajra-i-máhud*], and in the evening would go into his haram, whilst my father remained in the outer chamber. When the Khán was seated on his throne, they used to place a carpet in front of it, so that my father might sit down and lean against the throne, thus the two used always to arrange [the affairs of the State] together. Sometimes the Khán used to say to my father, apologising the while: "I am obliged by family affairs to retire to the haram, while you remain in the outer apartment; this makes you appear like a palace guard [*yátish*], and is inconsistent with terms of friendship and concord."

A year passed in this way, when the Khán contracted an alliance with the Kurkáni, in the person of Khub Nigár Khánim, who was his senior by one year. She was the third daughter of Yunus Khán, by Ísán Daulat Begum; and her eldest daughter was Mihr Nigár Khánim, who had been given in marriage to Sultán Ahmad Mirzá (of whom I have spoken at greater length in the Second Part). The second daughter was Kutluk Nigár Khánim, whom Omar Shaikh Mirzá took to wife; and their children were Zahir-ud-Din Muhammad Bábar Pádisháh, and Khánzáda Begum of whom I shall speak below. The third daughter was this Khub Nigár Khánim, who was given in marriage to my father and is my mother. I will give a record of them in their proper place, in Part II. Sultán Yunus Khán had two other daughters by Sháh Begum Badakhshi, the elder, Sultán Nigár Khánum, [redacted] sent to

Sultán Mahmud Mirzá in Hisár, who had challenged him by hor, as is mentioned in the Second Part. The younger was Daulat Sultán Khánum, also mentioned in the Second Part.

In short, the Khán apologised, saying: "*It is not reasonable* that I should always go into the harem at nights, and leave you here in the place, as if on guard. It is not worthy of our friendship." On this account he gave orders for the preparation of festivities and showed his friend every mark of sympathy and regard. During two years the *preparations continued*. Then he gave Khub Nigár Khánim in marriage to my father. In the meanwhile Mirzá Sultán Ahmad, Omar Sheikh Mirzá, and Sultán Mahmud Mirzá died, as shall be presently related.

Urátipá was included in the administration of the Khán, who *granted it as country to my father*. He established himself there and extended its limits over some of the bordering districts all of which is related in Part II.

CHAPTER LXIII.

JAHÁNGÍR IN ÁNDIJÁN DURING THE REIGN OF SULTÁN MAHMUD KHÁN. HE LABOURS AND OBTAINS THE HAND OF THE KHÁN'S DAUGHTER.

Before the Khán made peace with Sultán Ahmad Mirzá and married Ratighz Begum, he captured Táshkand. He seized and threw into prison Muhammad Mazíd Turkhán, who had been appointed Governor by Mirzá Sultán Ahmad, and this Muhammad Mazíd Turkhán was one of the principal causes of the peace for he was a relation, on the mother's side (*khwá*), of Mirzá Sultán Ahmad. When the Khán conquered Turkistán, he had in his service Shibi Beg Khán. As a reward for the services he rendered in the battle of the Chir (which has been described above), the Khán made over Turkistán to him; and on his account disagreement arose between the sons of Kuchi Khán and Jání Beg Khán (of the Kazák) and Sultán Mahmud Khán who had previously been on terms of friendship. (They complained, saying:) "Shibi Beg Khán is our enemy; why did you send him to oppress us in Turkistán?" In a word, in consequence of this quarrel, between

Uzbeg or *Uzbek* is the Persian form of *Usbak*, the Turk-generally corrupted by the Russians into *Usbek* and meaning "hegemonial". Old names lurk in place-names, *Oshrusna*, *Usrushna*, *Sutrushna*, etc., while Mirza Haidar (p. 411) writes it *Ushtar Ushna* (See Schuyler, I, p. 314; Skrenger, p. 10, and Erskine in *Babar* p. xii.)

Sultán Mahmúd Khán and the Uzbeg Kazák,[1] two battles took place, the Khán suffering defeat on both occasions. The cause of these defeats was that the most distinguished of his generals had left Yunus Khán. For the Khán had, in common with all who succeed to power, the defect of not knowing the value of men of worth, and of imagining that whomsoever they favour becomes for that reason a valuable man, which is, of course, impossible.

However, in conformity with these pernicious principles, the Khán patronised some of the lowest of his people who were continually engaged in trying to decry the old and influential Amirs. This they carried so far as to induce the Khán to put to death five of the great Amirs, each of whom was the head of a department (*sar daftar*), and to extirpate their families, while in their places, five of these base-born men were set up. At the time when the difference arose between Sultán Mahmud Khán and the Uzbeg Kazák, on account of Sháhi Beg Khán, and a war ensued, these five base-born men were generals: hence the defeat. That dread and esteem of the Khán, which by the successful efforts of the five Amirs, had taken possession of the hearts of the neighbouring Sultáns, had now disappeared. In the meantime Omar Shaikh Mirzá was killed by a house falling on him: this was in the year 899. When this news reached Sultán Ahmad Mirzá, he set out with an army against Andiján, to prevent it falling into the hands of the Mughuls. The Amirs of Omar Shaikh Mirzá behaved bravely, and raised his son Zahír-ud-Dín Muhammad Bábar Pádisháh, who was then twelve years of age, to the throne. They also applied to Sultán Mahmúd Khán for assistance. When Sultán Ahmad Mirzá reached Mughulstán he fell ill, and made terms of peace and turned back; but he died on the road, just forty days after the death of Omar Shaikh Mirzá. Sultán Mahmud Mirzá came from Hisár, and set himself up on the throne of Samarkand in his brother's stead. He reigned six months; he then died a natural death, and was succeeded by his son Mirzá Baisanghar.

Sultán Mahmúd Khán coveted the throne of Samarkand. He marched towards that town and met Baisanghar in battle, at a place called Kámyáb. As the generals were the [above mentioned] base-born persons, the enterprise failed and the Khán was defeated. This was a very famous battle, and its date is celebrated with the Mughuls as among the people of Samarkand. The Khán then returned to Táshkand, when these same low-born men persuaded him that it was fitting for them to support Sháhi Beg Khán, in order that he might take Samarkand and Bokhárá and bear all the duties of the State, while they themselves remained at their ease in Táshkand. This appeared reasonable to the Khán. Much

[1] One MS. reads: ' between Sultan Mahmud Khan and the Uzbeg Khan and the Kazák Amirs.'—R

as my father condemned this advice and used his influence over the Khán, he was in no way able to prevent the latter helping and supporting Shíbi Beg Khán, till he had taken Samarkand and Bokhára. This needs a detailed account which will be given in Part II along with the details in the life of Bábar Pádsháh.

In a word with this assistance, Shíbi Beg Khán took Samarkand, and obtained complete control over it. His army increased to 50,000 men; and Uzbegs from on all sides flocked round him. His *first attack was directed against* the Khán, who began to despair; but much as he and his ignoble advisers might gnaw the hand of vexation with the teeth of regret, they could not help themselves. In the meanwhile Sultán Ahmad Khán, who (as I have mentioned) had remained in Moghulistán hearing of the Khán's distress, came to his brother's aid, and those two Kháns together, gave battle to Shíbi Beg Khán, but they were defeated. Shíbi Beg Khán, *having treated them both with courtesy and respect*, sent the Khán into Moghulistán, he, however, kept the Moghul soldiers with him, as will be related in Part II.

The two brothers, Sultán Mahmúd Khán and Sultán Ahmad Khán, went to Moghulistán, where Sultán Ahmad Khán died, as shall be presently related. Sultán Mahmúd Khán remained Moghulistán and for some time underwent many hardships there. Finally he presented himself before Shíbi Beg Khán, counting on the favour he had once shown him. But Shíbi Beg Khán said to Sultán Mahmúd Khán "Once I was kind to you, but a second act of mercy would be the cause of the ruin of my kingdom." He then put to death the Khán and his children, both great and small, on the banks of the river of Khojand. The chronogram "*Lash i dar-yá-i-Khojand*" gives the date of the event = 914 1508 A.D. The particulars will be given in Part II of this History. The matter is mentioned briefly here to save repetition.

CHAPTER LXIV.

SULTÁN AHMAD KHÁN.

SULTÁN AHMAD KHÁN was the son of Yunus Khán, who has been mentioned above. When his father used to go and take up quarters in Táshkand, Ahmad with a number of Moghuls who objected to towns and settlements, parted from his father, and stayed behind in Moghulistán. It would take too long to relate all that he did and [to describe] his administration in Moghulistán; but the substance of the matter is that it required ten years of residence in

the country, before he could bring the people fully under his control. He was obliged to suppress several of the Amirs, among others the Tulá, who were powerful chiefs, and had offered him much opposition. A battle ensued in which he overthrew their force; he also put to death Amir Sultán Ali Jaláir, who, since the time when the Amirs rose in opposition to Isán Bughá Khán, had never become reconciled to any of the Kháns.

The Kálmáks were the most numerous of all the tribes in Moghulistán. At this time, a number of their chiefs joined together, and one night attacked the Khán's camp, killed all whom they found there, and pierced several arrows into the tent of the Khán, who himself received several wounds. At last one of the attacking party entered the tent intending to kill him, but he rose up with drawn sword to meet the man, they dealt each other severe blows, and the intruder had wounded After his several persons, having dismounted, tried, together, to force an entry. Sufi Jan Bahádur, who was one of the most important men in the Khán's court, at this moment arrived on the scene, and when the assailants saw that somebody was coming, they retreated and attacked him. He was quite alone, but nevertheless offered them fight, and a considerable time elapsed before they were able to kill Sufi Jan Bahádur. They then again turned to attack the Khán. Hearing the noise men came riding up from all directions to the tent of the Khán. At last the Kálmáks, having no longer power to resist, turned and fled. All these were the intimates of the Khán, and no one suspected them of such treacherous intentions. They fled to the Kálmáks. As soon as the Khán had recovered from his wounds he pursued them whither they had gone but attacked him two years to root them out.

After this the affairs of the Khán became more prosperous, and no one in Moghulistán dared to oppose him. He made several successful inroads on the Kálmáks, and put a number of them to death. He fought two battles with Tishi Isán, and was victorious in both. The Kálmáks stood in great awe of him, and used to call him Álácha Khán, *Álácha*, in Moghul, means *kushánda* [the slayer, that is to say, "the slaying Khán." This title adhered to him. His own people used to call him Álácha Khán. He is now spoken of by the Moghuls as Sultán Ahmad Khán, but all the neighbouring peoples call him 'Álácha.' Also one finds 'Álácha' written in the Histories of Mir Khwánd and of Khwánd Mir, of Herat, and others.[1]

[1] *Hácha* is the Persian corruption of *Alcha*, and in the Persian texts of the *Tárikh-i-Rashidi*; it is found written in this way, but *Aláji*, Mr Ross informs me, would be preferable to either. In Mr Shaw's dictionary of the language of Eastern Turkistan (p. 12) the word *Alcha* is shown as a proper name but the author adds that it is also "a contemptuous name given to the tribes of Kuzzáks and Kirghiz, from some contemptible ancestor." Can this ancestor be Sultán Ahmad Khán of Moghulistán?

After these events, he carried on hostilities with the Uzbeg Kazák, for the reason already stated in the story of Sultan Mahmud Khán. For Sultán Mahmud Khan had, on two occasions, gone to war with the Uzbeg Kazák, and had been defeated both occasions on which account Sultán Ahmad Khán attacked the Uzbeg Kazák and utterly routed them three times.

Whatever they had done to his predecessor, Sultan Mahmud Khán, he, in turn did to them. He moreover, kept Moghulistán under such strict supervision, that during seven or eight months the Kálmák and Uzbeg would not approach the country. When he had satisfactorily disposed of the affairs of Moghulistán, he turned his attention to the question of Abú Bakr and Káshghar. In the year 905 (which is also the year of my birth), when he came to Káshghar, he found that Abú Bakr had gone to Yárkand, leaving Káshghar and Yángi Hisár fortified, garrisoned and stored. The officers of Mirzá Abú Bakr attacked the Khán several times, both in the citadel of Káshghar and at Yángi Hisár, all of which would take too long to relate. At length, Sultán Ahmad Mirzá took the citadel of Yángi Hisár by storm, and after that, Káshghar being deserted by its garrison, which, he captured that place also.

He spent that winter in Káshghar, and removed his family thither from Moghulistán. At the end of the winter he marched against Mirzá Abú Bakr, in Yárkand. Mirzá Abú Bakr would not come out of the citadel, and when they the attacking host saw that an entry was impracticable, they went up into the hills near Yárkand, to carry off the flocks and plunder the country. Then, having taken quantities of cattle and booty, they returned towards Káshghar. But Mirzá Abú Bakr, leading a powerful army out of Yárkand, went and blocked the Khán's road in the mountains. A fierce battle was fought, in which, at length, the Khán's army was put to flight. The defeated Khán then descended to Káshghar, but being unable to remain there he fled into Moghulistán.

One year after this event, news of the victory gained by Shahi Beg Khán over Sultán Mahmud Khán reached him. Prompted by his holy love, he set out to offer his services to his distinguished brother. Leaving his eldest son Mansur Khán, in his own place, and giving him the style of *Khán*, he took his two other sons, Sultán Said Khán and Bábája Khán, with him to Táshkand. The two Kháns met in Táshkand, and exchanged the salutations and formalities usual on such occasions. (An account of this matter is to be found in Part II.) In short, they discussed how they might frustrate the plans of Shahi Beg Khán, and finally a battle took place between the latter and the two Kháns, at Akhsi, in which the two Kháns were defeated, and both of them made

prisoners. Sháh Beg Khán, observing the ill results of the situation, permitted them both to return to Moghulistán; but the greater part of the Moghul *Ulus* he would not allow to depart. Those two Khánes went to Moghulistán, passing the winter in Aksu. [There] Sultán Ahmad Khán was attacked with so violent a paralytic seizure, that the doctors were unable to relieve him and he died in the winter of the year 909 [1503–4] (May Paradise be his dwelling!)

Sultán Ahmad Khán was a very religious prince and a devoted Musulmán. He was versed in the Holy Law [*Shar*][1] and most of his actions were governed by it. He was a high-minded, though violent, man and was distinguished for his daring. He was intelligent, of sound judgment and modest. He was especially affable towards dervishes and towards learned and pious men. During most of his life he granted pensions to the poor, and gave away one-fifth of his income in charity. In his beneficence and virtuous habits he had, in his time, no rival. He died at the age of thirty-nine.

More will be said of him in the Second Part.

CHAPTER LXV.

MANSUR KHÁN (MAY HIS SINS BE PARDONED!)

He was the eldest son of Sultán Ahmad Khán, who, when he went to join his brother Sultán Mahmúd Khán in Tashkand, set up Mansur, as Khán, in his own stead. This was in the year 909, when Mansur Khán was but eleven years of age. At his father's death, his uncle, Sultán Mahmúd Khán, left Aksu and came into Moghulistán. Mansur Khán then established his court in Aksu, where a dispute arose between himself and Mír Jabár Birdi, such as is wont to arise between rival lords; and Mír Jabár Birdi's life became imperilled. The only means he could devise for saving himself, was to send a messenger to Mirzá Abú Bakr [to ask him to come to his aid]. This was exactly what the Mirzá would have prayed God for, so he set out for Aksu with an army of 30,000 men. Mír Jabár Birdi hastened out to receive Mirzá Abú Bakr. The advance-guard and scouts of the Mirzá's army were in readiness.

When news of this reached Mansur Khán he fortified Aksu,

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Mir Jabir Bindi
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[illegible] Mir's Abú Bakr
[illegible] ■ fowl [illegible]
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[illegible] with the [illegible]
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[illegible] ■ [illegible]
[illegible] ■

the brother of his mother Sthib Daulat Begum. In the meantime, news of Mir Jabá Bardi reached him. He thereupon sent messengers to him, offering apologies Having made a covenant with him, he brought him back and bestowed upon him even greater favours than his father, Sultán Ahmad Khán, had done before him.

After the return of Mir Jabá Bardi to the court of Mansur Khán, the affairs of the latter assumed a more favourable aspect. At that time the people of the different tribes were engaged in hostilities with one another, and these, as far as was possible, he pacified This is a long story, and I do not recall further details. In short, while these things were passing, news arrived of the discord, in Moghulistán, between Sultán Mahmud Khán and Sultán Said Khán and Sultán Khalil Sultán. Thereupon Mansur Khán entered Moghulistán, and again met his paternal uncle Sultán Mahmud Khán At this audience he also met Sultán Said Khán and Sultán Khalil Sultán, who were his younger brothers.

After this division had occurred, Sultán Mahmud Khán was no longer able to remain in Moghulistán, being incapable of directing his affairs there so he returned to Máwará-un-Nahr (as has been told) and was there slain

When Mansur Khán heard of Sultán Mahmud Khán's expedition into the [*viláyat*] country [of Máwará-un-Nahr], he marched against his brothers, who were in Moghulistán with the Kirghiz and the rest of the Moghuls, who had stayed behind. On his arrival, a battle took place in Chirun Chálák. The fight was a fierce one, and ultimately Mansur Khán came off victor. The two brothers fled to "*the viláyat*" [1] On reaching Andiján, the governor of that place put Sultán Khalil Sultán to death: but his brother, Sultán Said Khán, escaped to Kábul, all of which is related in Part II

Mansur Khán carried off to Chághsh [2] and Turfán, all those of the Kirghiz, and other Moghul tribes, whom he found in Moghulistán As the Kirghiz were the originators of all the revolts in Moghulistán, he put most of them to death by stratagem. A few of them, however, fled to Moghulistán. After this he made inroads on the Kálmák and was, as a rule, victorious Thus the affairs of the Khán prospered, though from time to time, he met with opposition from the side of his brothers. One of them Aiman Khwája Sultán, twice rose against him and was twice subdued, without more being said; however, on the occasion of his revolting a third time, he was seized and handed over to Yádiká Atáka, who received orders to put him to death. But instead of obeying, he hid Aiman Khwája Sultán, telling the Khán that

[1] Into which *vilayat*—the country or province—is not mentioned either here or where it occurs just above In both instances it is probably Máwará-un-Nahr that is intended, though the word appears to be used, in this and other Persian books, to denote any foreign country—as is the case in modern Hindustani

[2] The modern Kásh-shahr.

he had carried out his commission. A year after this, Bábájik Sultán, another brother of the Khán, fled from him, and betook himself to Bái and Kusan.

Those two places, since their destruction [*circa*] by Mirzá Abú Bekr and Jahán Bádi, had fallen into desolation and ruin. But Bábájik came and *cultivated the ground and restored the last* which had been destroyed. Then Mansur Khán sent against Bábájik Sultán, and in the first place, he [Bábájik] sent to terms of peace, but Bábájik said, 'How can I put any trust in you? Aman Khwája Sultán was also your brother, and you slew him like an enemy. I have no longer any faith in you.' Then Mansur Khán repented of having killed Aman Khwája Sultán, and could make no reply. But Yádika Atáka interposed "I had the presumption to act in opposition to your orders, and kept your brother alive." Mansur Khán was very grateful, and on account of this action, raised Yádika Atáka to a very high rank. He then sent Aman Khwaja Sultán to Bábájik Sultán, who thereupon came and offered submission to the Khán, and made terms of peace.

In the meanwhile, news arrived of the victory Sultán Said Khán had obtained over Mirzá Abú Bekr, and of his conquest of Káshghar. Bábájik Sultán sent Aman Khwája Sultán to Said Khán, who was rejoiced at his coming. (Bábájik Sultán and Mansur Khán were born of *the same mother*; as were also Sultán Said Khán and Aman Khwája Khán.) This is related more fully in Part II.

Mansur Khán stood in great fear of Sultán Said Khán, because he had been the cause of the death of Sultán Said Khán's own brother, Sultán Khalil, and many violent disputes arose between them. Mansur Khán was convinced that this would cause an eternal enmity between them, but contrary to his expectations, Sultán Said Khán sent an ambassador, with an escort, to his elder brother Mansur Khán, and begged for an interview. The meeting took place between Aksu and Kusan in the year 912,[1] in which Sultán Said Khán declared his submission and obedience to Mansur Khán, and ordered the *Khutba* to be read in the latter's name; thus a complete reconciliation was brought about between the two brothers, [redacted] a result of which their countries, during a period of twenty years, enjoyed the most perfect peace and security. Any one, for example, could travel alone from Kámul,[2] in Khitái,

[1] The date 912 is wrongly transcribed in all the texts. It should be 922, as is shown in the next chapter; but one where a change for the event in question is given, which works out 922 obviously the correct date. *Tr.*

[2] Now always usually called *Kumul*—not this as *Kamul*. The modern Chinese name is *Hami*, as it was at the time of the Mings, who were at war with the events here related. Marco Polo's names were *I-gu* and *I-chun*. Sir H. Yule identifies *I-gu* also as *Kamul*, and thinks it probable that in the 14th century, as in the 9th, the Nestorian Bishop (Kapethán's *Fabulous History*, p. 218; Yule's *Marco Polo*, i, p. 213).

to Andijín, without having any duties levied upon him and would be taken every night, as a guest, in some one on the road. May God place these two just and righteous brothers in the Garden of Paradise!

During those twenty years, Mansur Khán made several holy wars against Khitái, and always used to write *mansur* [victorious][1] in one of those holy wars, Mír Jahán Bírlás met his death, and he also Bandagí Khwája Diyá'uddín Muhammad. This latter was one of the Khwájas of Kusan, and was descended from Maulaná Arshad-ud-Dín, who converted the Moghuls to Islám, as has been already related. He made his studies under Maulaná Alí Gharián of Tus (upon whom be mercy), and also spent much time in the company of that Axis of Axes Khwája Nasíruddín Ubaidullah, and participated in the benevolent glance of his Holiness.

I once heard from the lips of Khwája Tájuddín the following: "I was one day visiting his Holiness and was seated near him, when he remarked that it was necessary to abstain from 'doubtful morsels.' I looked round the company, and saw they were all men of piety; I was the only one present who was not an abstainer [an ascetic], and I took an oath that, from that time forward, I would consume food that was not pronounced absolutely lawful by him. So have me excused if I touch not any food at your table." I have mentioned this to show what a pious and abstinent man Khwája Tájuddín was. He was in attendance on Sultán Ahmad Khán and Mansur Khán for fifty years, or rather those Khans were his disciples. And he accepted during all this period, neither offering nor gift, whether it were from the Khans or the Sultáns or the generals of the army, or from peasants or merchants. The Khwája occupied himself, also, with commerce and agriculture. And from those occupations there accrued to him, by the blessing of the Most High God, great wealth. And what humanity did he not show, every year, towards the Khán and the Amírs! The poor and indigent—nay, more the peasant the villager, the artisan, and the merchant, all profited [by his wealth]. For this reason no one denied him anything, and all the affairs of the kingdom were laid before him to do all. He was, in very truth, a great and loving—a generous and zealous man.

In one of the holy wars against Khitái, he was slain before Mansur Khán's eyes. (May God's mercy be upon him.) When Mansur Khán had disposed of these holy wars in Khitái, he fought a pitched battle with the Uzbeg Kazák at a place in Moghulistán called Arish,[2] where he was defeated; and Sufi Mirzá, who was a

[1] For some remarks on these wars, see Introduction, Sec. V.

[2] This *Arish* in Moghulistan is very hardly to be traced for certain. Such names as *Arys, Arystyn* etc., often occur on the detailed Russian maps of the region which represents Moghulistan. From all probability it was situated towards the eastern confines of the Mogul territory, and can scarcely be the same as the

Bogjik and he chief minister of the Khán, was killed. After this event [Mansur] made fower expeditions from Ghúlsh and Turfán.

Subsequent to the death of Sultán Said Khán, he married at Aksu. Twice he failed and was obliged to retire, and in the year 950 he died (may God illumine his pure soul) at the age of about sixty years. Except Yunus Khán, no other Khán of the Chaghatái line attained such an age. He ascended the throne,[1] in the year 907, at the age of sixteen, and reigned only three years. No other Chaghatái Khán ever reigned as long as this. Nor did any of the Mogul Khans enjoy so long a life and reign. He adorned his days from first to last with blessings, and clothed all his gifts. He passed the whole of his time in the study of the holy law, or the reading of the Korán. I have heard from his intimates that he used to spend about one-fifth of his time in directing the affairs of the State, and all the rest in perusal of the Korán (*tilawat*)[2] prayer (*dawat*), the prescribed prayers (*namáz*), and in reciting the names of God (*Zikr*). It would be hard to find any one among the Pádishás, or even among the most pious men (*ahl-i-salah*), who disposed of their time better than he did. And in consequence of this he was blessed with a long life and earthly happiness, such as no one but he, of his line, has ever enjoyed. May God bless his heavenly life as he did his days upon earth! Amen. Oh God of both worlds!

He excelled in the conduct of life, in intelligence and prudence, and was skilled in state management and the control and organisation of armies. By his nature he was not at all addicted to the customs and ceremonies of kings, or to the grandeur and magnificence of Khans, but rather tried to do without ceremony, and to live as simply as possible. In no way whatever did he make any distinction between himself and the rest of his people. He knew the Korán by heart, and had a very accurate *Reader*, who was better versed in the Korán than any one else in the country. His name was 'Háfiz Magas-i-sagr'.[3] But in his innermost nature, this man was so unbalanced and his acts were so revolting, that to mention them would be a reason for withdrawing behind a curtain! It was under this man that Mansur Khan learnt by heart the *Kalám-Ullah*. Some of his officers one day suggested, in private, to the Khán that Háfiz Magas was not worthy to be his teacher, seeing that his mind

Ariskin mentioned in Part II (p. 378) in connection with Aksu, so that place appears to have lain beyond the south-western limits of Moghulistan (See note 1, p. 378).

[1] That is to say, the throne of Aksu and Turfán.

[2] *Tilawat*—reading and meditating on the Korán. The *Namáz* are the five prescribed prayers at fixed times of the day—the Arabic *salát*. *Dawat* literally means "supplication," and is used for private, or spontaneous, prayer.

[3] The name would mean "the Hafiz with the dog." A Hafiz is one who is committed to memory the whole of the Korán.

was totally unsound. . . .[1] Thus it is evident that Mansur Khán was a religiously inclined monarch. He spent the whole of his life in the practice of Islám.

He left behind him two sons, Sháh Khán and Muhammad Sultán, and one daughter, whom Sultán Said Khán took for his son Rashid Sultán, as is narrated in Part II.

CHAPTER LXVI.

SHÁH KHÁN, SON OF MANSUR KHÁN

At the end of his life, Mansur Khán had raised his eldest son Sháh Khán to the throne, while he himself withdrew to the cell of retirement. His son succeeded to all his authority, and is at his day—972 1565—the reigning Khán in Turfán and Ghálish. But in his treatment of his father's adherents, in his direction of the Khánate, and in his regal proceedings, he has adopted displeasing ways, and has become notorious for his bad manners of which it is unnecessary for me to speak. Even while his father was yet alive, he had stained the garments of good reputation with the pollution of disobedience, and he does not now regard the memory of his distinguished father in the way that is becoming and fit, nor has he shown such signs of piety and prosperity as would be worthy of his good father.

It is the practice of historians to recount everything as they find it, whether worthy or unworthy of mention. For it is not their object to write down the good qualities of princes, and to omit all their bad actions, but rather to reproduce all facts without discrimination, in order that they may leave behind them a record of the people of this world. Thus all men in power, as well as others, reading their histories, may profit by their advice, and may see what have been the various fruits and results of praiseworthy habits, on the one hand, or blameable actions on the other; also that they may accept the lesson to be learnt from observing the way in which the memory of different princes has been preserved, and may, in short, incline to good deeds and avoid evil ways.

[1] To remind the passing stranger for translation. In Persian it stands as follows: "In Hafiz Magas bak nasb-i-nist chu dar ghináyat-i-khudáí wat . Az jumla-i-nikúhídahá-i-ú-ast ki bar ajdád-i-khud ... "Mi... [illegible] ... bi-gúy ú vaz'-i-ishán ra ibrat-gír."

CHAPTER LXVII.

SULTÁN SAID KHÁN, SON OF SULTÁN AHMAD KHÁN

SULTÁN AHMAD KHÁN had eighteen sons. The eldest was Mansur Khán, of whom I have just spoken. Next [illegible] became Sultán, who died a natural death, after his father. Then came Sultán Said Khán who was fourteen years of age when Sultán Ahmad Khán went to the assistance of his elder brother, Sultán Mahmúd Khán. To had taken with him, on this occasion, two of *his sons namely* Sultán Said Khán and Bábájáh Sultán.

While the two Khans were together, Sultán Said Khán passed his days in the cell of instruction of my father, and under the kindly protection of my uncle. This lasted up to the time of the battle at Akhsi, between the two Khans and Shahi Beg Khán (which has been mentioned). In the flight which ensued, Sultán Said Khán was struck by an arrow in the thigh, and the bone was broken: so he threw himself into a side path[1]. After the fight and pursuit had subsided, some of the people of that district found him, but as his leg was broken, they did not move him from where he lay. After a few days had passed, and he was almost recovered, they took him to Shaikh Bayazid, Governor of Akhsi. An account of Shaikh Bayazid and of his brother, Sultán Ahmad Tambal will be found in Part II. Shaikh Bayazid kept Sultán Said Khán a prisoner.

In the year following, when the corn was high, Shahi Beg Khán again came against Farghána and Sultán Ahmad Tambal. Sultán Ahmad Tambal and Shaikh Bayazid, together with all their brothers, were put to death by Shahi Beg Khán, who then pensioned himself of Farghána. Sultán Said Khán, who was in prison, by the order of Shaikh Bayazid, was now released and conducted before Shahi Beg Khán who treated him as his own son, and being moved to pity at his sad condition, took him to Samarkand. From thence he took him on his campaign against Hisár and Kunduz, at a time when Khusrau Sháh had just subjugated the provinces of Hisár, Kunduz, and Badakhsháh. When he had brought this enterprise to a close, he again returned to Samarkand. He was invested Kunduz. But on the occasion of this expedition, the Khán fled from him and came into Moghulistán. He journeyed by way of Uzun Ahmad as far as Yatikand[2]. His uncle, Sultán Mahmúd Khán, was at that time in Yatikand; with him he passed a few

[1] *Pargháh*—side path or sheltered nook.—R.
[2] See this narrative, p. 18.

days, but finally, being wearied with the endless way in which his uncle conducted the affairs of the State, he departed and went into Moghulistán to visit his brother, Sultán Khalil Sultán, who was governor of the Kirghiz.

He remained four years with his brother, among the Kirghiz in Moghulistán. During this period many transactions took place between Sultan Mahmud Khan, Mansur Khán, and those two brothers. The result of these proceedings was that Sultán Mahmud Khán found, on account [of the opposition] of his nephews, that he could no longer remain in Moghulistán. So he went to seek Sháhi Beg Khán, in hopes of kind treatment. But Sháhi Beg Khán, as has been related, put him to death on the river of Khojand. When Sultán Mahmud Khán went abroad [to *viláyat*] to visit Sháhi Beg Khán, those two brothers remained in Moghulistán and the Kirghiz country. In the meanwhile, news of the approach of Mansur Khán's army reached them. For Mansur Khán had led out an army from Chúsh and Turfán against his brothers, in order to seize the land of the Khirghiz and Moghulistán. So Sultán Said Khán and Sultán Khalil having collected all the fighting men of the Kirghiz and the Moghuls, took up a strong position at a place called Charun Cháh,[1] ready to receive the enemy. On the arrival of Mansur with his army, the signal for battle was given, and finally Sultán Said Khán and Sultán Khalil Sultán were defeated. Mansur Khán made the Kirghiz march into Chúsh, as has been mentioned in the account of Mansur Khán. Sultán Khalil Sultán escaped from the fight with a considerable number of men and came to Yaghma, hoping to fall in with his uncle Sultán Mahmud Khán, and to be kindly treated by Sháhi Beg Khán. But when he reached Akhsi he was put to death by Jáni Beg Khán, a cousin of Sháhi Beg Khán, and governor of the country of Yaghma.

Sultán Said Khán, for some time after the battle, took to robbery, but events occurred which rendered impossible for him further sojourn in Moghulistán. (These events are described in Part II. So we will repeat them here only briefly.) In this state of hopelessness Sultán Said Khán went to Andijan, and thence to Kábul, to visit his (paternal) cousin Bábar Pádishah, the son of Omar Shaikh Mirzá, who received him with honour and kindness, and with whom he stayed for three years at Kabul.

When Sháh Ismáil [defeated and] slew Shaibani Beg Khán at Marv, Bábar Pádishah moved from Kábul to Kunduz, taking Sultán Said Khán with him. At the same time Sayyid Muhammad Mirzá, son of Muhammad Haidar Mirzá, and uncle of the author

[1] Or *Jaun Jáh*—probably the same name that at page 125 is written *Charun Chahár*.

of this history, invaded Andijan and living Bábá Sultán, to accommodate matters between the country. He sent a messenger to inform Bábá Pádisháh of what he had done. Bábá Pádisháh then sent Sultán Sa'íd Khán and Mogul Arms to aid in his service to Andijan. On learning that Sultán Sa'íd Khán was received with enmity by his own Sayyid Muhammad Mirzá, who also received him in whole of the territory which had established. He was showed by many of very much discontent and according to the ancient Mogul customs conferred upon him the title *Ulusbegi*,[1] which he accepted.

Meanwhile Mirzá Alí Baki, having set his heart upon the kingdom of Farghana, had collected an army in Kishghan, and was marched to Andijan. The Khán marched out to meet him with an army of 1500 men. The two forces came into contact at a place called Ak-tugh,[2] and in two *farsakhs* from Andijan. By the help of God and small body of 1500 men over a numerous army 20,000 strong, after a very fierce struggle, and immediately on his victory the fame of Sultán Sa'íd Khán was established among the surrounding Sultáns. The Uzbeg Sultáns from Farghána had begun to usurp the lands of Sháhrukhía and Báskund.

Alí-wand-ka, Bábá Pádisháh's agent, had engaged these Sultáns in a battle at Hazár Sháhán, and was victorious. By this victory he was established in the throne of Samarkand. In the month of *Rajab* of the year 917, the Khán was again firmly established in Andijan. In the early spring, at *al-bahár* of the new year, the Uzbeg army entered Shahrukhía. Ubaid Ullah Khán advanced in the direction of Bukhárá in the neighbourhood of which place he fought a battle with Bábá Pádisháh, who had come out to oppose him. Sa'íd Khán was victorious, and Bábá Pádisháh retired defeated to Samarkand, where with his remaining family and all his belongings, he fled to Hisár. Thus the Uzbeg recovered their ascendency. The Khán returned in Andijan.

Bábá Pádisháh, meanwhile, appealed to Shah Ismail for assistance. The latter sent Mir Najm, one of his Amirs, with 10,000 men, to the Pádisháh, who having received this reinforcement, marched on Samarkand. The Khán, on the contrary, having

[1] That is, "chief of the State," a title never before known among the Moguls, though strongly suggesting the Persian Atábek. The Khán must have *already* held the title, and have carried with it little more than a nominal superiority, as it is equivalent to "King."

[2] Previously written *Lal-lal*.

[3] June or July, 1511.

hausa l th Uzbeg in the neighbourhood of Andijan, and reached Tuwalis Samarkand and encamped Suyunj Khwája Khán near Táshkend. All the other Khans and Sultáns had assembled in Samarkand and Bokhára against Bábar Pádshah. But in the battle near Táshkand, between the Khán and Suyunj Khwája Khán's army (which had 500 men and the latter 7000; after a hard fight, the Khán was defeated and fled to Andijan[1].

Yúnas Ughlán, the author of the present history, having taken leave of Bábar Pádshah, at the time when he went to join Mir Najm, entered the service of the Khán, who was in Andijan, and had just sustained a defeat at the hands of Suyunj Khwája Khán. In the spring, the Khán went to the court of Kásim Khán, who was ruler of the Dasht-i-Kipchak. At that time his army numbered 800 000 men. Kásim Khan received him with so much respect and honour that the Khán remembered it for years after. On his return from that visit, he distinguished me from among my equals with the commission *mansabdár* or Kuráni. All this is related in Part II.

In the early spring of the year 920 all the great Uzbeg Sultáns, with a very numerous army of warriors, advanced against Andijan. The Khán, not deeming it wise to offer fight, retired to Moghulistán before the foreign army reached Barghána. When he arrived at Aushkand they held a council of war, and acting on the timely advice and persuasion of my uncle Sayyid Muhammad Mirzá (who was brother to Mirzá Alí Beki), they marched towards Kishghar, where a terrible fight was fought, in which the army of that place was routed and obliged to retire within the fort of Kishghar. The Khán then marched on Yangi Hisár, which he besieged for three months. At length the inhabitants entered into negotiations, they made, and delivered up the city.

On this news reaching Káshghar the army that was in the town abandoned it. When the fugitives joined Mirzá Alí Beki at Yárkand, he too resolved on flight, and took the road to Khotan. The Khán pursued him to Yárkand, and then sent on troops after him, as far as the mountains of Tibet. Much booty in the shape of clothing, cattle, and horses fell into the hands of the Moghul army (as is described in the Second Part).

The accession of the Khán to the kingdom of Káshghar was in Sha'bán of the year 920[2]. At the end of that winter Aiman Khwája Sultán, who was brother to the Khán by the same father and mother, came from Tarán, as has been stated above. He instigated and encouraged his Amirs in the matter of the extermination of Mansúr Khán, explaining to them the decline of the

[1] One MS. has "fled to Hisár," but Andijan is obviously right. Dr. Bellew's MS. [illegible] has "fled to Andijan."

[2] May 23rd June, 1514.

Khán's power, and dwelling on the enmity that had existed in Moghulistán, in times past, towards the Khán. But the Khán said "He is the elder brother, in former times I did not pay him due respect and consequently he punished me. I ought on this account to bear him no enmity. The inviting, things I have to do, is to apologise to him for my shortcomings, and [illegible] reputation for the past. He then sent and established lasting words of peace and submission. At this message, Mansúr Khán, whose soul had risen to his lips, from fear and foolishness, now received new life and joy without bounds. He commenced and completed trembling to the conference *mulátát*, which was held between *Aksu and Kusan*. The Khán showed him great honour, and agreed to seal the *Khutba* and strike coins in his name. And all the ill-feeling that he had formerly had towards Mansúr Khán, he now changed to brotherly affection and obedience. From this peace and reconciliation between the two brothers, results such as only and prosperity for the people, that any one might travel from between Kásgar or Khotán and the country of Farghána, without provision *for the journey and without fear of molestation.* Some ingenious person, to commemorate this peace, invented the following chronogram, '*Da lashka ba nashát*' that is, 1122. "Two armies in harmony."

The next year, when Muhammad Kirghiz had made a raid into Turkistán and Farghána, and had plundered the Musulmáns, the Khán, in his desire to protect [illegible], looked upon this as a result. He therefore set forth to attack Muhammad Kirghiz, whom he seized and threw into prison, where he remained for fifteen years.

In 928 | 1522 the Khán took his son Rashíd Sultán into Moghulistán. He subdued the whole of Moghulistán and the Kirghiz, and a number of the people of Moghulistán supported Rashíd Sultán. Finally, on account of the enmity of Isa Mangit[1] the [illegible]

[1] I am inclined to read *Mangit* and not as I did formerly *Jonfalit Mangit*, for I think we can identify this with the name of *Mangit* or *Mangut*. He would be one generation later than Timur Malik, but it would not be impossible, on historical grounds, to assume that the tribal name of *Mangit* existed. There is little to choose between the people Abul Ghazi classes, politically, as the latest Chingiz's grandfather Bartan Kaul and Kutlik-ul-Dín, record to have been themselves [illegible] *Beyond here brief reference is to them in the later Middle Ages*. They appear to have attained [illegible] position. They appear [illegible] Nogai, and [illegible] in the text (Dorn) were tributaries of the Kashgar rulers. They are known by [illegible] Shibi Beg Khán by their [illegible] that they may have [illegible] of the Uzbeg Khán from the Kipchaks, [illegible] Abu'l-Ghazi [illegible] Mangits [illegible] (See Abu'l-Ghazi p. 70; Erskine and Leyden's Babar p. 477; Vambery's *Bokhara* p. 77.)

Kazik, being no longer able to remain in the Dasht-i-Kipchak, came over in Moghulistán, to the number of 200,000 persons. It was impossible to resist them, so Rashid Sultán retired with his men to Káshghar.

Meanwhile the Khán invaded Badakhshán, and conquered half of it which is, to this day, subject to the government of Káshghar. This is a long story. The disputes that arose out of the claims to its inheritance made by Sháh Begum (who has been mentioned) are related in Part. II. of this history.

The Khán twice invaded Badakhshán, once in the year 925 and again in 930 (1519) and 1523–30. In the year 934 the Khán sent me with Rashid Sultán to Bahr, which is a country of infidels *Káfiristán*, between Badakhshán and Kashmir,[1] where we conducted successfully a holy war [*ghazát*], and returned victorious, loaded with booty and covered with glory.

A short time after this, it came about that some malicious and impure devils set up Aman Khwája Sultán in Aksu. This town, which from the days of the conquest of Mirzá Abú Bakr (903), to the year 913, had been in a state of ruin, was now rebuilt by Aman Khwája Sultán.

The Khán sent me, together with Rashid Sultán, to Aksu where we drove out Aman Khwája Sultán, and so returned to Káshghar. Then, having set in order his military and civil affairs, I left Rashid Sultán in Aksu and re-entered the service of the Khán. Aman Sultán was despatched to Hindustán, where he died a natural death. At the end of the year 938 [1532] the Khán made a holy war on the infidel country *Káfiristán*] of Tibet,[2] sending me forward in advance of himself. I had taken several of the forts and subdued most of the country of Tibet, by the time the Khán

[1] *Bahr* or *Behr* is called Mirza Nasir, Digit Yasin, Chitral &c. as well as sometimes on p. 386.

[2] It may be noted here that the original form is *Lalad* which is by Mirza Haidar is *Tibet*. In this connection with all the Turk-speaking tribes of Central Asia and with the Persians the word *Ladák*, as to be locally *Ladags* is applied not only to *Ladák*, but to the whole country known in Europe as *Tibet*. In the Turkish-Kashgar, that is, as far as any knowledge of the Turkish-Kashgar, that is, as far as any knowledge of *Lalad* and *Tibet* proper, a very common but unfortunate confusion. The name of Baltistan (called always by our authors *Balti*), which is situated to the north of Kashmir and west of *Ladák*, is known as *Little Tibet* in all the neighbouring regions, and to most Oriental writers, while *Ladák* is sometimes described *Great Tibet* by way of distinction. The Jesuit missionary Desideri, in the MS narrative of his travels during the early part of the last century (in possession of the Hakluyt Society) nearly always refers to *Baltistan* as "the first Tibet," to *Ladák* as "the second Tibet," and to *Tibet* proper or Lassa territory as "the third Tibet." The word *Tibet*, it may be added, though seldom or never used by the natives of any of the Tibetan provinces, is formally Persian as explained by Mr. W. W. Rockhill in his *Journey to Lassa* for Jan. 1891, p. 5. It has come to Europe however, through Central Asia

At the time of his arrival [in Tibet] he had been very weak and reached Leo, from *dam-gni*,[1] and during the whole period of his sojourn in Tibet he never quite recovered. Nevertheless, he was diligent, under any circumstances to make the journey. When he reached a spot where *dam-gni* was prevalent, his pious soul took flight to the regions of the blessed. Thus was at the close of the year 939.[2] All this is fully related in Part II. of this History.

CHAPTER LXVIII.

CONTAINING THE LAUDATORY VIRTUES AND RARE ATTAINMENTS OF SULTÁN SAID KHÁN.

SULTÁN SAID KHÁN was a most happy, and prosperous prince, and was adorned with acquirements and good qualities. He was nearly forty-eight years of age when he went to take up his abode in the dwellings of God's mercy. His conduct of life was irreproachable. His conversation was both graceful and eloquent, whether in Turki or in Persian, and when he showed favour to any one, he used to blush before speaking. He was always kingly, open-handed, generous and affectionate. For example a certain Maksud Ali had struck the Khán in the left shoulder with an arrow, in some battle, [so severe] was the wound that the Khán suffered from it for two years and nearly died of it. During [the period of] his suffering, when he captured Maksud Ali, and [the latter] was brought before the Khán, he treated him kindly, and though he had only once formerly hit him, gave him [to eat], took him into his own society, and made him his companion, saying, "I was vexed, but thou art welcome *ul ḥamdu li'llah*!" and they continued good friends the rest of their lives. He performed many similar acts of generosity, several of which will be found recorded in Part II. His liberality reached a high degree of perfection. I was twenty-four years in his service. Such was his munificence that his household supplies were sometimes exhausted, and the royal larder was some days so empty, that he would go and take his meals in the harem. For the same reason his expenditure exceeded the revenue of the State.

[1] The word here is *dumgh*, [illegible] a fish-seizing or fish king; but the malady the writer points at is that described, and other hair-raising symptoms, [illegible] by the more elaborate attitudes. (Scott, p. 14.)

[2] The year [illegible] 21 July, 1533.

He was also greatly distinguished for his bravery. I was present at an attack which was led by him in person, and have described it in Part II. Moreover, I never saw his equal as an archer, among all the Moghul, Uzbeg, or Cuzzilbásh tribes. Since I have myself seen him shoot seven arrows in succession, without missing his mark. When hunting deer, hares, or game birds, he would never fail to hit them with his arrow. And in the battles he fought against the Kirghiz and others in Moghulistán, he became celebrated for the way he discharged his shafts into their midst. Generosity such as his I have seldom seen. On one occasion, an assassin came and sought to take his life, but not finding opportunity, stole a horse from the Khán's stable and rode off. He was captured on the road, with the horse, and brought back. The prisoner said to the Khán: "I came on a mission [*dastá*], but could find no opportunity of carrying it out, so I said I will take a horse from the Khán's stables, then I shall at any rate have done something." The Khán's men all wished to kill him, but the Khán said to me: "Hand him over to your servants that they may take care of him, and do with him whatever you tell them." When the people had dispersed the Khán said to me: "As a thanksoffering to God for having preserved me from that man, give him the horse he stole from me." Then I told you men to let him secretly out of the camp, so that when he returns to his fellows they may not look upon him with contempt. Thus the poor man will, in a measure, have executed his mission."

In fact, I never saw a more accurate reader than the Khán. However faulty the orthography might be, he would read off verses or prose without hesitating, in such a way that listeners might suppose he knew it by heart. His writing, *Naskh Tálík* especially, and his spelling, in Turki and Persian was faultless. He also composed letters *inshá* well in Turki, such a people could only have composed them with great difficulty and application. I have rarely met with such power and capability in writing verse *shi'r*. He never read poems by heart, but in assemblies and social gatherings, if any collection of odes *dewán* that was at hand was opened, and he was given any metre and rhyme, he would extemporise a poem. If he repeated a poem once or twice, everybody could remember it, but he was not pleased if any one made a copy of it.

I have remembered, and here reproduce, some of the extempore poems which the Khán recited in the assemblies. Turki verses.

I only one I know how to make verses in Persian.[1]

[1] Later on he says "But I, the Khán, know how to make verses in Persian," however, omitted in the translation.

He performed on the 'ud, and the *altara*, and the *hárbára* and the *ghachal*, or lest I fall out of the *chárdára*.[1] He had a sound knowledge of bow-cutting, and was skilled in making arrows

CHAPTER LXIX.

ABDU 'R RASHID KHÁN, SON OF SULTÁN SAID KHÁN.

At this date of 973,[2] Abdu Rashid, the most excellent son of Sultán Said Khán, is on the throne of the Khákáns, and I (your most despicable slave), Muhammad Haidar, have inscribed and adorned my history with his glorious name. This book, beginning with an account of Tughluk Timur Khán (who was the first among the Moghul Khákáns to be converted to Islám), down to Sultán Yunus Khán, is compiled from oral tradition and contemporary accounts, where they have not been found contradictory. Conflicting traditions have been omitted, on account of their probable inaccuracy. The history, from Yunus Khán down to the end of the reign of Sultán Said Khán, has been fully treated of in Part II. But in Part I. I have only given this portion of the history in epitome, as it is long, and much repetition would not embellish my work.

As, however, there is no account of Abdur Rashid Khán in Part II., it is fitting to give it in this place.

At the time when the Khán [Sultán Said] was in Moghulistán with his brother Sultán Khalil Sultán, Yunus Khán also entered that country, and a battle was fought between them at Ching Chilák in which the two brothers were put to flight. After long reflection, they found that they could no longer remain in Moghulistán, so they retired in distress to Andyán, where the Khán was put in charge of a fief. But he managed to escape, and went to Kábul, where his cousin Bábur Padishah was. (All of this is related in

[1] *Id 'Ud* is Arabic, whence in modern *Lute*. Either the *Shatar* (the stringed instrument), or the *Chitára*, can be termed stringed (that is all) may be the original of it. In Persian *guitar* is either; but it is not clear which name the word guitar is derived. Either one could be the parent. Burgess dictionary gives the word *Uttárah* for *guitar*, but it is possible that the Arabs adopted the guitar (as they are known to have adopted the lute) from Persia, and with the instrument, probably, the name. The *Ghichak*, according to the dictionaries should be a kind of violin—at any rate a stringed instrument.

[2] That is 1565 A.D., when Haidar was composing his history

Part II.) The mother of Abdur Rashid Khán was one of those tribes-people who had followed Uzbeg when he was in his service. She was with the Khán when she was the wife of Ahmad Tágái, and then she became the wife of the Khán, by whom she was with child, at the time Abdur Rashid Khán, was born. When the Khán and Bábar Padishah of Kábul, were each preparing for war against Sultán Ahmad Tágái, the Khán told the news to the Padishah who said to him "Call this boy Abdur Rashid, because he will join with Sultán Sa'id Khán." And hence the origin of the name of Abdur Rashid, who was his father's successor.

When my uncle Sayyid Muhammad Mirzá went to Dughlát and attacked the Uzbeg under Jání Beg Sultán, he chased the country entirely of Uzbeg inhabitants and sent a message to the Padishah in Kunduz, who brought Abdur Rashid Sultán Sa'id Khán. Abdur Rashid Khán had fallen into the unclean hands of the Uzbegs, but in consequence of these messages, he was rescued from captivity and joined his noble father. When my uncle, Habíba Sultán Khanish, came from Samarkand, the Khán married her, and entrusted Abdur Rashid Sultán to her care. She reared him with motherly attention and love and Ain Gehani Baríás was appointed his governor. Abdur Rashid was at that time two years old. Two years later Ain Gehani Barlás died, and according to the Moghul usage, he was given to his uncle, Ali Mazíd Barlás Khán. This Ali Mazíd Barlás was appointed Atábeg to Abdur Rashid Sultán, and the charge of his education was given to Maulánà Muhammad Shirázi, a learned and noble minded man, who passed all his valuable life in the service of the Moghul Khákáns. He was chief judge *Sadr-i Sudur* at the court of Sultán Sa'id Khán, where he exercised great influence.

This Maulánà was in until the Atábeg of Rashid Sultán, while Ali Mazíd Barlás held the office for a very short time only.

Rashid Sultán was born in the year 917 (1511-12). In 928, when he was thirteen years of age, the Khán brought him to Moghulistán.

When Khalil Sultán was killed by Jání Beg, Sultán of Khiva, Ismá'il Sultán was still on the throne, and so Rashid Sultán was kept apart only by Jání Beg Sultán. At the time when Dughlát was settled between the Khán, who came to love the child more than his own children. He gave the child many villages in Kuwájá Ali Bahadur, who already held a great service to Sultán Sa'id Khán, and appointed the Kuwájá Atábeg to Rashid Sultán. The Khán was a Moghul, and had spent most of his life in Moghulistán. He was very devoted to this country, and was always longing to be there. For this reason he begged the Khán to give Moghulistán and Kashgar country

to Bulá Sultán, saying that he himself would take the boy to Moghulistán, and would bring the affairs of the Kingdom of Moghulistán. The Khán consented to this, and wished to send him off. My uncle, since he was father-in-law to Bilá Sultán, did not support the bonds of loyalty, but as he happened of the plan, he represented to the Khán that the Moghuls had an inherited love for Moghulistán. If Bibí Sultán were to establish in that country, all the Moghuls would want to live in Moghulistán, if the Khán forbade the undertaking, Bibí Sultán would be fooled, while if he did not forbid it, the departure of the people for Moghulistán would be a source of injury to the Khán, much anxiety would be caused, and the situation would give rise to many difficulties. "But if he were to say [Rashid Sultán] takes him there, he is young, and can do you no harm for the people to follow him. Even if evil should result, you have only to control him—a course which cannot injure him. Although Rashid Sultán is very young, it is advisable that he should go into Moghulistán.'

No one supported my uncle's opinion. Mirzá Ali Taghái inherited my uncle's property and the sons of Bibí Sultán.

In the meanwhile, Khwájá Ali Bahádur died (a natural death), so that the proposal was entirely abandoned, and the Khán's attention was turned to Rashid Sultán, but heated discussions constantly arose concerning that matter. My uncle did his utmost to settle the affairs of Rashid Sultán quietly, and represented [to the Khán] that the right course to take was to release Muhammad Khwájá from prison, where he had been for a long time. He should [my uncle said] be brought out; a selection should be made from among the Moghuls who had flocks and herds and were desirous of returning to Moghulistán, and those, accompanied by some of the great Amírs, should all be sent off to Moghulistán together.

Finally the Khán approved my uncle's plan, and carried it out as had been suggested.

Having created Mirzá Ali Taghái commander-in-chief, and appointed Muhammad Khwájá Atalík of the Khwájá household, he sent them away. Just at this time Ali Mir-i-Barlás died, and was succeeded in the service of Rashid Sultán, by his son Muhammad-i-Ali Mir-i-Barlás; he also accompanied the expedition.

Finally, as his assistance of my uncle's, the Khán gave to Rashid Sultán one-third of all his royal possessions, whether in men, soldiers, money, tents, or felt dwellings [*khar páh*], and despatched him into Moghulistán. On the day of the departure of Rashid Sultán, [the Khán] sent to the harem and all his accoutrements, and said to me "Fasten on his sword and quiver for him, and help him to mount his horse; it may be a good omen and in the act of

wa he shall be your pupil.' I perf rmed the service, and the Khán himself, having stood up, rep ated several times the *Fátiha*,[1] and then said "Do not forget that it was *Mirzá Haidar* who first fastened on your sword belt for you, and that you are his pupil; should any one ask you, wh se pupil' are you in the art of war, what answer will y u make?" *Rashid Sultán* replied, "I shall say that I am the pupil of such a one." The Khán said "He is my pupil." When a period of several years, and having once recited the *Fátiha*, the Khán sent the party off.

On the arrival of Rashid Sultán in Moghulistán, Muhammad Kirghiz brought together all the Kirghiz and entirely subdued Moghulistán, where at that time there was a large army. It would take too long to recount the details. However, in consequence of the opposition which Rashid Sultán and his followers and allies met with from the *Uzbeg Kazák*, and also because of the hostility of the Kirghiz, he was obliged to return to Káshghar. Then followed those incidents in connection with Bái Sultán and Sháh Muhammad Sultán which I have given in Part II. Muhammadi Barlás was also concerned in these matters, for it was to him they entreated the Khán to give the hostage of Sháh Muhammad Sultán, by way of installation. My uncle and I, however, opposed this plan.

In short, in the winter of that year, 911 (1505), the Khán went with Rashid Sultán to Kásh, and in Rabi' I managed all the affairs of the army. Rashid Sultán was then eighteen years of age. He had not cultivated men in his service and had not had practice in conversation (*kam-sukhanee*). Those about him were all a sect of Muhammadans, who, though men in form, were but brutes in their manners, and what could I learn from the brutal ways of those people? In spite of my own want of power and capacity (*bi-dastí*), I was superior to these people, and I passed my time with Rashid Sultán. So that when we returned, some little time after, the Khán found his son quite another person, and he said several times, both before me and in my absence, to Rashid Sultán, that he was delighted (*masrur*) with me. I had made Rashid Sultán known to him, in that he had won many victories with this army; and he added, "Thanks be to God, my son has come so near to being what my heart would desire him to be."

Meanwhile news came of the revolt of Aimán Khwája Sultán who was at Aksu, and in spite of my own and my uncle's efforts, we were unable to quell it. The account of this, and of the execrable proceedings of Mirzá Ali Taghái, will be found in Part II.

Finally, I was sent, together with Rashid Sultán, to Aksu. When

[1] *Fátiha*—the "opener" or "beginner," the opening chapter of the Koran.—R.

were watched but with whole population to receive us. Amán Khwája Sultán presented himself before the Khán. I remained six months in Aksu, who ordered us sumptuously all military and civil affairs. Before this, one day in Moghulistán, the Khán was eating almonds; he broke one with his (blessed) tooth, and found that it had two kernels. He thereupon sent for Rashid Sultán and myself, and gave one kernel to each of us, saying, "It is an excellent and significant custom that when two men wish to be friends, each should cut one of the kernels from a double thread, and hand one friends to another. Thus, like the two kernels in one shell, nothing will separate them, and though two in appearance, they will really be one. I have told you to do this that you may be friends." Both of us then respectfully kissed the ground, and drew our horses close together. The outcome of which was that, while we were in Aksu, we lived in great concord. Our affection, our unity, our mutual regard and confidence were beyond description, and our friendship was confirmed by sworn covenants. If I were to write down a description of our friendship and concord the reader would certainly doubt whether such a state of things really existed, and would attribute it to mere rhetoric. In a word, after six months we parted with a hundred regrets at separation, but in hope of meeting again, and I returned to wait on the Khán. At the hour of bidding farewell I extemporised an ode (*ghazal*) of which I here give four verses (Verses) . . . .

The year after my returning to his service the Khán entered on a holy war in Tibet, sending me on in advance, so that before the Khán joined me, I had achieved a great deal in that country. An army of 5000 men was now in Tibet—a number that the country was unable to support. So I was obliged to retire to Kashmir, with Iskandar Sultán, younger brother of Rashid Sultán. Having passed the winter in Kashghar, I returned to the Khán the following spring. This I have related elsewhere, so there is no object in stating (details) here. While with the Khán in Tibet, he sent me to destroy the Idol-Temple of Ursáng, while he himself returned to Yárkand. I made a journey of four months, but the Khán died on his way home. The Amirs who were with him at the time, sent express messengers to Rashid Sultán to acquaint him with the event. They also sent the news to my uncle, who came to be present at the Khán's funeral, and to take part in the lamentations (*azá*). On the 6th of Moharram, 940 [2nd August, 1533], Rashid Sultán arrived, when my uncle, having raised lamentations [by way of condolence], entered the presence of Rashid Sultán and was immediately put to death, together with Ali Sayyid, who was the sworn friend of my uncle. To commemorate the date of the martyrdom of these two men, the chronogram

"*Kut'lú ft(é)l-muharram*" (810 was invented meaning the two men were killed in the month of Moharram.

It is the practice of the humane and the magnanimous (and of those two qualities kings must be one) that when a person at any time renders them some particular service, they reward that person with various presents and favours. My uncle was the son of the daughter of Yunus Khán, and on both sides his family had been at the head of the affairs of the Moghul Sultáns and Khákans. I have explained the prerogatives of the office of *Ulusbegi*, in Part II. My uncle was employed there at distinguished men in the service of Rashid Sultán's father, so much so that no one was more valued or prized than he; for he had rendered some most important services to Sultán Said Khán. The first was the conquest of Andján, which became the keystone of the Khán's dominions.

His second service was on the expedition against Kinglghan, where he made such exertions, that had he not been of the party, all hope of taking Kinglghan would have been relinquished. The Khán was in consequence grateful for his services and rewarded him with favours in proportion. If my uncle had never been of service to Rashid Khán may, but he even committed offences against him, his faults ought to have been overlooked. But in addition to this, his invasion of Andján delivered Rashid Khán out of the hands of the Uzbeg. It was, moreover, owing to the efforts of my uncle that Rashid Khán subdued Moghulistán an event which was the cause of enhancing his dignity, and the commencement of his prosperity. Had the advice of Mirzá Ali Taghai and Khwája Ali Bahádur been followed, Rashid Sultán would have been sent to Moghulistán instead of Rashid Khán. He had always endeavoured to represent Rashid Sultán in a good light to the Khán. Aman Kuw a Sultán 'ul Imam had strangled, and by her had two sons, who were my uncle's grandsons, yet, notwithstanding this, when it was suggested that Rashid Sultán should be set up in the place of Aiman Khwája Sultán, and that this latter should be driven away, he made no objection, but on her exerted himself to the utmost to further the plan. It is not within whole here to detail his services.

It was most astounding that all this should have been ignored, and that he should, though innocent, have been put to death. It is therefore all the more fitting that his story should not be told more fully; what God willed came to pass. Moreover, the retribution for this act is in His power; and we shall return unto Him, remember the verse, "Verily we belong to God, and unto God we return." It is the more strange as these very mischief-makers who had caused a rupture in the affairs of Rashid Sultán, were those whom he raised to high dignities. In short, Mirzá Ali

thought it was appointed an answer to my uncle, and
Rashid Khan, with his entire, became matter me act
as per the to death my uncle's action of Rashid Khan was ch
In short, this action of Rashid Khan was ch
the whole thing of amusement blow, and by an absence
[Verse . . . In the night of the wise and young,
I and all, even for the kingdom of the whole
the murder of these faithful men, Rashid Khan cast all
upon the me of the Khans. When the news of
to Khan reached Akem Khan, he mocked him. Akem Khan
Rashid Khan was only to mock him. Akem Khan
while at believing his object, and Rashid Sultan Ibrahim
to his seat of government. The attempt was otherwise
by Akem Khan, Rashid Khan also marched
returned with success and spoil. The Amus in the
Khan [ ] the drive, on account of my uncle
put to death without cause. On this account they
fide to, and Mir Ali Tajik fled for [illegible]
Where Mir Ali Tajik fled for [illegible]
joined by the rest of the Amus; and having seized
Khan's children, they all made off to Khotan and
all on. Rashid Khan then [illegible]
of Khotan came up to receive him, except a few
who remained in the fort. These [Amus] were
brought before Rashid Khan, who ordered
the all to be beheaded. This is how they lives,
con mitted a crime deserving of death, and
of duty had been proved, the right, and to others I said,
murdered my uncle in spite of his own relationship,
sovereign, I [illegible] of all offence, and I [illegible]
loyalty

[Verse] Now [illegible] the [illegible] will,
the [illegible] to be [illegible]
All [illegible]

After [illegible] of the Amus, he had called him

[illegible] with [illegible] Abdul Aziz
[illegible] Rashid Khan
[illegible] Rashid Khan
[illegible] Rashid Khan

paternal aunts and sisters and mothers; among the last Zainal Sultán Khánim, who had been the favourite wife of Sultán Said Khán. He next contracted an intimacy and friendship with the Uzbeg-Shaibánis, who had been old enemies (as has been already related), and had lost to overcome the Uzbeg-Kazák, who were old friends, and to the Uzbeg of both sides (after Rashíd Khán gave his own sisters in marriage). As the Uzbeg-Shaibánis were old enemies, Rashíd Khán put an end to their enmity by giving his sister in marriage, which was a bold act. Lastly, having allied himself with the Shaibánis, he entirely crushed the Uzbeg-Kazák. So till we have said all considerations of the ancient covenant, the overthrowing of the Uzbeg-Kazák was, in truth, a mighty achievement. Since the time when Sultán Yunus Khán defeated Buruj Oghlán at Kará Tukái (in the year 877) up to this date, there have been many battles fought on the Uzbeg and the Moghuls, and the Uzbeg have always been victorious; for during all this time the Moghuls had never got the slightest victory over the Uzbeg. But Rashíd Khán did gain a victory over them, and this exploit of his was a really great one. For although his grandfather, Sultán Ahmad Khán, overcame the Uzbeg (as has been related), yet it was only in plundering fashion, he never won a victory over them in a real pitched battle. Rashíd Sultán defeated them in open order of battle.

Up to this point I have heard the story of Rashíd Sultán from reliable sources in Hindustán and Kashmir, and have committed it to writing. After his victory over the Uzbeg he marched on Andijan and Farghána. But the sources from which I derived his details of this matter not being trustworthy, I have not thought fit to enter them, and have therefore drawn the remainder of my account from what I have himself.

All those unworthy acts with which people have reproached Rashíd Khán were committed either for the sake, or through the efforts, of Muhammadi Barlás. The origin of this man's influence is not evident, for neither had he rendered such services as to merit elevation in rank, nor had he ever displayed such great bravery or good qualities, as to gain for himself distinction.

Rashíd Khán was led, promoted, *murabbí* by him in all his affairs. If we were to relate all, the reader, who has not himself witnessed these things, would regard them as incredible. The epithet of "Him'a" [Ass] which is applied to the tribe of Barlás, was indeed, fully applicable to that particular Barlás. It would be quite out of place for me to relate how he urged Rashíd Khán on to kill or banish his uncles and mothers and Amirs, and to change his nature, therefore have thought it better to avoid this matter altogether.

At the present time the Most High God has delivered Abdur

Now did Khán from the ... [illegible] ... carried off the ... [illegible] ... *Hamáy*] with the drunkenness *Hamáy*] of death ... It is to be ... I plead that ... it is true, the terror of ... [illegible] ... was may I become ... I under ... of ... [illegible] ... ence, and that terrible may I be kept ... Also that the Khán may follow in the approved ... [illegible] ... ways of his ... [illegible] ... ancestors, that ... [illegible] ... his mind may ... be ... [illegible] ... filled, and that he may not for the sake of ... [illegible] ... in the estimation of mentalions persons

May the Most High God of His gracious favour, ... [illegible] ... cause just so to ... issue from the throne of the Khánate for many years to come ... [illegible] ... May the Khán avoid all that is displeasing in the sight of God ... [illegible] ... and His Prophet, and may he repent him of his former doodle ... Amen! Oh Lord of the worlds!

Though Abbás Kuhlí Khán's powers of dissimulation were ... [illegible] ... [illegible] ... [illegible]

My justification lies in the fact that I have, during my life, collected many authentic facts concerning those Moghul Khákáns who were Musulmáns and have also myself played a part in their history. At the present time there is no one living who knows those traditions. Thus, if I did not make the attempt, it is probable that the memory of the Moghuls and their Khákáns would be altogether lost.

The history of the Moghuls and their Khans can be of little interest to any but the Moghuls themselves, for they have now become the most remote and insignificant of tribes, whereas formerly they were, through the power and resolution of Chingiz Khán, the lords of the world. Chingiz Khán had four sons to whom he left the world, dividing the cultivated countries and deserts into four parts and giving one quarter of the earth to each of those sons. Every mention in history of the *Dört Ulus*, or "the four hordes," relates to these four divisions. The learned Mírzá Ulugh Beg has written a history which he has called *Dört Ulus*. One of the "four hordes" is that of the Moghul, who are divided into two branches, the Moghul and the Chaghatái. But these two branches on account of their mutual enmity, used to call each other by a special name, by way of deprecation. Thus the Chaghatái called the Moghul *Tatah* while the Moghul called the Chaghatái *Kazáks*.[1] At the present date there are no Chaghatái left excepting the kings, who are the sons of Báber Pádsháh; and the place of the Chaghatái is now occupied by some settled civilised people. But of the Moghuls there are still about 30,000 in the neighbourhood of Turfán and Káshgha. Moghulistán has been seized by the Uzbeg and the Kirghiz. Although the Kirghiz belong to the tribe of Moghul they have, on account of their separated and warlike habits, become separated from them. All the Moghuls have become Musulmáns, but the Kirghiz are still infidels, and hence their hostility to the Moghuls. The Moghuls have become a most isolated and paltry people. No one but a Moghul could be interested in this history; but though fully recognising my lack of literary capacity, I have not shrunk from doing the best in my power.

[1] More will be known on these interesting points will be found in the Introduction, Section IV.

[2] *This is a somewhat incorrect statement.* It would seem, at first sight, that the authorities to be Kirghiz and Moghul are completely at variance; but the word *Kazák* is extremely 'elastic' in its meaning, as I shall show. The statement, *Apart the Kirghiz have become Moghul at* only implies that the intermarriages between the two people tend rapidly to political, rather than racial ones: that is, the Kirghiz are at present Moghul Khans with the political connection *with the Moghuls*. The word *Kazák* is often used in very similar ways. It would appear that in fact the Turki Musulmán is also in habit of using that term

It is the primitive and true source of poetry, and I do not think I will ever be able to say anything to my readers that will be more important to them. Think! Will you make me glad? Say me those words! „ I have not written a line of poetry since I left Rome" I am sure that my book is full of the most delicate feeling to end. My old, old nature is not to be quite gone, but as I try to write about that old Italian life I find myself getting more old fashioned; and that, by almost my Italian Muse? non ci sono Minh and Khakian had wounded the

Ian. 1, 1817.

TARIKH-I-RASHIDI.

PART II.

PROLOGUE.

I would lay before the wise and ori ical hat I the least of God's servants, Muhammad Haidar, known among my intimates as Mirzá Haidar, son of Muhammad Husain Kurki, have been continually possessed of the thought that the rank and dignity which hist rians attain to, is not so high that one should have a craving for it. Still, there can be little doubt that this poor history (which has been driven by the whirlwind of pride and the waves of ignorance and intoxication, from the sea of incapacity upon the shores of small literary attainment) may be regarded as of some value by the divers in the ocean of excellence, who have concealed in the shells of perfection, the pearls of poetry and the precious stones of prose. According to the saying "Necessity makes lawful that which is forbidden," and because certain important events in the annals of the Moghul Khákáns have been entirely forgotten, I was induced, as far as time should permit to narrate some of the most trustworthy facts in their history.

When the Moghul power was high, many eminent men flourished, and some wrote their people's history. Now, for more than a hundred years nothing of the sort has been done—no trace of those men remains, nor of their writings. Nor does any sign remain of their prosperity and civilisation, except here and there a ruined tower or fortification, and in some towns the ruins of a monastery, a college, a mosque, a portico, or a minaret, still exist, because their foundations being of stone, or for some other reason, God willed that they should endure No vestige of those men survives and [redacted] one knows anything concerning them. For during this long lapse of time, all have become strangers to the old customs and ways of learning. Since the conversion of the Moghuls to Islám more especially, no history of them has been written. But the learned men of Mávará-un-Nahr and Khorásán

and Turk, who have written the annals for their own kings, have made mention of the Moghuls, just where it has suited the context, while they have paid no attention to them when not connected with their own country. Among those histories may be mentioned the *Majma'u't Tawáríkh*[1] of Khwája Rashídu-d-Dín; the *Táríkh-i-Guzída*[2] of Khwája Hamd Ullah Mustawfí; the *Zafar-Náma* of Maulána Sharafu-d-Dín Alí Yazdí, the *Táríkh-i-Manzúm* of Maulána Abdur Razzák, and the *Ulus Arbaa*[3] of Mirzá Ulugh Beg. Among these I have sought carefully for any mention of the Moghul Khákáns, but have found nothing very connected *but tatabbu*. In my early years, I was much drawn to the study of the history of my forefathers and in those days there were still alive some of the Moghul Amirs and nobles (some over one hundred years of age, some under). But it never occurred to my father or my uncles to commit to writing what they had heard concerning the Khákáns, from their parents, and other trustworthy sources. And now they have all been lost for some time. On this account I intend, if willing, to write an account of the Moghuls after their conversion to Islám, basing my facts upon these sure and reliable traditions, in addition to what I have myself witnessed in my own times. But not finding that I had capacity or talent sufficient to justify my undertaking, on so high a theme, I have resolved to begin by making a record of those events of which I have been an eye-witness, and then, should I by the grace of God succeed, I will proceed with my original plan of writing the history of the Moghul Khákáns.

[1] The correct title of this work is *Jámi'u't-tawáríkh*. It is a general history of the world from the earliest times to A.H. 710, and gives a special account of the Moghuls. (See Dr. Rieu's *Catalogue*, i, p. 71.)

[2] Completed history from the earliest times to A.H. 730, by Hamd Ullah Mustawfí, Kazwíní. (Rieu, i, p. 80.)

[3] A history of Timur.

[4] The proper title is *Matla'u Sa'dain wa Majma'u-l-Bahrain* by 'Abdu Razzák Ibn Ishák ibn Jalálu-d-Dín Samarkandí—("Manzúm" here, I suppose, 'well arranged') (Rieu, i, p. 181 *b*).

[5] A history of Chingiz Khán his ancestors and legendaries, down to the time of Timur. (Rieu, i, p. 161.)

CHAPTER I.

BEGINNING OF PART II. OF THE TÁRÍKH-I-RASHIDÍ, WHICH CONTAINS, IN DIFFERENT PARTS, WHAT HOOR HAS ASCERTAINED TO HIMSELF AND THE UZBEK AND JETE CHAGHATÁÍ

At the time of my birth, which was in 905, and for which the chronogram *Nur Ghashm Shâh* has been found, the power of the Moghul Khákáns was compared with former times, on the increase; but at this period, the towns of Moghulistán (which is another name for Kará Khitái)[1] fell into ruin, till in the beginning of the

[1] This mention of Kará-Khitái is curious and to be carefully noted as it records with what we know from other sources to have been the centre of the Kara-Khitai dominion about the beginning of the 10th century, when the power of that dynasty was at its best. What Mirza Haidar means to explain in this passage probably is that Moghulistán stands on the ground which the Kará-Khitai country occupied before the time of Chingiz, when all previous sub-divisions were swept away. In other words he seems to have found it no convenient to go back to ancient times for a general denomination of the region, than to explain its whereabouts geographically, and to describe its limits according to the over-all ifting divisions of his period as they existed in Chingiz's own times. But I see no reason to suppose that even in that Moghulistan was, at his time known as *Kara-Khitai* or that it was a land in all tidily a trace of the name. The Kara-Khitai must have disappeared, as a state, as we continue Mirza Haidar himself tacitly, they could hardly at any time have been regarded as a nation in the west apart from Cathay, a living dynasty supported by a fighting force, composed of their own and their foreign races, sufficient to subdue certain weaker nations, and to enable them for a time, until some stronger power arose and displaced them. In this way they assembled many tribes. An already subject people of power was perhaps even sometimes sufficient, but that power was not likely to last for less than a century.

In race the Kará-Khitái (or Kara-Kitai) appear to have been Mongols, though perhaps a good deal mixed with Mongol tribes for their home was in southern Manchuria the Liao-tung of modern times—and looked on south-east Mongolia. To the Chinese they were known as Kitan or Liao. In the 10th century, they conquered the whole of the north of China which was then known to western nations as *Khitai* or Cathay, where the dynasty ruled by the Chinese "the Liao." As a Chinese dynasty, this kingdom lasted for about two centuries, and it was only at the end of its existence, in the early part of the twelfth century that they first appear in Central Asia as a conquering horde. At this time a certain prince, one Yelui Taishi, set up a westward dominion 'Cathay' (the Chinese army (composed of what are supposed to be Khitan) and Kirman, lastly Khotan and Western Turkestan, and subsequently Kwarizm. In these regions and at about this period he and his people seem to have acquired the name of *Kara-Khitai*, or "Black Cathayans," which the Chinese spoke of them as *Hei Liao* or *Western Liao*. In a short time, the whole country between Hami (or Kumul) in the east, and the Aral in the west, became subject to them which their capital seems, as far as can be ascertained, to have been situated near the banks of the river Chu—in the heart of the *Moghulistan* of Central Asia. The identity as well as the position of the Kará-Khitai capital has been made a subject of much discussion, and it is one to be dealt by several

year 889, when Yunus Khán, who affected Mughulistán cultivation, came into power. Most of the Moghuls had never possessed or even lived in a village or city, had never even seen cultivation. They were as wild as the beasts of the mountains. The explanation of this is that the country of Shásh, together with its dependencies, was under the rule of the Moghuls, who were also all the deserts of Moghulistán. It would be tedious to relate this here, but, God willing, it will be mentioned in the First Part of this history.

My father was Muhammad Husain Kurkán, son of Muhammad Haidar Kurkán, son of the Amír, Lord of the Sword and the Throne, Sayyid Ali Kurkán, son of Amír Sayyid Ahmad, son of Amír Khudádád, son of Amír Buláji. It was this Amír Buláji that introduced Islám, and changed the darkness of unbelief into the light of faith.

After my father entered the service of Sultán Mahmúd Khán, son of Sultán Yunus Khán, son of Yunus Khán, son of Sultán Ali Oghlán, son of Muhammad Khán, son of Khizr Khwája Khán, son of Tughluk Timur Khán (who also lightened the dark night of heathendom with the rising sun of the dawn of Islám), he was treated by the Khán with the utmost favour and honour (as is mentioned at great length in the First Part of this history [*Tárikh-i-Asl*]) and had the title of Kurkán conferred upon him, as well as the honour of marriage with Khub Nigár Khánim. Thus

different names in the course of different generations. Thus the Chinese knew it by the name of *Hiu-nu-nu-ch'ih-tu Hu-ss-o-lu-tu*, etc., the Turki write it Bal'asghún, while the Mongols (as stated in the *Tárikh-i-Jahán-Kushái*) converted Bal'asghún into *the white hill*. Nor did the Chinese transcription *Hu-lu-ho*, etc., suit the Turki word Orkhon, city or capital with Mongol pronunciation, although Dr. Bretschneider probably might have still further (it should be done) identified the Chinese and Mongols with the Balasaghún, where according to all probability, and in keeping with the Kara-Khitai capital. It was, it may also, in and about there given the first impulse that they seem to have formed almost immediately a political power; and it was from this region, after long partially subject to Naiman that Chingiz Khán finally broke them up.

As regards the name of *Kara-Khitai* it appears to me that these people were regarded by the Turki-speaking nations of Western Mongolia and Eastern Turkistán as Kárá Cathayans, the epithet 'Kárá' (meaning 'black' and constantly used in Central Asia to denote a difference of variety, and especially a lower variety. It is difficult to find an English equivalent, but the Urdu word 'Kacha' (raw), as used in India, would perhaps most nearly translate "Kárá". In my English term in this way "Kara" is sometimes applied at the present day, in Mongolia and Turkistán to Chinese from certain parts of China, though by many of these the lightest complexions also to some tribes of Kirghiz who differ, in colour in no way from other Kirghiz and so on. In common with all animals, the wild is ideal of a mammal to denote anything 'pure'. Thus the Kara-Khitai were, to the western foreigner not the real, the true-bred (the "pukka") Khitai, but a variety, or offshoot of the, still characteristic Khitan stock.

(See Bretschneider, I, pp. 208, *seq.* Howorth, I, pp. 16, 20.)

alliance was contracted in Shíish in the year 899. After this he received the country of Ushtur Ushna (which is known now as Uráttippa), together with as much of the surrounding country as he could bring within his power. He then had leave to depart, and spent nine years in the administration of the government of that district. During this time many important events occurred. I was born after my father had governed for six years.[1]

I think it proper here to mention who were the princes who at this time ruled in the surrounding countries.

In the country of Farghána, whose capital is Andijan, after the death of Mirzá Omar Shaikh Kurkán, son of Sultán Abu Said Kurkán, serious quarrels and disputes arose between his two sons, *Zahir-ud-Din Muhammad Bábar Pádisháh Ghází* and Mirzá Jahángir,[2] in spite of their youth, and these quarrels were chiefly owing to the enmity of their respective Amirs. There ensued many victories and defeats, some of which shall be mentioned in this Epitome.

In the country of Samarkand and Bokhárá, endless wars and contests arose between the three princes, Bisanghar Mirzá and Sultán Ali Mirzá (the sons of Mahmud Kurkán, son of Sultán Abu Said Kurkán) and Shahi Beg Khán, son of Sháh Badágh Sultán, son of Abulkhair Khán, than whom, in his lifetime, there was no more exalted chief on the throne of the Juji.[3] Of these wars and disputes I will speak hereafter.

In Khorásán, Sultán Husain Mirzá was at the height of his power and magnificence. From time to time the dust of dissension rose up between the father and his sons, but this the Mirzá, with his wisdom and sagacity, soon caused to subside.

In Irák, after the death of Sultán Yakub son of Uzun Hasan,[4] the Sultáns (his sons) by reason of their youth, were unable to direct the affairs of the State, and Shíh Ismáil (who had made his violence felt in the world) taking advantage of the situation, invaded the country, entirely exterminated the rest of those Sultáns, and upset all the affairs of the state and of religion.

In the Dasht-i-Kipchák and the *Ulus* of Juji Khán, Barunduk Khán[5] was in power, and all the Juji Sultáns were subservient to him. They have sought to rival the rain-drops in their numbers.

[1] *That is in 905 H. = 1499-1500 A.D.*

[2] See for these names, the Genealogical Table of the house of Timur attached to this volume.

[3] Compare the genealogical table of Uzbeg Khans in Stokvis, i., p. 158.

[4] Otherwise known as Abul Ghází Husain, or Sultan Hussain Baikará. He was great-grandson of Timur's son Umar Shaikh. (S. L. Poole, p. 208; or Stokvis, i., p. 156.)

[5] Of the line of Ak Koinlu or White Sheep Turkomans. (See S. L. Poole, pp. 251-5; or Stokvis, i., p. 119.)

[6] Son of Kuchi Khan, son of Buchekte, of the White Horde. (Compare Howorth, ii., p. 685; and Stokvis, i., pp. 158 and 163.)

What took place between them and the Moghuls will be hereinafter related.

In Sh'ash, which is better known as Táshkand, Sultán Mahmud Khán held sway.

I must now turn to the story of Yunus Khán, without which the thread of my history would not be connected.

CHAPTER II.

REIGN OF YUNUS KHÁN, ACCOUNT OF HIS LIFE AND LIST OF HIS OFFSPRING.

Yunus Khán was the greatest of all the Chaghatái Khans, and before him there was, in many respects, no one like him in his family. None of the Chaghatái Khans who preceded him had passed the age of forty, nay, most of them never reached half age. But this prosperous Khán attained to the age of seventy-four. Towards the end of his life, growing repentant and devout he became a disciple of that Refuge of the Poors, Nasiruddin Khwája Ubaidullah (in this history, wherever the term "His Holiness" is used it refers to the Khwája), and him the Khán followed with piety. He was also acquainted with many other Shaikhs, and used to associate with them. His nature was adorned with many high qualities and virtues; he possessed also many acquirements, among which may be mentioned the reading of the Koran. He was of an even temper, his conversation was charming, and he had a quick perception. He excelled in penmanship, painting, and other accomplishments conformable with a healthy nature, and was well-trained in singing and instrumental music. He studied under Sharaf-ud-Din Ali Yazdi, with whom he spent twelve years, and travelled much in foreign countries. Of all these acquirements and travels, a more full account will (God willing) be given in the First Part of this history. He was graced with good qualities and perfect manners, was accomplished in bravery and heroism, and excelled especially in archery. In a word, no one of all his family can be compared to him. The Khán had seven children.

1. Mihr Nigár Khánim, whom he gave to Sultán Ahmad Mirzá. She died childless.

2. Kutluk Nigár Khánim, whom he gave to Omar Shaikh Mirzá. She had two children. Khánzáda Begum, who still honours the throne of chastity, and Bábar Pádisháh, who has illumined the

world with the radiance of his power and his exploits as I have recounted in the First Part, and will relate again in this Epitome whenever it suits the context

3 Khub Nigár Khánum, who was given to my author, as has been mentioned above.

4. Sultán Mahmud Khán, a short notice of whose history will be given.

5 Sultán Ahmad Khán, known as Álácha Khán, of whom, also, I shall speak briefly.

6. Sultán Nigár Khánim, who was given to Mírzá Sultán Mahmud, son of Sultán Abu Said. She had one son, who is known as Mírzá Khán; and his son Sulaimán is, at the present time, king of Badakhshán.

7 Daulat Sultán Khánim, who fell into the hands of Timur Sultán, son of Sháh Beg Khán, at the sacking of Táshkand. She too will be mentioned farther on.

CHAPTER III.

END OF THE REIGN OF YUNUS KHÁN. HIS OF HIS SONS. HIS REIGN OF SULTÁN MAHMUD KHÁN AND HIS REASON OF HIS RUIN.

At the beginning of the reign of Yunus Khán, all the Moghuls dwelt, according to their old custom, in Moghulistán, they avoided all towns and cultivated countries [and regarded them] with great repugnance. They were Musulmáns in nothing but the name; in fact, not even in name, for they were carried off into the countries round about, and sold as slaves like other infidels. After the Khán had had the happiness to kiss the feet of his Holiness, the latter wrote letters to all the surrounding Musulmán rulers, saying 'We have made Sultán Yunus Khán, and it is not lawful to molest a tribe whose chief is so good a Musulmán."

From that date, no more Moghuls who had been carried off, were ever bought or sold as slaves, in a Muhammadan country. The Moghuls had always been this kind of [nomadic] people. The Khán felt that until they settled down in cultivated countries and towns, they could never become true Musulmáns. He therefore *exerted himself to the utmost to bring their settlement about.* When the Khán was leading away the Moghuls to Táshkand, a number of them who were loth to go, having seized the Khán's younger son, Sultán Ahmad Khán, abandoned the party and stayed behind in Moghulistán The Khán meanwhile arrived in

Yáshkand with his elder son, Sultán Mahmud Khán, and the rest of the Moghuls. It would be tedious to relate their proceedings in this Epitome, but they will (God willing) be given in the First Part. When Yunus Khán went to the palace of eternity, he left the kingdom to Sultán Mahmud Khán, and the Moghuls according to their custom, placed him on his father's throne. It is a common occurrence that those who inherit what their father has left them, do not appreciate its worth, thus he now Khán, undervaluing the great Amirs who had served his father, expelled them and set up, in their stead, weak-minded and base men while his old friends being defeated, old enemies, who styled themselves new friends, now gained the supremacy. But in this new order of things, the Khán found it difficult to withstand those [new advisers]; nay, was incapable of keeping together his kingdom. When Alácha Khán heard of this, although he was occupied with rebellions and seditions on the confines of Moghulistán (which was under his rule), he did his best to punish those who opposed him], and then, setting up his eldest son, Mansur Khán, in his own place, hastened to become of his brother. This was in the year 907 [1501–2].

A year and a half previous to this meeting of the two Khans, my mother journeyed from this transitory abode to the dwellings of eternity. She had six sons: two of them had died at the breast, four survived her, and of each of those I will speak hereafter.

One of the most curious facts in my own history is the following. While I was yet at my mother's breast I was subject to such severe hemorrhoids that the doctors gave up all hope of my recovery. My mother, before becoming me, had been four times disappointed in child-birth [*ázmá*]. She had prayed very earnestly to God to grant her a son; and after much prayer and supplication on her part, I came into existence; hence the unbounded love which my mother had for me. When my malady became alarming, she turned in every direction in search of help, till at length she went to Maulána Muhammad Kázi, who was one of the most distinguished of the companions of his Holiness, so much so that even at this time his family have many disciples. When he had looked on me with his Christ-like glance,[1] he became very thoughtful, and after he had gone out said "If I had known that the Mirza's son was in such a grave condition, I should not have come." He ordered no remedy, except frugality, and then went on his way.

One morning he sent one of his servants to my parents, to tell them that the Most High God had sent to their child the wine of recovery and the meat of life from His heavenly abode. When

[1] Christ is always connected with healing in the Muhammadan mind.—R.

my parents heard this good news, they set out that same morning to the place of worship of this holy man, and laid their prayers before him From that same day, marked signs of improvement showed themselves in me; and up to the present time I have never had a return of the hæmorrhoids. I would point out that in this matter two miracles were performed one being my recovery without the aid of medicine, the other the fact that the malady never returned And this is the more wonderful miracle of the two, for hæmorrhoids generally last all one's life From that date to the end of his life the Maulánà helped and instructed me, both publicly and privately

The story of each [of the children] will be told in the proper place.

After these events my mother departed this life.

Shortly afterwards Shàhi Beg Khán, with the opportune aid of Sultán Mahmud Khán, conquered Samarkand and Bokhárá, and defeated the Timuri Sultáns: in particular Bábá Pádisháh, who was Sultán Mahmud's nephew, and almost like a son to him. After [these successes] having changed his assurances of obedience and friendship, into boasts of pride and insubordination, he began to sound the drum of revolt.

In the mean time Sultán Ahmad Tambal, who had been in the service of Omar Shaikh Mirzà, although he belonged to the race of the Moghul Amirs, revolted in Andíján, on account of the improvidence of the Khán, and having got possession of that place, began to shoot the arrows of insurrection at the target of sovereignty The two Khans consequently went to crush him- - Sultán Mahmud Khán, leaving his son Sultán Muhammad Sultán in Táshkand with a strong army, wherewith to oppose his partizans enemies. My father, too, had been left in Uratippa to oppose Shàhi Beg Khán And they imagined that the latter could not pass between those two armies But in reality he looked upon it as an opportunity to be seized, thinking that he would never again find the two Khans with so small a force. Therefore he hastened from Samarkand to Farghána, passing by Uratippa on his road [My father] thinking he had come to lay siege to the town began to busy himself with its defence At the hour of afternoon prayer, [Shàhi Beg] came and encamped close to the town. After the sun had deprived the world of its light, and had thrown the shadows of night upon the eyes of all creation, he broke up his camp and marched away with all possible speed, so that before the men in the fort had begun to inquire in which direction he had gone, he was many *farsákhs* away. When it was discovered that he had marched towards Farghána, several messengers in succession were despatched, to give notice to the Khans of his approach The messengers and the enemy arrived at the same moment Neither the army of Táshkand nor that of

Uráppa, had time to come to the aid of the Khans. The two Khans had with them 15,000 men, because in the beginning of the year they had collected a large force to attack Tambal, whom they had severely handled, and whose power they had entirely subdued. For this reason, they felt sure that he would now resolve on flight as a last resource. They had taken Bábá Pádisháh with them, in order that after things were settled, they might set him up on his father's throne and then return home.

The Khans had not yet reached Andi in Akbar, which is one of the strongest forts in that country, was occupied by Shaikh Báyazíd, brother of Tambal; he was treating about submission, and for that reason they had turned now the foot. At this juncture, Sháh Beg Khán came up with 30,000 men, and all his Sultáns, such as Kochum Sultán Sayunjuk Sultán, Jání Beg Sultán and others. They had hardly time to draw up in line, when, after a short conflict, the Khans were put to rout by the overpowering numbers of the enemy. Their horses had suffered considerably with fatigue, the two Khans were taken prisoners. Bábá Pádisháh fled to the hills on the south of Farghána. Sháh Beg Khán behaved with magnanimity, and having taken possession of Táshkand, dismissed the Khans with every mark of favour, saying: "With your help and assistance I have won my power. I took you captive, but do not kill you. I let you go."

In this place, I call to mind the story of the tax-gatherer [*an aldib*]. A certain governor had imposed a fine upon a tax-gatherer, and went so far as to torture him [in order to make him pay it]. But a generous Khwája took pity on him, and bought him out of the hands of his creditors by paying the price of the fine, and taking him home with him, showed him every kindness and attention. One day the tax-collector was sitting with his son, and they were talking confidentially, while the Khwája was listening on the other side of the wall. The son said to his father: "How can we ever worthily repay the Khwája for his kindness?" The tax-collector answered, "As soon as I am again in office, the matter will be simple." The son then asked: "How will it be easy to repay his generosity?" His father replied, "When they have again entrusted me with an office, I will press the Khwája very hard, and will give him over to the creditors, who will fine him heavily, and when it has come to a matter of life and death for him, I will take all his money, and with a part of it will buy him off again."

When the news of the capture of the Khans reached Táshkand Sultán Muhammad Sultán carried off into Moghulistán all that he was able of his people and family and of the Moghul *Ulus*, causing my father and my uncle to follow him with all the money they could collect

When the Khán was captured, Shíhi Beg Khán said: "I have always wished to arrange a marriage, but it has never been granted me to make up for this [disappointment] I must now form three marriage alliances." The youngest sister of the Khán, Daulat Sultán Khánim who has been mentioned above in the list of the children of Yunus Khán, was married to Shíhi Beg, [son of Timur Sultán]. He took for himself Aisha Sultán Khánim, better known as Moghul Khánim, and gave to Jání Beg Khán, Ruk Khanim; both of these princesses were, in their chastity, bright as the sun and pure as the moon. Some of their children are living now, and are ruling, in Máwar-un-Nahr.

On the return of the Khán to their old residence, in Moghulistán, the year got full ill, and at the end of the year 900, wandered from the garden of earthly dominion to the fields of Paradise.

From Khwája 'Ajjuddin Muhammad, who inherited from his ancestors the office of Shaikh-ul-Islám of that country (and who was in truth, a most admirable, austere man, and endowed with many good qualities) I have heard the following: "When the Khán was extremely ill, I said to him, 'It is commonly reported that Shíhi Beg Khán has caused poison to be put in your food; if your Highness is also of this opinion I will bring some of that powerful antidote which comes from Khatá, and administer it.' The Khán replied, 'Yes, indeed, Shíhi Beg Khán has poisoned me, and the poison is this: having risen from the most degraded station to the highest elevation, he has taken us two brothers prisoners and then set us at liberty. This disgrace is the cause of my succumbing to illness. If yours is an antidote against this kind of poison, it may prove efficient.'"

Sultán Ahmad Khán had eighteen sons.

(1.) The eldest, Mansur Khán, from 900 to the present date of 948[2] has ruled over his father's dominions with absolute power. An account of him will be given in this Epitome.

(2.) Iskandar Sultán, who died a natural death, soon after his father's demise.

(3.) Sultán Said Khán, whose history will be related. Wherever "*the Khán*" is spoken of in an absolute way, in this Epitome, it is this Khán that is meant.

(4.) Bábájúk Sultán, who is still in the service of Mansur Khán.

(5.) Shah Shaikh Muhammad Sultán, who together with his harem and some of his children, was killed by the fall of his place during an earthquake.

[1] In Stokvis' table of the line of Jet' the son of Shíhi Beg is known as Yár Muhammad. I do not know the authority for this name. (*Manuel d'Hist.*, p. 178.)

[2] A.H. 948 (1511 A.D.) will then be the date of compiling the 11th of the *Tarikh-i Rashidi*—or the Epitome.

(6.) Sultán Khalíl Sultán, [1] whom I shall have occasion to speak in connection with Sultán Sa'íd Khán.

(7.) Amín Khwája Sultán, who will also be mentioned in the same connection.

(8.) Chín Timúr Sultán, who for some time was in the service of Mansúr Khán, whom he afterwards abandoned, and entered the service of "the Khán." Mansúr Khán had him brought back, but he again fled, this time going to the court of Bábar Pádisháh in Hindustán. Here he rendered good service, and was in return treated with the utmost honour and respect by the Emperor. He died of a violent dysentery at Agra, where he was buried.

(9.) Yúnus Timúr Sultán, who like his brother, being tired of always going backwards and forwards between the two Kháns, fled to the Kazák and thence to Turán; thence again to the court of Ubaid Ullah Khán in Bokhára. From there he went to the court of Bábar Pádisháh; him also the Emperor treated most kindly, and he is now in Hindustán.

(10.) Tukhta Bughá Sultán, who also went to Hindustán, where he died a natural death.

These three sons died natural deaths, at different times.

Sultán Ahmad Khán had four daughters.

(1.) Lál Shád Khánim, whose mother was a slave whom the Khán had married (*umm-walad*). Although she was outside the circle of distinction, she was finally married to Muhammad Amín Mirzá, son of Amír Sa'íd Bárlás, who was a Dughlát, and to whose family also belonged the office of *Ulusbegi* in the time of Áfáka Khán.

(2.) Mihrí Khánim, who was given to Bulúsh Khán, son of Uyuk Sultán.

(3.) The third was married to me, as will be related below.

(4.) Khalíja Sultán Khánim. After the death of Sultán Ahmad Khán, Mirzá Abú Bakr, who as may will be told in connection with the Khán, took possession of Aksu, the capital of Áfáka Khán's dominions. In these days Khalíja Sultán Khánim fell into the hands of Mirzá Abú Bakr. He however, treated her kindly and gave her to his son Sa'íd Mirzá. When the latter was slain, she was given to Sháh Muhammad Sultán, son of Sultán Muhammad Khán, son of Sultán Mahmúd Khán, as will be related.

CHAPTER IV.

DETAILED ACCOUNT OF THE MURDER OF SULTÁN MAHMUD KHÁN AND HIS SONS.

On the death of Sultán Ahmad Khán, Sultán Mahmúd Khán resigned to his brother's children all the country and people that had belonged to their father, from the frontiers of Kíshlák to the confines of Kishghar, viz.: Turfán, Chilásh, Kuchár [Kuchar], Aksu and Uch Ush-Turfán], while he himself with those few of his own people who yet remained, to the deserts of Moghulistán. There he spent five years hunting, which time nothing of importance happened to him. At length these base men whose minds had caused the night shadows of ruin to overcloud the dawn of the Khán's reign, filled his mind with evil suggestions, saying "Shíhi Beg Khán will treat you kindly, but even if he does not, he will at least allow us to return to our corners." My uncle used to relate that one day after the death of Áltcha Khán, he was at the court of Sultán Mahmúd Khán in Aksu, where the Khán, being friendly and talkative, asked him, "Is the position of soufliun[1] in Táshkand better than that of king in Aksu?" My uncle replied, "Verily it is, if the soufliun is allowed to perform his office." At these words the Khán was very wroth.

In short, these base men succeeded in bringing the Khán to Farghána. When news of his reached Shíhi Beg Khán, he was in Ulúng-zúlaghán. He at once despatched a party of men to find him. These men were coming in exactly the opposite direction to the Khán, whom they met and slew, together with his five young sons at Khojand. To commemorate the date of their martyrdom the chronogram "*Lab-i-daryá-i-Khojand*" = 914, was devised. (This matter I will also speak of elsewhere.)

Sultán Mahmúd Khán had six sons, five of whom suffered death with their father. His eldest son was Sultán Muhammad Sultán. When the Khán was setting out from Moghulistán, in the hope of being well treated by Shíhi Beg Khán, Sultán Muhammad Sultán had done his utmost to dissuade his father from going, but his words being of no avail, he separated from his father and stayed behind in Moghulistán. From circumstances which, God willing, will be related in the First Part [*Tárikh-i-Asl*], he was not able to remain in Moghulistán, but went in dire distress to Barandúk

[1] The word in the original is *Dastár-shúi*, meaning literally, "towel-washer."

Khán and Kásim Khán[1] in the Dasht-i Kipchák. His followers, hoping that Shibi Beg Khán had elevated Sultán Mahmúd Khán well, led him by a wrong road and brought him to Tashkand, where he (Uzbeg) sent him to join his father. He left one son, whose name was Shah Muhammad Sultán. His history will be given in my notice of the Khán.

CHAPTER V.

THE REST OF THE HISTORY OF MY FATHER MIRZÁ MUHAMMAD HUSAIN KURKÁN.

When the Khánes fell into the hands of Shibi Beg Khán at Aksu, my father was absent. When Shibi Beg Khán passed between the two armies it was not possible for my father to form a junction with the Khánes, and he could find no means to go to Karátigin. At that time Khusrau Shah, one of the Amirs of Mirzá Sultán Mahmúd, son of Sultán Abu Said, was in possession of Hisár, Kundúz and Badakhshán. After the death of Mirzá Sultán Mahmúd he had blinded his son Sultán Masúd Mirzá, and when Baisanghar Mirzá, son of Sultán Mahmúd Mirzá, fled from Samarkand, Khusrau Shah sent messengers to him to express his repentance, saying: "What I did, was from fear for my life, for Sultán Masúd Mirzá had the intention of killing me, but now, in compensation for that act, I will serve you so faithfully that, however much my infamous act may have brought down upon me the execrations and curses of mankind my conduct in future will procure for me their favour and applause." In this manner did he make abundant promises and protestations, that he deceived Báisanghar Mirzá also, and sent that worthy prince into the next world, as if he were an arrow from a bow.

Thus he brought the whole of the dominions of Sultán Mahmúd Mirzá under his own power. By these successes filled his mind with pride and vainglory. When I was thus at the height of his power my father arrived in Karátigin, and Khusrau Shah desired an interview with him. My father accordingly went to Hisár; and Khusrau Shah, having received him in the Bágh-i-chinár, with the utmost distinction and politeness said to him. "I look upon your gracious visit as a blessing from God, for it is the season of Shibi Beg Khán's expedition. My fear is lest though this year his mind is not upon the conquest of other territories, he

[1] The Tarikh MS. only has Kásim Khan's name here, but probably correctly. (See Tarikh to, *Hist.*, I, p. 102.)

may next year turn towards this quarter. I have no reason to war with the Uzbeg, and do not know how I made a mistake. For every tribe has its own special methods, which govern its negotiation. The arrangements and conditions which each people according to time and place, and until their methods are known, it is difficult to contend with them. Now, as you have many times had to do with the Uzbeg, (their peace and war, and have experienced, when at war with them, both victory and defeat) make known to me all that you have learned, that I may be guided by what you tell me. As my reliance is on you, and my hope, I beg you to accept, in confirmation of my confidence, Sultán Begum, daughter of Sultán Ahmad Mírzá, and one of the princesses, [of my family] that she may be a bond of union between us.'

Such like words and many more did he utter, and set in hand grand preparations for the marriage.

The deputation [left] Kábul in the season of Cancer,[1] and this affair took place in the end of the season of the Balance.[2]

Meanwhile, news arrived of the invasion of Sháhi Beg Khán, and all the adherents of Khusrau Sháh fled in different directions. Those who possessed castles, fortified themselves in them, and those who had none, fled to the hills and the remote valleys and glens. No one could help himself about his neighbour. As all Khusrau Sháh's people were thrown in confusion, my father also *took refuge in Karátigín, which is a country of mountain fastnesses.* And as those mountains they entered is very severe winter. It began as soon as they arrived, and for one whole month the weather did not clear, so that the snow reached a depth of twelve spans, and for those who had settled in the valleys, and lived in houses, there was no possibility of changing their abode.

Now Sháhi Beg's purpose [in coming to Hisár] was not to seize Khusrau Sháh, but just to try whether Khusrau Sháh had power to withstand him or not. In that mood he did not commit much violence. Whatever plunder did fall into his hands, he seized upon. He then returned, with the view of coming that when he came a second time he would frighten away [Khusrau Sháh] as a fly from a dish, with a mere wave of his hand. The winter he also wished to test the people of Khurásán. Using the sea no means, he marched on Balkh, where the governor at that time was Sultán Kulunják, acting under Badí uz-Zamán Mirzá, son of Sultán Husain Mirzá. He commanded his men to invest the town, and spent the whole of that winter in besieging it. The Khurásánis were, in

[1] About June 150 [2] The end of autumn

spite of their numerous attacks on the enemy, unable to relieve Balkh. Thus, during that winter, Jengiz Khán and the Khorásmian heroes [illegible] and died neither of them gaining [illegible].

But while Shihábu'd-Dín was engaged in besieging Balkh, Khusrau Sháh was assembling his army, and he sent messengers without intermission to Shihábu'd-Dín, with useful to expressing the friendship which Shihábu'd-Dín returned. That winter, when Khusrau Sháh was recovering his peace of mind, news arrived from Kaṭighán that more had been a great fall of snow, so that no one was able to get away. Khusrau Sháh immediately despatched 20,000 men under his brother Mu'izzu'l-Mulk Wazír[1] to Kaṭighán to prohibit the people from anything on his side, but to remain where they were, far and near. When they learned the approach of the army, they immediately mustered [illegible] and [illegible] of the people, and opened the gates. The snow was so deep that no one could move about. Shihábu'd-Dín took the right direction. Half a farsang from Kaṭighán a running stream appeared, on the banks of which was a village. The enemy were very numerous, and advanced to fight and skirmish; while as soon as the arrows of both armies were expended, another company of the people had recourse to swords and daggers. But we had encamped only one day's journey towards Kaṭighán, our arrows being entirely expended, our people burned and the Atábak Amínu'd-Dín, who [illegible] wounds in that fight, were Bágh Yarán Oghul, Kúshlú Bahádur, and Sawindi Mu'izzu'l-Mulk. My father enquired, with a view of ascertaining the hills of the country of Parwán, which [illegible] and Kaṭighán and Andijan. In those mountains are people whom they call Ghilzáis, and who at that time were great cattle-stealers. Nothing, however, they were exterminated by Muzaffar Alí Bakírí. But Khusrau Sháh had carried away all the

[1] Only two days' journey from Marw-ar-Rúd. He was afterwards defeated by Shihábu'd-Dín, and eventually fell into the hands of Shihábu'd-Dín, who beheaded him at Samarkand in 1201. (Dowlat's *Hist.*, p. 212.)

[illegible] the Ghilzáis with the name which until the appearance of the Afghans they bore, and separated them from [illegible] and [illegible] and [illegible] and

servants and retinue to Kunduz, where they spent the year as best they could.

Having reached this point in my narrative, if I omitted to give a short account of Shâhi Beg Khân, the chain of my history would not be continuous

CHAPTER VI.

HISTORY OF SHÂHI BEG KHÂN.

When the great judge and disposer of all things determines to exalt some mortal with the crown of sovereignty and make him illustrious, he so arranges that great warriors and intelligent councillors assemble round his person, who may defend him from his enemies and ill-wishers, and make all fortunate men blind and all attentive men deaf, so that father and son, brother and brother, are at enmity with one another. These words may serve as a preface to the story of Shâhi Beg Khân.

He was the son of Shâh Badágh Sultán, the son of Abulkhair Khân. After the death of Abulkhair Khán, disputes arose among those whom he had left behind. To such a length were those quarrels carried that each one went in a different direction, and thus all the men of noble lineage—the Sultâns and the Mirzâs—who were held in esteem by the people, were scattered. In this confusion, Shâhi Beg Khán, after much suffering and wandering, being driven to extremity by want, went to Mávará-un-Nahr, where Sultán Ahmad Mirzá, son of Sultán Abu Said Mirzá, was reigning. Sultán Ahmad Mirzá was a powerful king, and had a numerous Amirs of such dignity and pretensions that they aimed at having kings in their service. One of these Amirs was Amir Abdul-Ali Turkhán, Governor of Bokhárá. Shâhi Beg Khán became his vassal, and was entered as one of his retainers. In like manner several other Sultâns entered his service. From this circumstance, an estimate may be formed of the splendour and dignity of Sultán Ahmad Mirzá. As long as Sultán Ahmad Mirzá remained in the land of this life, Shâhi Beg Khán stayed in the service of Abdul-Ali Turkhán. The Mirzá and Abdul-Ali Turkhán died at about the same time, after which Shâhi Beg Khán went to Turkistán and sought the protection and favour of Sultán Mahmud Khán, who did not deny him what support and assistance lay in his power to give, till finally, by means of the aid afforded him by the Khán, Shâhi Beg Khán took possession of Samarkand and Bokhárá. Then the number of his troops rose from two or three hundred to 60,000,

or rather to 6,000. From the time of his going to Turkistán, by the help of Sultán Mahmúd Khán, his power had increased daily. All the Sultáns and Amírs, and the adherents of Abulkhair Khán, who had been wandering, aimlessly in the wastes of the Dasht-i-Kipchák, now joined him; and thus he arrived at power.

After the reduction of Samarkand and Bukhárá, he turned against his own benefactor. Thus was he protected and nearly the dependant. When news of this reached the ears of Áhchah Khán, he set out from Moghulistán to his brother's aid. The result as has been briefly related above was that he captured and set at liberty the Khán Mahmúd, and took from him as many of the Moghuls as was possible. Thus to his Uzbeg army there were added 30,000 Moghuls. {Vol. 8

Leaving Táshkand, he did not tarry long in Samarkand, but proceeded to ravage Ilák and to besiege Balkh (as has been mentioned). Having passed the winter of 909 (1503-4) in the siege of Balkh, he went, in the beginning of spring, to Samarkand, and remained a month or two in the open country *Sahra* round that town. He then turned his victorious arms against Andijan. The first year, when he captured the Khán, he did not trouble himself with Tambal or Andijan being fully occupied in settling the affairs of Táshkand. Moreover, before the conquest of that place, Shaikh Báyazíd had hastened hurriedly out to receive him, and had shown him signs of loyalty. Tambal also had professed him timely assurances of devotion, with all of which he showed himself contented and returned that same year. Having thus set his mind at rest with regard to the Moghuls and Táshkand, and having had an opportunity of learning an estimate of the Hisár and the Khorásán, he wished first of all to settle the question of Andijan and Tambal, that he might, with a clear mind, proceed with the reduction of Hisár and the extermination of Khusrau Shah, which was the first step towards the conquest of Khorásán.

When he reached Marghinán, which is one of the chief towns of Farghána, Tambal also joined all his forces in Farghána, and collected a force within the fort of Andijan. On this news being brought to Shibi Beg Khán, he and all his wisest advisers were agreed that this hanging to, or in one place of the troops of Tambal, only made the more pressing for them. With all speed, therefore, they hastened to Andijan and being sure that they should find him, prepared for it was resolved that Shibi Beg Khán should conduct the siege in person, while the rest of the Sultáns should ravage and spoil the country round, seizing the forts and men, and laying waste the whole region. The next year they would return to complete the work of devastation. But the hand of Fate seized Tambal by the collar and hastened him to his end. He came out of the fort saying: "Let us meet

them in the open field", and he led 10,000 men out of the walls. When Shâhi Beg Khân arrived Tambal, judging of the numerous from the dust they raised, retired. But before he could reach the fort, many of his men had fallen by the edge of the sword, and Tambal and his brothers, broken and terrified, crept into the citadel. It had been decided that that year they should lay waste his territories[1] and then return home, so that the enterprise should be easy the next year. He himself, however, went to meet his foe, and thus the undertaking, which was to have been accomplished the year following, was achieved in forty days. When Shâhi Beg Khân saw that the fugitives, in terror of their lives, had taken refuge in the fort, he resolved to shut them up and to push the siege vigorously forward.

After the defeat in Karâtegin my father crossed to the country of the Jagnâk.

The most surprising thing of all was that, although news had reached Tambal of the movements of Shâhi Beg Khân, instead of making preparations to withstand the advance of Shâhi Beg Khân, he went to attack my father in Jagnâk. The Jagnâk, allying themselves with my father, took up a strong position in the valley of Tunk Shâbân.[2] On the arrival of Tambal, fighting began and lasted continuously for three days. I have heard my father say "On the third day we had used every means in our power to hold our ground. When night fell we became very thoughtful and distressed wondering what would become of us if the enemy renewed the attack, for most of our active men had been killed or wounded, and there was no one left. How will it be with us tomorrow? But when day broke we were filled with astonishment and wonder, for on going up to the top of the hill, we saw the army hurrying away with all possible speed, in divisions and detachments. Our joy and gratification knew no bounds, and we immediately sent off some of those who were not wounded, or whose wounds were not mortal, to obtain information. One man was brought in. He said that at midnight some one had brought news to Tambal that Shâhi Beg Khân had reached Kund Bidâm, and on learning this, he had set on without delay. This news caused fresh life and immeasurable joy to spring up in us. We forthwith sent a messenger to Shâhi Beg Khân, to say that we had come to that country in great distress, owing to the confusion of times, that when news of the arrival of the Khân reached us it was as if life [*ján*] had come to us, whatever the royal mandate should lay upon us we were ready to perform. Our messenger

[1] That is the Uzbegs should lay waste Tambal's territories.

[2] See note 2, p. 165. From the position of Tegermân and Tokuz, it follows, I would appear that *Tunk Shâbân* was one of the valleys of the north slope of the Alai mountains. It could not have been to the south east of *Kund Bidâm*.

reached And on the second day of the siege I was immediately sent back to tell us that we were desired to hasten on without delay, and that everything we could hope for or desire would be done for us. We were very apprehensive, having no other place to go to, and deeming it the most advantageous plan for ourselves we set out with light hearts.

"When I came into the Khan's presence he showed me all honour and respect, and received me in the most friendly way, saying to all his Sultans and Amirs 'Muhammad Husain Kuki is our guest. I expect you all to entertain him as a guest.' And every day, while the siege was in progress, all the Sultáns and Amirs entertained us with feasts and banquets and showed us marked attention.

'On the morning of the forty-first day, Tambal mounted to the top, joined the towers and called out with a loud voice, 'I am a Mirzá, remember my services and do turn of community. Tell me what I should do [and I will do it.'" (Now Tambal was my mother's sister's son.) "My sister's husband Alí-Sháh had been very badly treated by him, it made my heart sad to see him in his evil plight, and I asked 'Why do you not strengthen the fortress?' Tambal replied: 'I cannot continue resistance; what is to be done?' I answered: 'The only hope for the helpless is surrender.' Ismá'íl Sultán was present. Tambal at once came out of the fort with his brothers. He came in confusion and alarm, and threw his arms round my neck. 'They [the Uzbegs] granted him no respite but that same day put them all to the sword. They then closed the gates of the fort, and would not allow any kind of plunder or spoil to be carried on."

That country was then given to Jání Beg Sultán, and Shádí Beg, accompanied by my father, marched his troops and encamped [illegible] days in readiness for operations, after which they set out to attack Khusrau Sháh. On reaching Hisár, they united their forces with Shamsh Chúra, a dependant of Khusrau Sháh. Sháh Beg Khán continued the siege in person, but after a few days Shamsh Chúra Beg, leaving quarter, and going on, surrounded the fort. The Khán, observing his position, left Sháh Beg. Shamsh stayed a while among the followers of the Khán, and many who had formerly been attached to him, now rejoined him.

It is not known how it came about, but the same day that the Khán went, personally, to lay siege to Hisár, he also sent a mandate to Mahmúd Sultán, ordering him to take many men from the army as he wanted, and to advance on Kunduz.

Khusrau Sháh for a long time past had been filling Kunduz with stores, provisions and treasure, and had proclaimed that he

[illegible] application [illegible]

had supplies enough to last him for twenty years. If all else should fail [he said] we shall, at least, be able to remain inside the fort for twenty years, dead or alive.

While he was busy with this warlike setting, news came that Sháhi Beg Khán was laying siege to Hisár, and that Mahmúd Sultán was crossing the River Amuya.[1] That same hour, abandoning all his stores he packed up whatever he could, and in the utmost confusion and disorder, set out for the hills, hoping there to find a refuge. A few days later Mahmúd Sultán entered Kunduz, where I myself happened to be, with my sisters and my younger brother. It has been stated already, that a marriage connection had been formed between my father and Sultánim Begum and after the above related circumstances, we were carried off to Kunduz. During our sojourn there, Sultánim Begum gave birth to a son, named Abdullah, whose history will be told in various connections. My father had accompanied Mahmúd Sultán, for the greatest intimacy existed between them. The reason for this was as follows. In his earlier days, Sháhi Beg Khán had made every possible effort to obtain supreme power, and was bound by no promises or agreements. Whenever an occasion offered he pushed his ambitious projects: if he was successful he would say "It was God's will"; if he failed he was always ready with a thousand excuses and pretexts. In this way, frequent misunderstandings arose between him and Sultán Mahmúd Khán. The wonder is that in every instance, his pretext, such as it was, should have been accepted. It would be tedious to enter here into the details of this matter, which will be given in the First Part *Tárikh-i-Asl*. I will, however, give one instance in this place. Sháhi Beg was then in Turkestán at the height of favour and prosperity, when Sultán Mahmúd Khán led an army against Tambal. After three days' march, in consequence of some untoward events (mentioned in the *Tárikh-i-Asl*) his projects were frustrated and he marched back again. All the Amirs who had come from beyond the frontiers to join the army, now returned and settled down again within their own territories.

[1] The ancient town of *Amuya* or *Amul* stood some three leagues from the left bank of the Oxus, on the road from Merv to Bokhara. According to Arab geographers followed by Spiegel the distance from Merv was calculated at 30 *farsakhs* and from Bukhara at 10 by one authority and 22 by another. The ferry crossed to *Farab* (Otrar) on the right bank, a name still extant in modern maps, as Charjui, which latter place, indeed, represents the ancient *Amuya*. The name of the river *Amu*—is said by some of the Arab writers to have been derived from that of the town but possibly it is a statement at all reversed. The Chinese travellers of the Mongol period called the river, *Amu* and *An-hu*. In the Turki MSS used for this translation by Mr. Ross, *Amul* is written where *Amuya* stands in the Persian. The position of the latter is not however, unfrequently in Turki renderings of foreign names as remarked by Klaproth above, as *Ursang* (See Spiegel, pp. 6 and 7, and map. Bruchstücke, i, p. 62.)

When news of the Khán's expedition reached Shâhi Beg Khán in Turkistán, he at once placed the foot of ambition in the stirrup of an opinion, and marched to attack Táshkand. The Sultán Mahmúd Sultán against Samárkand, which in old books is called Isbíjáb,[1] but while on his road he learnt that the Khán had returned. He instantly sent a messenger to say that his Highness had not cut to punish his rebellious vassal Tambal, while he had come to protect Táshkand, and the Khán's family and household. (Though except himself there was no one to hurt them.) Hearing of his Highness's return to his capital, he had also returned and, in effect, he did go back to Turkistán. He moreover despatched swift messengers to Mahmúd Sultán, enjoining him, likewise, to molest no place, but to return. But before the messengers could arrive, Mahmúd Sultán, supposing Samárkand to be unprotected, had begun to plunder. The Governor of Samárkand was Amír Ahmad, one of the Barlás Amírs, and uncle of Tambal, but unlike his nephew, he was a worthy man and a devoted servant to Sultán Mahmúd Khán. He went out to check Mahmúd Sultán, and the two forces met, when Mahmúd Sultán was seized and brought bound before the Khán. The Khán sent for my father, who, on his arrival, begged that the prisoner's life might be spared, whereon he Mahmúd was treated with great kindness and then allowed to depart. On this account a very close intimacy and warm friendship sprung up between my father and Mahmúd Sultán. He accompanied Mahmúd Sultán to Kunduz, and there caused us to rejoin his own party, thus my families and households arrived at Shahr-i Sabz as known which Shâh Beg Khán had given to my father as a fief. From the time of the return from Balkh to that now mentioned, only one spring had elapsed. At the beginning of the winter, Shâh Beg Khán set out against Khwárizm, which my father fled into Khorásán.

In this place, for the proper understanding of what followed it

[1] *Isbíjáb*, or *Asbíjáb*, is a name frequently employed by the early Arabian geographers. It has been thought by some to be written to old Iskander *Okhmaénd*, but it is a distinct site, and *Sabáh* is the classical representative. The present *Sabáh* is only seven or eight miles distant from *Okhmaénd*; but Sir H. Yule gives reasons for believing that the town that remembered by until after the time of Timúr was the district now called Hazár Asbíjáb, or the Thousand Asbíjábs, which Rashíd-ud-Dín speaks of as much greater in extent and size than *Kand-i-Kalán* or *Talas*. Sir H. Yule does not mention the date to which Rashíd-ud-Dín refers, and the book he quotes is, I regret to say, not accessible to me. It, however, likely was ancient in Rashíd-ud-Dín's time (end of thirteenth century), it is not unlikely that the modern Sabáh may have come into existence at the time of Mírzá Haidar's history. The distance between the Sabáh and Alif-Art (which, as we have seen, was near the site of Turáz) is said only to be 110 *lis*, or about five or six miles in that country. Thus Hazár Asbíjáb lay two marches westward of Turáz, the distance between it and the new would not be great. (See Yule's *Cathay*, p. xxx; Ker's *Travels*, i., p. 2[illegible])

will be necessary to give some account of Bábar Pádisháh and Sultán Said Khán. Some further details will, God willing, be given in the next Part.

CHAPTER VII.

BIRTH AND EARLY AGE OF BÁBAR PÁDISHÁH: HIS CONNECTION WITH THE MOGHULS; AND PERSIAN HISTORY.

Till existed anciently, between the Chaghatái and the Moghuls, a long enmity. Moreover from the time of Amír Timur till that of Sultán Abu Said Mirzá some one of the race of Chaghatái Khán, son of Chingiz Khán had always been placed on the royal throne, and was honoured with the title of King, in spite of the fact that he was in reality a prisoner, as commonly gathered from the royal mandates. When it came to the turn of Sultán Abu Said Mirzá to reign this king discarded the old custom, Yunus Khán was summoned from Shiráz, and was set on a Moghul in order to oppose him by his Isán Bughá Khán. But in this history there is no space for an account of the removal of the Khán from Shiráz of the Khánship of Isán Bughá Khán out of the reign of Sultán Abu Said Mirzá.[1]

To this Sultán Abu Said Mirzá said to Yunus Khán "The old order of things has been changed; you must now lay aside all your former pretensions, that is to say, the royal mandates will be issued in the name of this dynasty *tabaka*, and henceforth there must be friendship between us, and a bond of union."

When Yunus Khán came to Moghulistán, he, after thirty years of hardship and suffering, got the upper hand of Isán Bughá Khan, as will be briefly related in connection with the history of Sultán Said Khán and Mirza Alá Bakr.

The noble mind of Yunus Khán was thus set at rest, Sultán Abu Said Mirzá changed an old enemy into a new friend. Yunus Khan was desirous of making a return for his kindness, and said to himself: "Perhaps in the same way that he has changed an old enemy into a new friend, I will change a friend in relation." To this end, he gave to the three sons of Mirzá Sultán Abu Said (namely, Sultán Ahmad Mirzá, Sultán Mahmud Mirzá, and Omar Shaikh Mirzá) three of his daughters in marriage; the names of

[1] The [illegible] facts regarding Yunus' exile in Persia have been noticed at pp. 71 and 81-5 while some remarks concerning the Khánship of Isán Bughá Khán will be found in the Introduction, Section

those three daughters being, Mihr Nigár Khánim, Sultán Nigár Khánim, and Sultán Nigár Khánim (These have all been already mentioned).

As Farghána the country of Omar Shaikh was situated on the borders of Moghulistán, Yunus Khán became more intimate and friendly with him than with other of his brothers: indeed the Khán made no distinction between him and his own children, and whenever they pleased they used to come and go between each others countries and residences, demanding no ceremony, but being satisfied with whatever was at hand.

On the occasion of the birth of Bábar Pádisháh, a messenger was sent to bear the good tidings to Yunus Khán who came from Moghulistán and spent some time with Omar Shaikh. When the child's head was shaved, everyone gave feasts and entertainments. Never were two kings known to be on such terms of intimacy as were Yunus Khán and Omar Shaikh Mirzá. In short, the Pádisháh was born on the 6th of Muharram of the year 888. Maulánà Munir Mughhulá, one of the Ulamás of Ulugh Beg Mirzá, discovered the date in the numerical value of the letters of *Shash Muharram*. They begged his Holiness to choose a name for the child, and he blessed him with the name of Zahir-ud-Din Muhammad.

At that time the Chaghatái were very rude and unpolished [*buzurg*] and not refined [*bázár*] as they are now, thus they found Zahir-ud-Din Muhammad difficult to pronounce, and for this reason gave him the name of Bábar. In the public prayers *Khutba* and in royal mandates he is always styled 'Zahir-ud-Din Babar Muhammad, but he is best known by the name of Bábar Pádisháh. His genealogy is as follows: Omar Shaikh Kurkán, son of Sultán Abu Said Kurkán, son of Sultán Muhammad Mirzá, son of Mirzá Shah Mirzá, son of Amir Timur Kurkán. And on the mother's side: Kutluk Nigár Khánim, daughter of Yunus Khán, son of Vais Khán, son of Shir Ali Ká'a, son of Muhammad Khán, son of Khizr Khwája Khán son of Tughluk Timur Khán. This prince was adorned with many virtues, and clad with numberless good qualities, above all of which bravery and humanity had the ascendant. In the composition of Turki poetry he was second only to Amir Ali Shir. His best written *Diwán*, in the purest and most lucid Turki. He invented a style of verse called "Mubaiyan," and was the author of a most useful treatise on Turki prosody, which has been adopted generally. He also wrote a tract on Turki Prosody, superior in elegance to any other, and put into verse the *Risala-i-Válidiyyah* of his Holiness. Then there is his "*Wáki'át*" or Turki History, which is written in a simple,

The Memoirs of Babar. It is interesting to note that about ten years after Babar's death, his Memoirs were in the hands of Mirza Haidar. Babar died

unaffected, and yet very pure style. (Some of the stories from that work will be reproduced here.) He excelled in music and other arts. In fact, no one in his family before him ever possessed such talents as his. Nor did any of his race ever perform such wonderful exploits, or experience such strange adventures, as did he. He was twelve years of age when his father, Omar Shaikh Mirzá, died. In his *Vaká'i*, which, though in Turki, is written in very elegant and florid style, he says: "On Monday, the 4th of Ramazán, Omar Shaikh Mirzá having flown from the top of the precipice with his pigeon and his pigeon-house, became a falcon, at the age of thirty-nine."[1] This occurred in the year 899, and after his father's death Bábar Pádisháh was raised to the throne, being, at that time, twelve years of age. There was so much dissension between Báisanghar Mirzá and Sultán Ali Mirzá (the sons of Sultán Mahmud, son of Sultán Abu Said),[2] that neither of them had strength enough to protect Samarkand. When information of this [state of affairs reached Andiján, the Emperor set out to attack Samarkand. Although the Mirzás had become very weak, they offered him stout resistance, but finally, Báisanghar having no power left, abandoned the town and fled towards Mastúr, where he was put to death by Khusrau Sháh (as already mentioned). The Emperor took Samarkand, and quartered in it as many of the troops of Andijún as was possible, while the rest returned to Andijún, some with his permission, some without.

On the arrival of Tambal, of whom we have spoken, he in conjunction with some other Amirs, set Jahángir Mirzá, younger brother of the Emperor, upon the throne.

The Chief Judge *Kázi* of Andijún, a very pious and religious man, who had done everything in his power to forward the

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in 987 A.H. (A.D. 1579-80) as Mirzá Haidar was in Kashgar from about 943 to 947. It was probably at this time, therefore, that he acquired a copy of his cousin's Memoirs. The pity is that he says nothing to enlighten us regarding the gaps, or lost chapters in the Memoirs.

[1] Thus, in his Memoirs, describes his father's death. After mentioning that Akhsi, where Omar Shaikh lived, "is situated on a steep precipice, on the very edge of which are erected buildings and raised," he continues, according to Erskine's translation (p. 7): "Omar Shaikh Mirzá was precipitated from the top of the steep with his pigeons and pigeon-house and took his flight to the other world." In Pavet de Courteille's translation from the Turki, the language stumbles: "Se changea en faucon" (i. p. 11). The allusion to a 'falcon' in this connection, I cannot explain.

[2] In the very detailed table of the descendants of Timur, given by Prof. Blochmann, in Vol. I. of the *Ain-i-Akbari*, the name of Sultan Ali does not appear among those of Sultan Mahmud Mirzá. Only three sons are entered here—viz., Baisanghar Mirzá, Masud Mirzá and Khan Mirzá, but we know that the last of these had also another name—that of Sultan Vais Mirzá, which does not appear in Prof. Blochmann's table. It is possible, therefore, that Ali may have been a second name for one of the two other brothers, but as this is merely a conjecture I have added the name of Ali to the abbreviated table of Timur attached to this volume. (See note, p. 204.)

Emperor's interests, was wantonly put to death. A short time before the murder of the Kázi, the adherents of the Emperor had strengthened and defended the fort of Andiján, and had sent letters of entreaty [to the Emperor], representing that if he did not come quickly, Andijan would fall, and that after it Samarkand would also succumb. On receiving those letters the Emperor left Samarkand, and set out for Andijan. On reaching Khujand, however, news was brought him that the enemy had won the day. The Emperor, having left one place, and lost the other, was greatly perplexed, and betook himself to his uncle, Sultán Mahmud Khán

The Emperor's mother, and her mother, Ishán Daulat Begum, went to their son and sister This sister was my mother. On this account the Emperor, also, stayed in our country. His hosts exerted themselves to the utmost on his behalf, and after many severe hardships, after many victories and defeats the Emperor once more became ruler of Samarkand. He fought many battles with rival claimants for Samarkand, and experienced both victory and defeat. At length he was besieged, and when all his power of resistance had gone, he gave his sister, Khánzáda Begum, to Shaibi Beg Khán, and making some kind of treaty, left Samarkand, which thus fell again into the hands of Shaibi Beg Khan It would be very tedious were I to relate all the details; however, to be brief, the Emperor [again] repaired to his uncle. Having given up all idea of [regaining] Samarkand, he determined to secure Andijan. The Khans also, having bound the girdle of endeavour round the waist of fatherly love, exerted themselves to the utmost to take Andijan, that they might give it to the Emperor, with the result which has been mentioned above After the last battle, in which the Khans fell into the hands of Shaibi Beg Khan, the Emperor fled to the hills on the south of the country of Badakhsha, where he underwent many hardships and immmerable misfortunes. Moreover, his mother was with him, as were also most of his servants, together with the family and children. In that journey (and verily, as the sayeth himself and, "Travelling, is a foretaste of Hell") they all suffered great hardships and with difficulty reached, at length, the territory of Hisar, which is the capital of Khusrau Shah, hoping that they might participate in the humanity for which he was renowned. But he, like the heavens, changed, and exerting the face of compassion, turned the back of unkindness towards that master of benevolence. But beyond this he did not do them any injury. And thus, in the same state of dejection, affliction, apprehension, and evasion, they passed on towards Ghuri and Baklán. When they reached this quarter, the back of their strength being broken, and the foot of vigour being bound, they tarried for a few days

How often on misfortune is there a hidden blessing. Although waiting in that place was a cause of great affliction to them, it turned out most providentially, and in a way which the most farsighted person could not have foreseen. For at this very crisis, the advance of the standards of Shâh Beg Khán on Hisár, and the approach towards Kundúz of the diminished Mahmúd Sultán, caused the fleeting Khusrau Shâh to desert his kingdom, as has been related above. He, accordingly, fled to the hills of Ghúrí, and on his arrival there, learnt that the Emperor was still among the mountains. That same night his servants and retinue, both great and small, from the Mír to the groom, all flocked to the court of the Emperor. Khusrau Shâh saw nothing left for it but to hasten also to offer his services. Yet this man had put out the eyes of one of the Emperor's cousins, Sultán Masúd Mírzá, and had brought Masúd's brother, Bísanghar Mírzá, to the bier after having raised him to the throne; also, at the time when the Emperor had arrived on his frontier, he had, with extreme harshness, ordered him to quit the country.

Moreover, Mírzá Khán, a younger brother of the unfilly-fronted Mírzás, whose father and mother were both closely connected with the Emperor's father and mother, had shared in all the Emperor's sufferings and trials in the mountains and was at all times with him. When Khusrau Shâh arrived in the Emperor's presence, Mírzá Khán petitioned that he might be put to death, by way of retaliation for his treatment of his [Mírzá Khán's two brothers. The Emperor, whose natural disposition was a humane one, said to Mírzá Khán: "It would be a pity, a thousand pities, to compare two good angels with this devil of a king, and to such purpose did he pierce the pearls of love with the diamond of misery, that at last he caused Mírzá Khán to desist from his demand and be satisfied. When Khusrau Shâh looked upon the Emperor and Mírzá Khán, the forehead of his folly began to sweat with the perspiration of shame, but the Emperor wiped it clean with the sleeve of forgiveness and the skirt of pardon. When the audience was terminated, the Emperor commanded the treasurers to take back all the property, treasure, horses etc., which they had brought to him, just as they were, although he had only one horse suitable to his rank, and that was used also by his mother. From this an idea may be formed of what necessaries [he had at his command]. He ordered that none of [Khusrau's] effects should be confiscated. Although the Emperor was very needy, he would not take any of the presents, but gave him back all his arms and treasures mentioned, and declined all that was offered. This is one trait out of a thousand, in the Emperor's character. Khusrau Shâh, having obtained permission to go to Khorásán, separated from the Emperor, and proceeded to his destination. It is astonishing that, with such a force as

he had, he did not attempt to defend his own State. Having got some help from Khorásán, he went and attacked Kunduz, where he was put to death without much ado. Verily the murder of a master, or a guest's son, is a [illegible]

The Emperor, in one night, became master of 20,000 men, together with great Amirs, such as Bíki Chaghániáni,[1] Sultán Ahmad Karául, Báki Nila Furush and others, who took office under him.

[Having made the necessary preparations] they set out against Kábul. After the death of the Emperor's uncle, Ulugh Beg Mirzá of Kábul, Muzam, son of Zunnun[2] Arghun, one of the Mirzás of Sultán Husain, had taken possession of Kábul. Immediately on the arrival of the Emperor, he went out to oppose him, but seeing the enemy's superior numbers he fled back and prepared to defend himself in the fort of Kábul. At length, being unable to hold out, he begged for quarter and surrendered the fort. Faithful to his agreement the Emperor allowed him to proceed to Kandahár, with all his effects and followers. From that date, 909, to the present date, 948, Kábul has remained in the hands of the Emperor and his descendants.

Having brought down my history to this point it is time to turn to the proceedings of Sultán Said Khán; also to those of my father, of his journey to Khorásán, and of his relations with the Emperor. The first part will be given briefly and the latter part in detail.

CHAPTER VIII.

BEGINNING OF THE STORY OF SULTÁN SAID KHÁN, SON OF SULTÁN AHMAD KHÁN, SON OF SULTÁN YUNUS KHÁN, AND THE SUFFERINGS AND HARDSHIPS HE UNDERWENT AT THE OUTSET OF HIS CAREER.

[More fully was also somewhat lengthy dissertation on the advantages of misfortune, in to which was introduced an anecdote in verse concerning Moses, taken from the "*Salsalat-uz-Zahab*" or 'Golden

[1] The text reads differently. The Turki MS. has *Kálghán Ohighátái* in the place of Báki Chaghániáni. The latter name, however, is certainly correct as is evident from reference to Babur's memoirs (pp. 128, *seq.*), where these functions are set forth. Báki of Chaghániáni was a young grandson of Khusrau Shah, and is described by Babur as "a man of much weight." The valley of *Chaghániáni*, it may be remarked, was situated on the middle and upper courses of the Surkhán and Kilrud rivers. The name is now obsolete.

[2] Usually written *Zulnun*. For an account of his life and lineage, see Erskine's *History*, i, pp. 202 *seqq.*

Chain" of Abd-urrahman Jami, and also an account, in prose, of the Education of Nushirivín the Just. Wherever in this Epitome *the Khán*, in the absolute sense, is mentioned, Sultán Said Khán is meant.[1] This Khán had many wonderful adventures. As one of the chief objects of this Epitome is to set forth the virtue and ability of the Khán, I shall enter into detail.

His most noble lineage has already been given. From the time of his birth to the age of fourteen, he spent his days under the fond care and kind protection of his father. When he reached the age of fourteen, his father, Sultán Ahmad Khán, better known as Áhícha, wished to go to the assistance of his elder brother, Sultán Mahmud Khán. He therefore appointed his eldest son, Mansur Khán, to fill his place on the throne, and took with him to *Táshkand, two sons who were younger than Mansur Khán*, namely, Sultán Said Khán and Bábájúk Sultán. The Khan was with his father at the battle of Akhsi, in which the Kháns were captured, as has been mentioned. When the army was thrown into disorder and every man was trying to save his own life, the Khán also took flight, but at that moment he was struck in the thigh by an arrow, which, piercing his armour, struck the bone. As his father's army was routed he had no means of escape. Some men of the district captured him, and as he was, at the time, unable to walk, they refrained from carrying him as a present to anybody, but took care of him for a few days.

Sháhi Beg Khán returned in haste to settle his affairs in Táshkand. By the time the Khán had recovered his strength, Shaikh Báyazíd had taken upon himself the government of Akhsi. The Khán, as soon as he was sufficiently recovered to be moved, was brought before him, and by his orders was thrown into prison, where he remained a whole year.

When Sháhi Beg Khán arrived in Táshkand he seized and put to death Tambal, and gave the government of Andijan to *Jání Beg Sultán*. When his latter came to Akhsi, the Khán was brought before him. *Jání Beg Sultán recommended him to the favour of* Sháhi Beg Khán, who received him with compassion, kept him in his father's care, and denied him nothing. He, moreover, took the Khán with him on the expedition in which he conquered Hisár and Kunduz.

I have heard the Khán relate, in terms of wonder and admiration, that when Sháhi Beg Khán had conquered Hisár, news was brought of the taking of Kunduz by Mahmud Sultán. Sháhi Beg Khan, having entrusted Hisár to Hamza Sultán and Chaghánián to

[1] It is to be regretted that the author does not carry out his intention in this matter. In many places he forgets himself, and calls either Khán "*the Khan*," thereby causing some confusion. To make matters clear I have usually had to insert the full name on these occasions.

Mahdi Sultán,[1] set out quietly on his return. "As the pass of Darband-i-Alamán [The Iron Gate] was very difficult continued the Khán, and as the army was much burdened with booty, they made this journey, *finákh* after *finákh*, by way of Buya and Tirmiz. While the victorious army was encamped at Buya, I was sitting once, at midday, in the royal tent *majlis*. The hour for the assembly had not yet arrived, and only a few of the king's intimates were present, when somebody with a terrified countenance and wild appearance came in great haste, and laid a letter at the foot of the royal throne. As Shíbi Beg perused the contents of this letter a great change came over him, and before he had finished reading it, he rose up and went in to his haram, giving orders for his horse to be brought. He remained for some time in the haram; but after midday prayers came out again and mounted his horse. He was attended by a great number of people. Then it was made known that Mahmúd Sultán had died a natural death in Kunduz, and that his body was on the way to the camp. When Shíbi Beg Khán had got some distance away, we saw a great crowd in pitch-black clothes, such as captives wear. Having placed the bier upon the ground, they drew up in two lines behind it. When [Shíbi Beg Khán] saw this, he made a sign for all the Sultáns and others to dismount and follow in his train. These, having obeyed, began to raise cries of grief and lamentation, and we, in the camp, also commenced to utter moans and wailings. When those attending the bier approached, he ordered all who were with him to draw up in a line, while he himself rode forward until his horse's head was just above the bier; he then gave a sign for everyone to keep silence, and thereupon those who were with him ceased from sounding their kettle-drums and tuning their bands. He then called one of the Amirs of Mahmúd Sultán, and said to him such things as are usual on occasions of condolence. After this he remained silent for a while, never showing the slightest change in his countenance, nor shedding a tear. At the end of an hour he raised his head and said: 'The death of Mahmúd is a good thing: men have been wont to say that the power of Shíbi Beg Khán was upheld by Mahmúd. Let it now be known that Shíbi Beg Khán was in no way whatever dependent upon Mahmúd. Carry him away now, and bury him.' Having said this, he turned away, and all present were astounded at his boldness and composure."

The death of Mahmúd Sultán was a great loss to the Moghuls, for he was, in every respect, a thorough Moghul [and they recalled all he had done for them].

[1] These two Uzbeg chiefs had for many years in Bábar's service, but had deserted him to join his enemy Shíbi Beg. Afterwards at the battle of the Iron Gate (916 A.H. = 1510 A.D.—after Shíbi Beg's death) they fell into Bábar's hands and were put to death. (Erskine, *Hist.*, i., pp. 115 and 116.)

When Sháhi Beg Khán reached Samarkand, Sháh Begum arrived from Moghulistán. The details are briefly these: Sháh Begum was the mother of the Chíns, was daughter of Sháh Sultán Mahmud, King of Badakhshán, and of the race of Iskandar Zulkarnain. She had accompanied her son Sultan Mahmud Khán, into Moghulistán But those base advisers, of whom I have already spoken, provoked a quarrel between the mother and her son—a [illegible] who had been so obedient to her, that he had never even mounted for years without her permission Between these two, they contrived to raise the dust of vexation and wrath For they—cunning, advisers that they were—decided to send Sháh Begum to Sháhi Beg Khán to solicit a country for herself, because she found living in Moghulistán distasteful. Such was the impracticable mission upon which they sent Sháh Begum Now, as the Begum was a very sensible woman, she went under this pretext and thus left her son, before those base advisers could bring about an open rupture, which would cause end ess scandal and reproach to herself. The rumour was that she had gone on entreat [Sháhi Beg Khán], while she was [in reality] in Samarkand enjoying the company of her children.

At this same time [Sháhi Beg Khán] led an army into Khwárizm, and my father fled to Khorásán, as shall be presently related.

The Khán told me: "After the Mirzá's flight we were so overcome with apprehension, that sixteen of us having banded *together, we fled from Samarkand, and journeyed by way of Khutak* and Kará Puki to Sairám. Thence we went on to Moghulistán by way of Uzun Ahmad, and arrived at Haft Doh, which is better known [illegible] Yailaud,[1] where Sultán Mahmud Khán was living at

[1] This name has occurred several times already (see pp 87 and note, 180 etc.) but is beset with subject to texts so many different readings such as *Batlaud, Banlaud, Yaud and, etc.*, etc. Here at last, we have in the Persian translation of it which the author himself gives us *Haft-Doh*, a distinct guide to *Yailaud*, the Turki (as Haft Doh is the Persian) equivalent for seven villages or seven towns. But though he has thus fixed the name for his own time, he still leaves the question in the dark as to the position of *Yailaud* In the passage under review he appears to regard it as lying within Moghulistan—and probably at some distance within it—for *Sairam* (either old or new, see note, p. 71) must have been on the frontier, and he mentions *Uzun Ahmad* (explained as long grass, see below) as situated on the road between the two As the party had direct from Samarkand set for the south-west they were proceeding totally towards no point south of *Sairam* We have, therefore, to look for *Yailaud*, according to the indication of this passage, somewhere to the east or north-east of *Sairam* But at p 87 the author says *Yailaud* was on the confines or in the territory, or even suburbs of *Andijan* (or rather Andijan) and he appears always to mean the *town or district of Andijan* alone when he uses that name, and not the *province* to which the town belonged The latter he always speaks of as *Farghána* Thus, according to this indication *Yailaud* would have to be sought to the south or south-east of *Sairam* In modern times the province of *Farghána* came to be called *Andijan* and the only solution of the first puzzle which I can suggest is that perhaps Mirza Haidar, in one instance, has also used

the time." It has been already related that after the death of Sultán Ahmad Khán, Sultán Mahmúd Khán came into Moghulistán. The latter was a weakly prince and very lax and careless in the affairs of State.

Now Moghulistán is a country which does not admit of any such negligence and callousness in its administration, and for this reason Sultán Mahmúd Khán was not able to remain here long, but came, with a desire to live a civilised life, to Yatkand, where there is indeed some cultivation. When he had been there a short time, the Khán went and attached himself to his uncle, Sultán Mahmúd Khán. The Khán passed [illegible] time in the service of his uncle, but he was an energetic and enterprising man, and being unable to endure the negligence and indolence of his uncle, he fled from his court. Sultán Mahmúd Khán sent a party after him to bring him back. After three days' march he was overtaken, when a fight ensued. In the heat of the action, [illegible]ortáh Maksúd Alí, one of the courtiers of Sultán Mahmúd Khán (and a man skilled in instrumental music and singing), displayed great valour, and the Khán seeing that the brunt of the battle was supported by him, came up to attack him. Thereupon Maksúd Alí turned and fled, but while retreating faced round and shot an

Shahjan could not be approved. Further on I have made the translation "war in heart" and "in the mines' working which, at any rate, [illegible] suit with Moghulistán. I have suggested a capital, *Vatkand*, a *Hajji-Tarkh* would have stood probably in the south-western extremity of Moghulistan, and on the northern slopes of the range which forms the limit of every [illegible] of the Ilak-Tarkh, and there are [illegible] of the Ilak-Tarkhs, and [illegible] Vatkand. When (see p. 181) the author speaks of the Khán passing from *Vatkand* to Mogulistán to visit Isháq Khán Kalán, there will be no need to read Kalán as that of the King's envoy, and the Kaghazlik [illegible] Moghulistan [illegible] passage may read: "went [illegible] into Moghulistán."

It was now a struggle that would last [illegible] fixing the position of *Vatkand* [illegible] was evidently, about the period in question, quite of secondary importance. It may be worth while to remark that its identification has been somewhat embarrassed by [illegible] application, on Arrowsmith's map of 1878, of the word *Ittkent* to a district of Kuráma, in the angle formed by the Sháh-rúd and *Khujand*. I do not know on what authority the name, so located, rests. The district in question is practically full of [illegible] *Kurá* names, all [illegible] hills, and almost exactly opposite *Khujand*. In fact, however this *Ittkent* of our history cannot be sought. It is, in fact, no first place, a quarter which lay at the foot or on the slopes of Moghulistan where [illegible], no traveller making for it from Samarkand could have taken Sairam and the *Illák* pass directly. Arrowsmith must have belonged rather to the province of *Shásh* (or *Tashkand*) or to *Farghana*; and was in search of [illegible] densely-populated and highly-cultivated parts of Central Asia which should not have been on the route with *Vatkand*, as is evident from the narrative. As regards *Uzun-Ahmad*, Kostenko in his itineraries, mentions a stream of that name in the mountains between the *Ilak-Tash* pass and *Kalmák-tiga*, more than 100 miles in a direct line to the south-east of Auliá-Ata (Talas), and consequently too far in that direction to suit the narrative, or to point in any way towards Sairam, old or new. (See *Turkistan*, ii., pp. 58–9.)

Kara Tugai is very possibly to be identified with the Kara Bougir Tugai of the accompanying map—one of the numerous "Tugai" [illegible] the [illegible]

arrow, which struck the Khán in the left shoulder. The collar-bone was broken, and passing under his left shoulder blade the arrow reached his right shoulder blade. [In this state the Khán tried to overtake Maksud Ali], *but in spite of his efforts, his hand* would not wield the sword, and his enemy got away in safety. The Khán then turned back [from the pursuit]. His wound proved very serious, and during two years he was deprived of the use of his right eye and his right arm.

Later in the day Maksud Ali fell into the hands of one of the Khán's men, who thought to himself, if I bring him alive to the Khán, that he may put him to death with his own hands, he will be more grateful to me [than if I bring him dead]. So he took him alive before the Khán. But the Khán, assuming a cheerful air, called to him and said "I am glad you have fallen into my hands. I was sorry [for what had happened]." And although he had only one garment by him, he gave it him, together with a present of some horses, and kept him in Moghulistán to the end of his days, always looking on him with the eye of favour.

The Khán's generosity was quite unbounded. Other examples will be given in their proper places. In short, after being wounded and enduring great hardships he joined his brother Sultán Khalil Sultán. This latter, after the death of his father, had fled from Mansur Khán into Moghulistán, and had joined the Kirghiz who are the "wild horse" of that country. They made him their chief. He remained some time with his brother, but finally war broke out between them on his account, and Sultán Mahmud Khán, in alliance with Mansur Khán, and to other, which led to victories and defeats, struggles and conflicts, and great and wonderful battles. In those fights such wounds were inflicted, that no reasonable person would consider them capable of being cured. But the details are not worth describing. Those hostilities continued from 910 to 914, when Sultán Mahmud Khán, being hard pressed by his nephews and the people of Moghulistán, went over to Shahi Beg Khán (as has been related). Mansur Khán then attacked his two brothers, Sultán Said Khán and Sultán Khalil Sultán, who had remained in Moghulistán. They, for their part, met him in the open field at Almáty,[1] one of the most celebrated places in Moghulistán, when after a hard fought battle the Sultáns were worsted.

Sultán Khalil Sultán all his prospects of success in Moghulistán being, that end, followed his uncle [Mahmud], in the hope that

[1] *This place stood on the Almaty tributary of the river Ili. The name, though usually written Almaty, was still in use for the modern Russian fort and town of Verny which was built in 1854, on the banks of a small river, called by the Kirghiz Almaty. The name is derived by Mr Schuyler says, from the abundance of apples (in Turki, alma) which grow in the neighbourhood (Schuyler, ii., p. 81; Schuyler, ii, p. 146).*

Sháhi Beg Khán had received the latter kindly; and when he reached Akhs, Jání Beg Khán having seized [him] delivered him to my uncle Sayyid Muhammad Mirzá, Sultán Ali Mirzá Begjik and Pulad Bághátur, with the order that he should be drowned in the river Chuy, being obliged to obey his order, drowned the unfortunate Sultán in the river of Akhsi. I will be mentioned later, how the Khán, a short time after this event heaped favours and promotion upon those men whose brother he had murdered.

When the Khán escaped from the field of battle, he was accompanied by about fifty men with their cattle and followers all in great want. Broken and discomfited, they came from Almátu to Dulán (about fifteen days' march at a medium pace). On arriving there, they began to grow less afraid of the enemy. That same day, they came across a man whom they seized and interrogated. He informed them that at Uzuk, which was distant about three days' march, at an even pace, there was encamped a body of the tribe of Bahrin, who intended to go to Káshghar and seek the protection of Mirzá Abú Bakr. "And I," he added, "have fled, and am on my way to join the Kirghiz." They then all sat down and held a consultation. Some suggested that the Khán should himself go and mix with that tribe, hoping by that means he would obtain a little help from them. And Khwája Ali Bahádur, in particular, urged this plan (for he was himself of the tribe of Bahrin), and he was, moreover, a bold and daring man, and an unrivalled archer. When the Khán fled from Samarkand and entered the service of his noble uncle Sultán Mahmud Khán, Khwája Ali Bahádur was in Yatikand, in the service of one of the officers of Sultán Mahmud Khán. When the Khán arrived, he entered his uncle's service with the greatest eagerness. On the occasion of the Khán's flight when he received the arrow-wound from Mirzá Ali, the musician, Khwája Ali Bahádur, had displayed great valour in the contest, and had shown proofs of singular daring, which did not escape the notice of the Khán, who from that day forward, bestowed on him his special protection and favour. In all the battles that took place in Moghulistán, he usually distinguished himself by his heroic acts. But besides his bravery and prowess, he was also noted for his sagacity, intelligence, and perception; wherefore at that time most of the Khán's affairs were submitted to him for decision.

Now as he was strongly in favour of the proposed plan, [while all the rest objected to it] Khwája Ali represented that if the Khán went with a body of men, [the Bahrin] would be frightened, and think he had come to attack them. It was impossible to drive those ridiculous ideas out of their minds, which had become a prey to the whisperings of devils, and it seemed that a new cause of dissension and violence would arise. [The Khwája thought the

wisest plan [redacted] that he, in preference to any of the other followers, should be selected to accompany the Khán. He suggested that they should remain where they were for five days to see if they would approve of his going. If, then their minds could be pacified and their vain fears and foolish ideas be changed to good faith and confidence—well and good. "If not," said he, "let us all go, as quickly as possible, and make common cause with [the Khán]."[1]

This suggestion was approved and the Khán and Khwája Ali set out together. They made a three days' journey, passing only one night on the road, and arrived at their destination at breakfast time.

When those dastardly men heard of their arrival, they came with unbounded impudence before him, not observing any of those marks of respect which are customary among the Moghuls. Then Khwája Ali addressing them said: "All adventurous persons who have obtained their desires, have watched for a favourable opportunity to seize with both hands the skirts of men of power." While his words were yet unfinished, they cried out: "Down with this babbler of idle words! What use has a Khán for a hundred households? We have nothing to offer him." So saying they drove the Khán back to his friends, and seized Khwája Ali, they took away the led horse of the Khán, which he was holding, and threw its bridle towards the Khán. On seizing Khwája Ali, they carried him off to their tents.

The Khán, in alarm for his life, fled back with all speed, fearing lest they might take him and deliver him into the hands of Ali Baki. Being terrified at this idea, he hastened to rejoin his men, looking round him on all sides as he went [to see whether he was being pursued].

Once, when the Khán was relating this story, I asked him: "Did you not dread [the thought of] solitude and desolation?" He replied: "Not so very much, for I had once before been left alone in Moghulistán, and had spent some days in solitude, in the same way, but afterwards joined my people again."

When he had gone a short way, he perceived something black in the distance; whereupon he withdrew to a secluded spot and, fastening his led horse there, stood waiting in ambush. He soon discovered that it was a man, and waited till he came near; then, placing an arrow [in readiness] in his bow, he leapt out of his ambush upon the new-comer, who had no time to get away, but threw himself in terror from his horse. The Khán then recognised that this [redacted] was the slave who had fled to the Kirghiz from his own party, who had been captured at Dulán, and had given in-

[1] The texts here are very confused, and the meaning of the whole paragraph (beginning with the words: "Now as he was strongly . . .") is in some degree uncertain. Some passages of it are not contained in the Turki MS.—R.

formation of [the presence of those distrustful people the Bahrám]. He, on his part, recognised the Khán, and kissed his stirrup.

The Khán asked him for news of his men, and where they were now encamped. The man replied, "When you went away with Khwája Ali Bahádur, a dispute arose among your men. It came about in this way. Someone said: 'Last night I happened to be near the Khán's tent, when I heard Khwája Ali Bahádur say to the Khán, Our people are in a very broken condition [and there is no hing to be done with them]; they have hardly anything left; but our opponents have cattle and property in abundance, because every one of [the Khán's] dependants is either a Mír or a Mírzáda, and wishes to have power and precedence over others, which they cannot possibly obtain. Moreover, we cannot attain any object or carry out any scheme by means of such people. It will be best for us, therefore, for the reasons I have given, to separate from these men and to go and join the other side. Let these people go whatever they choose, while we avail ourselves in every possible way of the services of our opponents. And with this plan the Khán will be greatly pleased. [I tell you] the Khán does not intend to return.'

"At these words the people became very despondent and grieved; and each one, learning whatever plan seemed best to himself, they split up into factions. One party under the leadership of Ushku Mahmúd Mírzá, Sháh Malik and Yúkul Bahádur, set out for Tunján, the capital of Mansúr Khán. Another division under Kará Kulák, took the road to Andijún, in the hope that the Khans who had proceeded there had been well received by Shaibání Beg Khán. And a third division, under the direction of Khush Guldi Kukildásh and Aziz Birdi Aghá, resolved to go to the court of Mírzá Alí Jalair in Káshghar. Thus did they divide themselves into different parties."

The Khán used always to say, "When I learnt these facts, I was filled with amazement and alarm. Dismay took possession of my mind. I asked him how many days ago this had happened, he replied that on the particular day he had left them the discussion had taken place, and they had separated.

"I then dismounted and for a while remained buried in thought. At length I resolved to leave my horse in the impenetrable jungles of Nínu, and myself to be in ambush for antelopes, and when I had killed them, to eat their flesh and to clothe myself with their skins, thus I would spend several years, until I should see how events might fall out.

"With this intention, having withdrawn my led horse to one side, I set out on my road."

[It must be understood that] it is a custom among the Moghuls, for the bravest of their youth to spend a long time alone, either

in the deserts, the mountains or the forests, at a distance of one or two months' journey from any of their fellow creatures, and to feed and clothe themselves with the flesh and skins of antelopes. Such persons they esteem as brave and manly; and it is, in fact, a very difficult and dangerous mode of life.

[The Khán] having resolved upon this strange and perilous adventure, gave the slave his liberty, and set out on his own design. He spent the night in what he considered a suitable spot, and [illegible] the morrow again started on his road. But first of all he surveyed the country, in accordance with the Moghul practice of circumspection and caution. For it is their custom, in the morning, to examine carefully the road by which they have just come, and also to reconnoitre that by which they intend to travel the same day; the travellers having ascended a piece of rising ground, and having carefully inspected both the roads, then give some fodder to their horses, which have been tethered all night. The purpose of this vigilance which they practise is, that if anybody should happen to be following them, and should have come on during the night, he would be seen, and could be guarded against. When the horses have grazed long enough, and no one is visible in either direction, the road is again taken at midday, and the journey continued till midnight, so that no one may discover the traveller or his nightly resting-place. Such is the cautious practice of the Moghuls.

The Khán looking round carefully on all sides, after a short time descried something black on the road by which he had come the day before, and began to fear lest those Turkomen, regretting that they had let him go, were come in pursuit of him. But he presently saw that it was only one person, and that there was no one behind him, as far as he could see. Then, as was his practice, he placed himself in ambush. He noticed that this man was ever and again uttering cries, as if calling for somebody. And as he came nearer [the Khán] recognised his voice as that of Khwájá Ali Bahádur. He rushed out to meet him, and the Khwája, also recognising the Khán, dismounted, and they both began to weep as they met in affectionate embrace.

One can imagine the extent of the Khán's joy at this meeting. Having made an end of weeping, [the Khán] asked the Khwája where he had been and what had befallen him. The Khwája replied: 'They carried me off and kept my horse, and placed me in the house of one of my acquaintances. After a while a decrepit and frail old woman, who claimed a blood relationship with me, came to me secretly and began to heap reproaches on my head, saying: "Some have been known to serve a Khán yet unborn, or an Amír still in his cradle, and to have reaped their reward, yet you, with your lack of zeal, have deserted a great

Khán, who 's worthy of a throne and crown, and in your sluggishness have debased yourself. Rise up. if you have not a horse, I have left mine tied up in such and such place: take it and get.' Then my old man's soul which seemed to have fled within me, revived. I hastened out and went to the spot she had indicated, found the horse, and here I am.'

The Khán, having bestowed thanks and praises on him, said "When I found myself alone, I resolved upon the following plan" (and the Khán proceeded to relate to him, from beginning to end, what has been told above) Khwája Ali Bahádur replied: "Peace on you It was a most excellent resolve for a brave man like yourself, under existing circumstances And it is all the better that it should have been so. But now it is possible to proceed with greater comfort and ease. However, even if we do spend a few years in this way, we must get news of the world whenever we can; for the wheel of the spheres does not always turn in the same groove, and we must be on the look out for any opportunity that may arise to again obtain the control of affairs We must also be bold.'

The two then set out with strong hearts and cheerful spirits, riding bridle to bridle. On the following day they noticed in front of them some black objects and the same care and precautions were observed as on the other occasion. As the objects approached, they recognised the two brothers of Khwája Ali Bahádur, Tika and Ali Malik, and two of his sons-in-law, Asal Valí and Burzan [*each one accompanied by his servant*].

As for this meeting, the Khán's position was as sovereignty compared with that of the day before The new-comers were then asked their story. They related what has been mentioned above, and added. " Chush Gildi and Aziz Bindi, who had determined to go to Kashghar, separated from us yesterday." With these were came Sukár and some of the Kilnchi (who were relatives of a certain woman of the name of Makhtum, with whom, during the time of the great disturbances in Moghulistán, the Khán had contracted a marriage), and they brought with them several horses from the royal stables.

Having announced this news, the whole party set out in pursuit without delay, and came upon the fugitives towards the end of the night, when those heard the sound of the approaching horses they were filled with dismay and alarm. The Khán and his companions called out to each one by name, and they, recognising his voice and that of the others, were filled with joy They came, running, to the stirrup of his Excellency the Khan and, kissing his feet, gave vent to expressions of thankfulness

The Khán, being rejoined by Khwája Ali, was relieved of the distress of solitude, but now, on falling in with Tika and his

party, he had become a veritable king, compared with his former position. When, under the guidance of these men, they had rejoined the party who had separated from them, the Khán was overjoyed at the prospect of a meeting with a slave, who was his wife. All were delighted at coming together again, and hoped that that night they would enjoy a refreshing sleep. The Khán, in the same hope, had already taken off his boots and coat, when Aziz Birdi Aghá came and persuaded him to put them on again. Although it was apparently a trouble to do so, it was at least a fitting precaution, so he consented, in order to quiet Aziz Birdi, and with one boot off and one boot on[1] he slumbered peacefully on the breast of his wife. For he had taken no rest for several nights and days, and was exceedingly fatigued from rough travelling and watchful nights. The full enjoyment of sleep had not yet come to him, when he heard a war cry *suran*] and the sound of giving and taking of blows. Before the Khán could jump out of bed, he saw by the light of the burning camp that the enemy were upon them, and were dealing out blows to right and left. He had just time to gird on his quiver, when Khwája Ali arrived. They rushed together, from the blazing camp into the darkness and began to shower down arrows upon the enemy who were doing their work in the light, and in the same way, the men from the camp came out on all sides into the darkness, and began to discharge their arrows. The enemy, who were all mounted, then withdrew from the light, and the Khán's men, who were on foot, shot at them from different ambuscades. On account of the darkness it was not possible to judge of the great numbers of the one side or the small number of the other. Some of the men, in imitation of the Khán, were engaged in discharging arrows, while the rest had gone back to secure the horses.

As a fact, this hostile band was part of an army which Mirzá Abá Bakr had sent to Moghulistán, with orders to seize and treat, in the worst possible way, any one who might be found in the deserts of Moghulistán. The continual raids of these followers of Mirzá Abá Bakr caused great distress in Moghulistán, and threw the Moghuls and Kirghiz into disorder. [The assailants] who were a division of the force spoken of, had come on at the time of afternoon prayer, and when they had seen the Khán's party arrive and halt, they had crept into concealment till late in the night. They then seized all the horses, which had been turned out to graze, and when darkness was nearly over they made their night attack. There were no horses left in the camp[1] except a few fat animals, which had been retained for purposes of war. These were saddled, and mounted by the men, and some of the

[1] The Turki text has, in place of 'in the camp'— among the Khan's suite.' —R

women of the Khán's haram, while two or three other women were sent off by their husbands, who found horses for them. The Khán's horse was saddled and brought to him. When day dawned all were in the greatest straits. Moreover, except for the two or three women already mentioned, all the wives and children of our party had fallen into the enemy's hands and there was no time to take leave or bid farewell. The seal of disappointment was marked upon their foreheads, and they never saw each other more. But those who fled, drove their wives and children and horses before them. The Khán and all those who had any courage and strength, followed after them. The cursed enemy came close on their heels, and pursued them with the greatest ardour, being, moreover, supplied with changes of horses.

Whenever the enemy approached, the Khán with a few men, turned round and plied them with arrows, and kept them at bay until his own party had got well on, when he again let loose the reins of flight, till he overtook them. Thus did they fly fighting; and shot their arrows with their faces towards their friends and their backs to their enemies. This state of affairs continued till the hour of the "prayer of sleep." The night attack took place in the desert plains [*chaldgái*] of Ulluk, which are called Ankghun Archin, and by the time of the "prayer of sleep" they had reached Kumala Kúhan,[1] which represents a distance of five days journey at a medium pace. The feeble ones both women and men, at the time of flight and distress, were concealed in the glens and forests, while the rest hid themselves wherever they thought most safe.

With the exception of the Khán's wife and two or three other women, and a few men who had remained, most of those people were captured; only a few escaped. When evening-prayer time came, fear of the enemy left them but little peace of mind. They were all scattered, every one hiding, in the jungle of Kumala Kúhan; and from the excess of their terror, some of those whose horses were tired out, left them and crept into the forest on foot.

When day dawned, they all came out onto an elevation, and still concealing themselves, looked carefully round. They could see no trace of the enemy. They waited patiently till midday, when wherever they happened to be, they called out, and by means of their cries were able to find one another; [they also found] those whom they had sent into the glens, and of whose fate they

[1] The spelling of these names is very uncertain; but in whatever form, I can find no trace of them, even on Sowetsoff's detailed map of Zungaria, &c. They were probably mere local names of an inhabited and unimportant spot (though it is possible that '*Ankghun Archa*" may have some connection with the '*Ou Archa* marked on modern maps, seeing that this place stands on a river (a right tributary of the upper Narin—just east of the Son Kul) called the *Ottuk*—of which perhaps *Ulluk* may be a mis-reading. The author, however, gives no indication of the quarter of Moghulistan where these adventures took place.

were all then ignorant, not knowing whether they had been captured or not.

Returning, they looked to see what had become of those people. They found that, excepting the Khán's wife, [and one] two other persons, all had been discovered and carried off captive. They remained where they were during the day, for they had not sufficient strength left to proceed. Moreover, they did not know whither they could go. They discussed the matter in all its *aspects. every one made suggestions, and held his own views upon* the matter; but all their plans were quite impracticable. One proposition was that they should live in the forests, and banish from their thoughts all desire for civilisation. This, however, was not considered to be feasible, as it was impossible to exist in the forests without the [necessary weapons, etc. After seeking everywhere, they found that all their quivers were empty. At last they found one arrow in the Khán's quiver: in the rest there were none left but *tir-i-gaz*[1] [And with only one arrow there was certainly *nothing* to be achieved, so perforce this idea must be banished from their minds. Another proposal was that] they should enter the Dasht i-Kipchák, which at that time was an asylum and refuge of the Moghul Khans. But this again was impossible, on account of their want of arrows [and other weapons. A third suggestion was that they should go to Káshghar. But they came to the conclusion that] to go to Káshghar was as good as to walk, living, into a grave.

With Mansur Khán it was but yesterday that they had fought a battle, and all their sufferings and calamities were due to him. At length they decided upon going to Andijan; for it was possible that Shahi Beg Khán had given Sultán Mahmud Khán a favourable reception.

The Khán repeatedly related those details to me, and he used to add: "Those who advised our going to the country of Shahi Beg Khán, did so out of their ignorance of his true character. However strongly those who knew him protested, and pointed out the absurdity and danger of the scheme, which the others had made appear so plausible, they would not be dissuaded. I, for my part, showed my objections and disapproval in a hundred ways, for had I not been a whole year with Shahi Beg Khán? I well knew and understood his temperament, the ways of his Sultans, and the intentions of his Amirs. I knew very well that he would ill-treat us which he did, but when I said this to these ignorant men, they replied: 'Then what is to be done? All our proposals are considered *impracticable or impossible!* [*But in going to Shahi* Beg Khán] there is some hope of safety. If anything else suggests itself to your enlightened mind, tell us of it, for in every matter

[1] Probably arrows of one *gaz* in length

we are willing to follow and obey you, and are ready. Much as I thought the matter over, was unable to find a solution of the difficulty, or offer any other suggestion; and finally I, with my eyes open, and in spite of what I knew, became myself a promoter of that very plan for which I had so severely reproved my men. For, in truth, there was no choice left. Knowingly and deliberately I rushed upon calamity!

"On the morrow, having prepared myself for death and sought for martyrdom, I set out to pay homage to Jání Beg Sultán, which was the first step to entering the service of Shibán Beg Khán. And there was no great difference between that stage[1] and the bottom of the tomb."

These events took place in the year 914,[2] just two months after the murder of Sultán Mahmúd Khán, and one month before Sultán Khalíl Sultán was drowned in the ocean of mercy, all of which has been mentioned above. Sultán Khalíl Sultán was the full brother of the Khán.

At this date Bábar Pádisháh was established on the throne of Kábul, and his power was nearly absolute.

Having reached this point in the Khán's story, it is necessary for the better understanding of the history, that I should now revert to the stories of my father and Bábar Pádisháh.

CHAPTER IX.

FLIGHT OF MY FATHER MUHAMMAD HUSAIN KHÁN FROM BEG OGHLÚ BEG KHÁN IN O KHORÁSÁN, WITH SOME INCIDENTAL NOTICES.

It has been related above, how Kunduz submitted without resistance, on the advent of the victorious army of Mahmúd Sultán; also how I, after being confined in prison by Khusrau Sháh for a year, obtained my release, went and joined my father, and together with all the members of my family, proceeded to Shahr-i-Sabz, which Shibání Beg Khán had given to my father [together with its dependencies].

In the beginning of Sagittarius, Shibání Beg Khán marched on Khwárazm.

All the heads of the Moghuls, whether Sultáns or Amirs,

[1] Instead of the words "that stage," the Turkí MS. has—"the service of Jání Beg Sultán"—R.

[2] 1508–9 A.D.

together with their train, were dwelling among the Uzbegs, and fear and apprehension continually occupied their hearts.

In the meanwhile, Mahmúd Sultán, who had always been a defender of the Moghuls, lived in Kunduz, whereat all the Moghuls, and especially my father, were much affected and saddened. For Mahmúd Sultán had borne them such love and had lent weight to much kindness of him, that if ever one of Shíbání Beg Khán's nobles wrote a letter of cruelty or vile accusation (the tablet of the imagination concerning my father, he would throw a line through it with the pen of his protection; or else would erase this writing from the tablet of the rancorous heart of the evil-minded man, with the penknife of punishment. In fact, he recognised it as his duty to side with my father in all things. His death was a source of great uneasiness to the Moghuls in general, and to my father in particular. But Shíbání Beg Khán said privately to Amír Ján Vafá, who was an intimate friend of my father, that he would on no account whatever leave Khwárizm until he had reduced it, and it was clear that the siege[1] would be a very protracted one.—"There are, at the present moment, about 10,000 Moghuls among our Uzbegs. So long as any of the Moghul chiefs remain, those men will continue to serve them, and never enter our service. If a favourable occasion presents itself, they will do to us that which we did to them. The first among them is Muhammad Husain Kukán, I think of him all day, but feel that to kill him would be like killing one of the Kháns—an act that would obliterate all the kindnesses I have ever shown the Kháns. Hence, it will be best for you to announce to him my intention, so that he may rise up with all speed and escape while he has yet a foot [to walk upon], and no longer tempt his fate. For after his departure, I must make all the other Moghul Amírs feel the blood-drinking scimitar.'

Amír Ján Vafá immediately sent a messenger, who reached my father at the hour of midday prayer, and by the time of afternoon prayer my father, having chosen me from among his children to accompany him, together with sixteen of his servants, fled towards Khorásán. This event remains fixed in my mind like a dream or a fantasy.

In those days Sultán Said Khán was also in Samarkand. Three days after [our flight] he fled to Moghulistán; but this story has been told above.

Of those children whom my father left behind him in Shahr-i-Sabz, the eldest was Habíba Sultán Khánish, Shíbání Beg Khán kept her in his harem at Táshkand, where he also kept Aisha Sultán Khánim, the daughter of Sultán Mahmúd Khán, and who

[1] The author appears to mean the siege of Khwárizm, or Khíva; but Erskine mentions that Shíbání Beg was besieging Kelát (Persian = Kalát-i-Ghilzái) at the time (see *Hist.*, p. 477).

is nowadays better known as Moghul Khánim After a while he married her with various ceremonies, to Abdullah Khán, son of Mahmud Sultán.

[2.] Next in age was Ganhar Shah Begum, whom Amir Ján Valá obtained, in marriage, for his own son Amir Yár, in return for having carried the message to my father

[3.] I come next. I accompanied my father

[4. Another was Muhammad Sháh, whom one of my father's relations had taken after my father into Khorásán.

[5.] The youngest of all was Abdulláh Mirza, who has been mentioned above, as having accompanied his mother, Sultánim Begum. I shall tell his life in those pages.

In short, we left Shahr i Sabz, and, passing one night on the road, reached, at the close of [the second] day, the banks of the River Amuya, the cold was very severe and we only succeeded in crossing with great difficulty; without entering Balkh, we went on to Khorásán

These were the last days of the life and reign of Mirzá Sultán Husain, who was a grandson of Mirzá Jahángír,[1] son of Amir Timur. None of his ancestors, as far back as Amir Timur, had attained to sovereignty. Mirzá Sultán Husain, however, had, after many years of struggles and hardships, won Khorásán at the point of the sword, and during forty-eight years, while firmly established on the throne of Herat, he governed the four quarters of Khorásán. He encouraged all the arts and crafts of the world to such a degree that in every separate profession he produced an unsurpassed master.

Having reached this point, I meditated and felt that I ought to write something concerning those lords of revelation and masters of manifestation, who lived at this time. And though I did not, with any trace of capacity, seem fit for the task, yet strange to say, I could not see my way to omit recording one or two circumstances in relation to these men. In any case I will make a beginning in the hope that, with the aid of existing memoirs [*tazkira*], which

[1] Our author should have said that Sultan Husain Mirza (Baikara) was great-grandson of Omar Shaikh, son of Amir Timur—not the grandson of Jahangir. Sultan Husain's father was Mansur Mirza, his grandfather Baikara Mirza son of Omar Shaikh. He succeeded Sultan Abu Said on the throne of Khorasan in A.H. 878 and reigned till his death in 912 (1471 to 1507). But previous to 878 he had been ruler in Mázandarán and Gurgán. He is said, by Erskine, to have been a man of great power and reputation, and beyond comparison the most distinguished of the Princes of the house of Timur, at that time living. The capital of Khorasan was then at Herat, or Herát which, for about half a century was celebrated, "not merely for the splendour and dignity of its Court the architectural beauty of its mosques, tombs, colleges and palaces, but as being the resort of the greatest divines philosophers, poets, and historians of the age." Sultan Husain, besides being eminent as a ruler, was also well known as a poet and a writer of letters—under the name of Husaini (See S. Lane Poole *Muhamad Dynasties*, table facing p 268 Erskine, *Babar*, pp lvi and 125· *History* i, p 77· Beale *Oriental Biographies*)

shall supplement the deficiencies of my humble read, it may prove worthy of the perusal of the clear-sighted.

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As it does not lie in my power to write a separate book in memory of these men, I have in this Epitome only devoted a few lines to some of them, in order to satisfy my mind and to ease my inner man. [Quatrain . . .][1]

Shaikh Ul Islám, the Light of Religion, Maulánú Abdur Rahmán Jámí.

He was far the greatest and most excellent and learned of all the saints and spiritual guides of the time of Mirzá Sultán Husain.

He is much too great to stand in need of any mention from my humble pen, — I will simply trace his discipleship. He was a disciple of Maulánú Sad-ud-Dín Káshghari, disciple of Maulánú Nizám-ud-Dín Khámushi, disciple of Khwájá Alá-ud-Dín Attár, disciple of His Holiness the Kibla of the Elect, Khwájá Bahá 'ud Hakk wa ud-Dín, generally known as Khwájá Nakshband.

Maulánú Sad-ud-Dín Káshghari.

He belonged to one of the most noble families in the country of Káshghar, and has since had produced Ulamás, and many pious and devout men and saints. Among whom was Shaikh Habib, the disciple of Shaikh Sayyid Kirdgar, disciple of Shaikh Mahibb Mujamad.[2]

Amir Sayyid Ahmad, my great-great-grandfather, placed his son Mir Sayyid Ahmad in the service of Shaikh Habib, when he was very young.

* * * * * * *

Maulánú Nizám-ud-Dín Khámush

I have heard from a certain distinguished person that [even] before Maulánú Nizám-ud-Dín became a disciple of Khwájá Alá-ud-Dín he was an exceedingly pious and devout man. He used to sit in the mosque of the Lawyers, and was an admirer of the spirituality of the Shaikh.

* * * * * * *

Here follow some notices of saints, learned men, poets, singers and others, the bulk of which are omitted, as the persons they treat of have no connection with the history. They are all, Dr. Ross informs me, to be found in other books, indeed, the author acknowledges that he has taken them chiefly from 'existing memoirs,' and has written them on his own satisfaction. As, however, three of the saints mentioned were persons of importance, and appear to have played some part in the history of the times, the brief notices of their lives have been translated, though the dotage regarding them have served to blot out these last are not only irrelevant, but unintelligible.

[1] The name *Kirdgar* stands in the Ambki MS. *Kázargar*; while for *Mujamad* may perhaps be read *Mujtabi*.—R.

He performed many miracles, as is related in the *Nafahát al 'uns.*

* * * * * * *

Return from the Digression.

My father arrived in Khorásán at the time when its pomp and splendour and learning were at their highest, and the fame of Herát and its people was spread over the world

At that time the sons of Mirzá Sultán Husain, who had revolted against their illustrious father, had repented and had been allowed to kiss his feet, and they now surrounded the Mirzá's throne with honour and respect

When my father arrived in Herat, the people came out to receive him, and attended his passage with honour. They then conducted him to a magnificent residence —worthy of his rank—which they had made ready for him

[When my father went to pay his respects to Mirzá Sultán Husain], Mír Muhammad Baranduk Barlás, who had been one of the Amirs of Sháh Rukh and who, at that time, in respect of age, rank, understanding, intelligence, and knowledge of the laws and customs, had not his equal among the whole of the Chaghatái *Ulus*, came and spoke to my father about kneeling at the audience My father agreed to his proposals. The Mirzá also showed my father great honour and placed him above all his children, even above his son Bádi-uz-Zamán, who was the oldest and most respected of the Mirzá's sons. In this city, which might have been compared to Paradise, my father commanded the utmost respect and distinction, and enjoyed every possible luxury.

The Mirzá, for his personal satisfaction, had determined on an alliance between one of his grandaughters and my father. The latter did not approve of this connexion, because the Mirzá was very old and afflicted with paralysis and gout, and the power of his children would not be such that, when they succeeded their father, they would be able to cope with Sháhi Beg Khán. Nevertheless, as it had been arranged he contracted the marriage

In the meanwhile, Sháh Begum, as has been mentioned above, went from Moghulistán to Samarkand with a petition for Sháhi Beg Khán. The latter was intent on the conquest of Khwárizm, which was a dependency of Mirzá Sultán Husain. It was on Sháhi Beg Khán's hearing that my father had fled to Khorásán, and Sultán Said Khán had taken refuge in Moghulistán Most of the Moghul chiefs had gone to the kingdom of the next world, while some had been thrown into confinement. Sháh Begum was banished and sent to Khorásán The rest of the Moghuls accompanied the expedition into Khwárizm

In enumerating the names of the children of Yunus Khán, I

mentioned that the eldest was Mihr Nigár Khánim, who married Sultán Ahmad Mirzá, king of Samarkand. When Shâhi Beg Khán seized and put to death Sultán Alí Mirzá and subdued Samarkand, he married Mihr Nigár Khánim. When he besieged Bábar Pádisháh in that city, for the last time, and compelled him to capitulate, he demanded Khánzáda Begum. Bábar Pádisháh gave up Khánzáda Begum in exchange for his own life, and escaped, as has been mentioned. Now as Mihr Nigár Khánim was maternal aunt to Khánzáda Begum, as it was unlawful for both to be wedded to the same man, he divorced Mihr Nigár Khánim, and married Khánzáda Begum. The Khánim had dwelt in Samarkand. When Sháh Begum was sent to Khorásán, he Khánim accompanied her mother-in-law. My father had a maternal aunt, who had remained in Shahr-i Sabz, whither many of her connections had fled: she, having taken my brother Muhammad Sháh with her, came with the Begum and the Khánum to Khorásán.

Before the arrival of this party, my father resolved to make the Pilgrimage of the Hijáz, but when they joined him he gave up this intention, thinking that they would be in danger if left alone in a strange land. He then decided to remove them to Kábul, where Bábar Pádisháh was, as has been related. Sháh Begum was the stepmother of the Emperor's mother; Mihr Nigár Khánim was his maternal aunt.

In short, having, with this intention, obtained leave to depart from Mirzá Sultán Husain, they set out for Kábul. A few days before they reached Kábul the mother of Bábar Pádisháh, Kutluk Nigár Khánim, died, and her death was a great misfortune to all. In spite of his mourning, Bábar Pádisháh came out to receive them, and gave the party a warm welcome, accompanied by every honour that he was able to show them. Here they spent some time in the greatest ease and comfort.

Soon after this, came news of the death of Mirzá Sultán Husain. In the natural order of things, and in conformity with recognised custom and practice, Mirzá Bádi-uz-Zamán should have succeeded his father on the throne. But Khadija Begum, one of the late Sultán's wives, who was at the head of a factious party, succeeded in getting Muzaffar Husain Mirzá, who was her own son, to share the government with Mirzá Bádi-uz-Zamán. This she did in spite of the objections of the wise men of the time [who were at last compelled to consent to the unstable arrangement] which was in consequence carried out.

In the meantime, Jahángir Mirzá, who was in Ghazní, being discontented with the narrow limits of his territories, marched for Khorásán. [At the same time] he sent a petition to the Emperor, saying "Sultán Husain Mirzá has lately departed this life. It *has occurred to me that, at this crisis, I should go and offer my*

help and alliance to his sons Probably I may be able to help them in some way" When this petition reached Bábar Pádisháh, he at once set out, with the intent on that if he fell in with Jahángir Mirzá on the road, he would turn him back or if not, would pursue his brother into Khorásán. [In either case] he would not be long in ascertaining what schemes Mirzá Jahángir had in his mind. As soon as the Emperor had resolved on this plan, he came to my father's house, and asked him to undertake the management of Kábul and its dependencies. My father would not accept the invitation, but said, in excuse "When in Khorásán I resolved to undertake the Pilgrimage; if I were to bind myself to the measure you propose, my resolution would be to no purpose Let this business be entrusted to one of your great Amirs, and I will render him assistance to the utmost extent of my ability" The Emperor then sent for Nizám-ud-Dín Ali Khalífa Maulánа Bábá Bishígharí, Amir Ahmad Kásim Kuhbur,[1] and one or two other of his [trustworthy] chiefs, and after complimenting [my father], said to him "I am about to start for Khorásán, having the most perfect reliance on you. Those Amirs will conduct the different affairs of the State under your general supervision." Having thus spoken, and after further compliments, he set out for Khorásán.

CHAPTER X.

BÁBAR PÁDISHÁH'S EXPEDITION INTO KHORÁSÁN. TROUBLES AND CONFLAGRATIONS IN KÁBUL

After the Emperor's departure for Khorásán, up till the middle of the winter, all was order and quiet in Kábul. He, however, stayed away a long while, and various reports began to circulate, the main roads were also blocked by the Hazára highwaymen.

In the list, given above, of the children of Yunus Khán, it was stated that he had five daughters and two sons.

By his wife, Isán Daulat Begum, he had three daughters [1.] Mihr Nigár Khánim, who has been already mentioned as being at this time in Kábul, having accompanied Sháh Begum from Samarkand. [2.] Kutluk Nigár Khánim the mother of the Emperor, who died just before the arrival of Sháh Begum, the Khánim and my father, in Kábul. [3.] My mother, who died during the interval of peace [*amán*] in Táshkand, which has been mentioned

[1] The Turki MS has *Kuhi* in place of *Kulbur*—R.

By Sháh Begum he had four children: [1] Sultán Mahmud Khán, [2] Sultán Ahmad Khán; [3] Sultán Nigár Khánim, who was the wife of Mirzá Sultán Mahmud (son of Mirzá Sultán Abú Said) and the mother of Mirzá Khán; and [4] Daulat Sultán Khánim, who was wife of Timur Sultán, son of Shíbá Beg Khán. All of these have been mentioned before. From this it will be seen that Sháh Begum was step-grandmother[1] to both the Emperor and myself, and [actual] grandmother to Mirzá Khán. After the defeat of the Kháns when the Emperor went to the hill country of Hisár, he was there joined by Mirzá Khán, who accompanied him wherever he went. And the Emperor looked upon him as his own son, for, as has been explained, Mirzá Khán's father and mother were of the same family — the Emperor's father and mother.

On account of straitened circumstances [Mirzá Khán] did not accompany the Emperor on that expedition, but stayed behind in the service of his grandmother Sháh Begum. As various reports *came in concerning the Emperor and the Mirzás of Khorásán*, the motherly love of Sháh Begum began to burn in her heart, and she persuaded herself that the Emperor had fallen into the hands of the Mirzás of Khorásán. Also, on account of the enmity that existed between Sultán Husain Mirzá and Abú Said Mirzá, and the bloodshed which had resulted therefrom, [she thought] that the Emperor would never escape from their power. Moreover, reports which seemed to confirm this view were constantly arriving; and it was considered time to put Mirzá Khán upon the throne in the Emperor's place.

When this plan was suggested to my father, he would not hear of it. *An altercation followed which led to much ado now; and the* distress of Sháh Begum gave offence to the Khans. All this brought much trouble upon my father, who at last, being exasperated, said: "As you will not be warned by me, I will no longer be your advisor." Nevertheless, the Emperor's Amirs, who used to come daily out of the castle to wait on my father, continued to come, as was their wont. After one month's bickering and quarrelling, Sháh Begum had quite resolved to set Mirzá Khán up in the Emperor's place.[2] My father [then] said privately to the Amirs, that it was not necessary for them to come to him any more. When the Amirs re-entered the castle, my father went away to a *place called Ab-Báran, which is a day's march from Kábul*, and withdrew himself from public affairs. Sháh Begum and the Moghuls [then] read the *Khutba* in the name of Mirzá Khán, and did their utmost to seize the fort of Kábul, whereupon numerous

[1] The term used is *Walidah-i-Kalán-i-Sahabi*.—R.

[2] The whole of this paragraph is more or less obscure, and very badly arranged; but the sense is, I think, preserved in the translation. Erskine has made it nearly the same. (See *History*, pp. 215–50.)

fights ensued. Sháh Begum sent a letter of entreaty to my father to return, and as entreaties and remonstrances were unlimited, my father could not choose but come. During twenty-four days they laid siege to the castle of Kábul, and in the course of these operations the Emperor himself arrived.

CHAPTER XI

BÁBAR PÁDISHÁH'S JOURNEY INTO KHORÁSÁN, AND HIS RETURN FROM KHORÁSÁN TO KÁBUL.

When Bábar Pádisháh went in pursuit of Jahángír, he came upon him in the mountains of Hazára. After holding a consultation, it was determined that the wisest plan would be to proceed into Khorásán, as with some aid, the sons of Sultán Husain Mirzá might be enabled to withstand Sháhi Beg Khán. So with this object in view, they turned towards Khorásán, and, on their arrival, these two brothers were warmly welcomed by the people of Khorásán, while the two Mirzás, for their part, were overjoyed at their advent. *But there existed no accord between these two Mirzás.* In the first place, Bábar Pádisháh knew that they were not at one; he also knew that without unity they could effect nothing. Moreover, Jahángír Mirzá, from having indulged too freely in wine drinking, was suffering so severely from dysentery, [from a disease called] *mán*, and a burning fever, that it was generally reported that Khwája

[1] This episode has already been alluded to by the author in the course of his vindication of his father as far as possible, but the question is whether the latter was guilty of treachery towards Ilak, and that he gave him cause for the rebellion of Sháh Beg. Bábar himself seems to have regarded Muhammad Husain Mirzá as one of the chief movers in the plot, and evidently felt his ingratitude keenly, though with characteristic generosity, he melts at Mirzá's fate, *when the latter fell into his hands.* In recording the event in his 'Memoirs' Bábar concludes the account of it thus: "Muhammad Husain Mirzá had conducted himself in such a criminal and guilty way, and had been actively engaged in such mutinous and rebellious proceedings that had he been not imprisoned or put to a painful death, he would only have met with his deserts. *As we were in some degree of relationship to each other, he having sons and* daughters by my father's sister Khub Nigár Khánim, I took that circumstance into consideration and gave him a hearty, clear pardon and set out for Khorásán. Yet this ungrateful thankless man thus rewarded, who had been treated by me with such loyalty and who, if I had spared entirely forgetful of this benefit, abused *and scandalised my conduct to Shaibák Khán* [Shaibání Beg Khán]. It was but a short time however, before Shaibák Khan put him to death and thus speedily avenged me.—

[*Verses*]. "Deliver over him who injures you to Fate,
For Fate is a servant that will avenge your quarrel."

(*See Memoirs*, p. 218.)

Begum (after her old fashion) had put poison in his wine. For these and other reasons, he took his leave and returned to Kábul.

On reaching the Hazára mountains, he learnt that Mirzá Khan and Muhammad Husain Mirzá were besieging Kábul Leaving the heavy baggage with Mirzá Jahángir (who, being sick, was travelling, in a litter) he advanced with all possible speed towards the passes of Hindu Kush, accompanied by a small body of men [The passes] were covered with snow. They, however, crossed them with much difficulty, and advanced, by forced marches, upon Kábul. At dawn one day they made a rapid descent upon the town. Those who were outside the fort of Kábul, and had been attacking those within, crept into concealment on every side, while those who were within, rushed out and carried off, as plunder, all that fell in their way, both within and without [the walls]. The Emperor, in conformity with his affectionate nature, without ceremony, and without a sign of bitterness—nay, with the utmost cheerfulness and good-humour—came into the presence of his step-grandmother, who had withdrawn her affection from him, and set up her grandson as king in his stead. Shah Begum was confounded and abashed [at his generous behaviour] and knew not what to say.

The Emperor, going down on his knees embraced her with great affection, and said: "What right has one child to be vexed because the motherly bounty descends upon another? The mother's authority over her children is in all respects absolute." He added: "I have not slept all night, and have made a long journey." So saying, he laid his head on Shah Begum's breast and tried to sleep, he acted thus in order to reassure the Begum. He had scarcely fallen asleep, when his maternal aunt, Mihr Nigár Khánim, entered. The Emperor leapt up and embraced his beloved aunt with every manifestation of affection. The Khánim said to him "Your children, wives and household are longing to see you. I give thanks that I have been permitted to behold you once again Rise up and go to your family in the castle. I too am going thither."

So he went to the castle, and on his arrival all the Amirs and people began to thank God for His mercy. They made the dust of the feet of that loving king, powder [*kohl*] for their eyes. Then the Khánim conducted Mirzá Khán and my father before the Emperor. As they approached, the Emperor came out to receive them. The Khánim then said: "Oh, soul of your mother! I have also brought my guilty grandson and your unfortunate brother to you What have you to say to them?" and she pointed to my father. When the Emperor saw my father, he instantly [illegible] forward, with his wonted courtesy, and smiling, openly embraced him, made many kind inquiries and showed him

marked affection. He then embraced Mirzá Khán in like manner, and displayed a hundred proofs of love and good feeling. He conducted the whole ceremony with the utmost gentleness of manner, bearing himself, in all his actions and words in such a way that not a trace of constraint or artifice was to be seen in them. But however much the Emperor might try to wear away the rust of shame with the polish of mildness and humanity, he was unable to wipe out the dimness of ignominy which had covered the mirror of their hopes.

My father and Mirzá Khán obtained permission to go to Kandahár. The Emperor, by entreaty and unremitting attentions, detained Sháh Begum and the Khanum. When they reached Kandahár, Mirza Khán remained there, while my father proceeded in the direction of Faráh and Sistán, with the intention of carrying out that holy resolve which he had made while in Khorásán. On his arrival in the territory of Faráh, he heard of the conquest of Khorásán by Sháhi Beg Khán, and the overthrow of the Chaghatái. The high roads and passes were in a dangerous state, being obstructed and even closed. Thus my father was prevented from executing his purpose. This happened in the year 912.[1]

CHAPTER XII.

BRIEF ACCOUNT OF BÁBAR PÁDISHÁH'S SOJOURN IN KÁBUL, AND A FEW STORIES CONNECTED THEREWITH.

It has been already related that the Emperor, in the year 909, conquered Kábul from Mukim, son of Zunnun Arghun. [On this expedition] he was accompanied by nearly 20,000 men of the army of Khusrau Sháh. Now as Kábul was unable to support so great a host, the Emperor resolved to invade Hindustán. But on that expedition, from ignorance of the roads, they frequently came to places where provisions were scarce and most of their cattle perished. Although there was not a single battle in that campaign, yet the army suffered a severe reverse. On their return to Kábul, many of Khusrau Sháh's men deserted him. At this crisis Sháh Begum and my father arrived in Kábul, and the Emperor proceeded to Khorásán (as has been related above).

After we went to Kandahár, in consequence of all that had passed, the people were reduced to the most afflicting want and distress. In addition to this, Jahángir Mirzá, who was at that

[1] 1500–7 A.D.

time the stay and support of the Emperor's government, died. After the occurrence of these events, he [the Emperor] wished to strengthen his power by whatever means were available in order that he might be firmly and seemely established in Kábul. To this end, he sent an envoy to Shíh Beg in Kandahár. Sháh Beg was the son of Zunnun Arghun, who was one of the greatest Amirs of Mirzá Sultán Husain, under whom he had, during thirty years, conducted the affairs of Kandahár and Zamindáwar. Although he was a brave and intelligent man, yet by denying himself everything, he amassed great wealth. He had gone in person to Khorásán to assist the Mirzás. When Sháhi Beg Khán attacked Herat, he alone went out to oppose the advance of the Uzbeg army, and in the engagement which ensued, he was slain. He was succeeded, in Kandahár, by his son Sháh Beg. [As has been stated] the Emperor sent an envoy to Sháh Beg, saying, "Since the children of Mirzá Sultán Husain have been extirpated, it is fitting that the gates of obedience and service should be opened, and at this time there is no one in the palace of our sovereignty, who is more worthy than yourself of occupying the highest post." But in spite of all the Emperor's assurances and promises, Shíh Beg refused, for he had higher views of dignity than that of entering into a state of dependence. To be brief, this refusal led to an outbreak of hostilities. The Emperor marched to Kandahár, in the neighbourhood of which town a battle was fought, and but few were bloody ones. Finally victory declared for the Emperor, the dust of flight filled the eyes of Shíh Beg's men, and they were thrown into such confusion that they were unable to enter the fort of Kandahár. Thus, without baggage, they crept on towards Sui,[1] and his good fortune was changed to desolation. So much treasure fell into the Emperor's hands, that [the gold and jewels] and Shíhr khi[2] were divided among the army by basketfuls.

Mirzá Khán, who had stayed in Kandahár, now joined the Emperor, who returned to Kábul laden with much spoil and treasure, having left Sultán Násir Mirzá, younger brother of Jahángir Mirzá, in charge of Kandahár.

On his return to Kábul [important] news came from Badakhshán.

[1] From an abridged MS. translation at the British Museum Dr. Leyden appears to have read this name *Sist*, in the text edited by him. It is the correct reading probably *Sibi* is the place indicated. In our texts it may be read *Subi* as well as *Sui*. For Babar's account of these transactions, see *Memoirs*, pp. 224 *seq.*

[2] The *Sháhrukhi* was at one time reckoned by Baskine to be the coin of the value of 2½ pence when there was worth two shillings (*History*, I. Appx. L.) It is said that it derived its name from Shah-Rukh Mirzá, fourth son of Timur, who reigned in Khorasan etc., from 1405-1447, and that it was a silver coin, though Col. Malleson, in his *Life of Akbar*, calls it "a gold coin of Khorasan" (p. 58). The *Shahrukhi* does not appear in Mr. S. Lane Poole's tables.

When the country of Khusrau Shah[1] was annexed by the Uzbeg some of the people of Badakhshán refused to submit, and on several occasions put the Uzbeg army to flight, whereupon every commander of 100 men [*min kazá*] obtained the rank of Sardár, and placed the heads of the Uzbeg on their pikes.[2] Their leader was Zoh in Rághi.[3]

Sháh Begum had fled from to Badakhshán, saying "It has been our hereditary kingdom for 3000 years.[4] Though I, being a woman cannot myself attain to the sovereignty, yet my grandson Mirzá Khán can hold it. Males descended from me and my children will certainly not be rejected." The Emperor assented, and Sháh-Begum and Mirzá Khán deputed for Badakhshán.[5] My brother Muhammad Sháh, who was in the service of the Begum accompanied them. As they approached Badakhshán, Mirza Khán was sent forward to announce to Zoh in Rághi the arrival of the Begum, and to explain her intentions.

No sooner had Mirzá Khán left them, than the army of Abú Bakr marching from Káshghar came upon them. All the men and the Begum and all who were of the party, were seized and carried off [to Káshghar]. An account of Abú Bakr will shortly follow.

Mirzá Khán [hearing of this event] hastened to Zoh in Rághi. At first Zoh in treated him with respect and honour, but afterwards paid so little attention to him, that he allowed only one or two servants to wait on him. When things had gone on a short time in this way, Yusuf Alí Kukildásh Diwána, one of Mirzá Khán's old retainers, conspired with eighteen other persons, and one night fell on Zohir, slew him, and set Mirzá Khán upon the throne. From that date, 913, till the end of his life, Mirzá Khán reigned over Badakhshán.

[1] Khusrau's country was the province of *Kunduz* or more properly the territory of *Kattaghán*, of which *Kunduz* was the capital.

[2] The words are *Sar-dárí*, but the passage makes no sense when translated literally. Erskine (in a note to his MS. in the British Museum) suggests a pun on the words *Sardár* and *Sar-dárí*, by adopting which the translation may stand as given here.

[3] That is a native of *Rágh*—a hill district in north-western Badakhshán, on the left bank of the Panjsh and opposite Kulá.

[4] Sháh Begum (Khán Mirzá's grandmother) was as we have been told above the daughter of Sháh Sultan Muhammad King of Badakhshán, and the widow of Yunus Khan Babur's maternal grandfather. (See also Babur, p. 21.)

[5] This *Mirzá Khan* (or more properly perhaps *Khan Mirza*) was the son of Sultan Mahmud Mirza who was third son of Sultan Abu Said and uncle of Babur. Mirzá Khan was ruler of Hisar, Kulan and Badakhshán. His mother was Nigar Khanim a sister of Babur's mother. Consequently he was Babur's cousin both by the father's and the mother's side. His proper name was *Sultan Veis Mirza*, and it is not clear how he acquired that of *Khan Mirza* or *Mirza Khan*. One of his brothers, Baisanghar Mirzá, had been murdered, and another, called Sultan Másud Mirzá, had been blinded by Khan Shah. (See Babur, pp. 128 and 217.)

Abú Bakr was a Dughlát, and brother of the author's uncle, Sayyid Muhammad Mirza.

After the conquest of Kandahár, Bábar remained in Kábul. Those Moghuls of Khusrau Shâh's army who had stayed behind, to the number of about 3000, now raised Abdu Razzák[1] to the throne, and declared against the Emperor, who had only 500 men left with him. However, with those 500 men, he met them in a pitched battle. This was one of the Emperor's greatest battles. After much giving and taking of blows and countless hand-to-hand fights, the Emperor broke and routed the foe. In that action he personally, and alone engaged five different champions of the enemy. Ali Sayyid Gur, Ali Sinár, and three others and with brave strokes and sword cuts put them all to flight

In this same battle, Abdu Razzák Mirzá fell into the Emperor's hands, but was treated with generosity and set at liberty.

After these events, the affairs of the Emperor began to march favourably in Kábul where he remained until the year 916 [1510], when Shâhi Beg Khán was slain, as will be mentioned below.

CHAPTER XIII.

EXPEDITION OF SHÁHI BEG KHÁN INTO KHWÁRIZM. HIS CONQUEST OF THAT COUNTRY. HIS RETURN TO MÁVARÁ-UN-NAHR, AND HIS MARCH INTO KHORÁSÁN.

When Shâhi Beg Khán had disposed of the Moghuls, Sultán Said Khán fled to Moghulistán, and my father to Khorásán. Some [of the Moghuls] were put to death and others imprisoned. Shâh Begum was sent into Khorásán, while the rest of the Moghuls, [Shâhi Beg] carried with him into Khwárizm. He besieged [Khwárizm] for eleven months Ilbars Sufi was then acting as governor for Mirzá Sultán Husain. During all that time no one came in answer to his appeal for help, and he fought some marvellous battles, *which even now are celebrated among the Uzbeg.* At length, in consequence of the dearth of provisions, most of his men died of hunger, and resistance became no longer possible, then Shâhi Beg Khán took the citadel, put Ilbars Sufi to death, and returned to Samarkand.

As, before the conquest of Khwárizm, he had laid siege to Balkh for six months, and had left that enterprise only half completed

[1] Abdur Razzák was another of Babar's numerous cousins. He was a son of Sultán Ulugh Beg Mirza of Kabul (son of Abu Said), and had reigned in Kabul until expelled by Mukim, son of Zunnun Arghun late in 1508 or early in 1501. (Lubku, *Hist.*, I. 211, 215, 216, 277, etc.)

(as has been related above), he now went and conquered Balkh, and then returned to Samarkand, where he passed the winter. In the spring he set out against Khorásán. Mírzá Sultán Husain had died the year before, and his sons, in their indolence and indifference, could not come to any mutual agreement. When the news arrived of Sháhi Beg Khán's approach, everything was thrown into the confusion and disorder. Every one had some suggestion to offer, but no conclusion could be arrived at [and while they were still engaged in those arguments] news came that Sháhi Beg Khán had reached Herat. Mirzá Zunnun led out an army [to oppose him], but [saw] that it was too late to dam the torrent with earth, or to smother the blazing fire with dust, and he was himself slain at the first onset of the Uzbeg, who forthwith entered and plundered Herat. The Mirzás all fled in different directions, and the greater part of the army did not even know how Herat had been taken. Thus easily fell that important city with its vast population.

Mír Muhammad Salih, one of the Amirs of Sultán Abu Said, whose name is to be found in the "Lives of the Poets" [*tazkira*] discovered the date of this event, namely, 912, in the words *Fath-i Khorásán*—'Conquest of Khorásán."

CHAPTER XIV.

THE REASON WHY MY FATHER, MUHAMMAD HUSAIN KURKÁN, SURRENDERED HIMSELF TO SHÁHI BEG KHÁN. MARTYRDOM OF MY NOBLE UNCLE, SULTÁN MAHMUD KHÁN, AND OF MY FATHER.

My father and Mirzá Khán left Kábul and went to Kandahár, whence the former proceeded, with the intention of making the Holy Pilgrimage, while Mírzá Khán remained at Kandahár. [My father] had resolved to go to Sistán, and taking the road by Noh and Bandán, to reach Kirmán; since if he travelled by way of Khorásán, he would be hindered by the importunities of the Mirzás.[1] On nearing Faráh he was met by a body of fugitives in the most pitiable state imaginable, who told him that Sháhi Beg Khán had seized Khorásán in the manner above related.[2]

When they reached Faráh they found that the roads on every side were unsafe, and there was nothing left for my father but to remain where he was. Thus he stayed three months in Faráh. On Sháhi Beg Khán learning of his whereabouts, he sent him a

[1] The Turki MS. has: "the Mirzas would press him to stop."—R.

[2] The Turki adds: "And we have fled from him having said this they gave him an account of the victory, as we have given it above."—R.

most courteous invitation [which he accepted], and, accompanied by the magnates of Faráh, he went to visit Sháhi Beg Khán, who was then encamped at Ulánge Káhdastan,[1] in great magnificence; but the limits of this life me prevent me from giving full particulars. No one would ever have imagined that change and destruction were coming over his affairs within a few years; it is wonderful how in a short space of time, all went to ruin, in a way that will be briefly described.

In short, he received my father with every mark of attention and honour, and showered down immeasurable presents upon him.

After this [Sháhi Beg Khán] went against Kandahár, where Sultán Násir *Mirzá*[2] *was* [ruling] *as has been mentioned above.* He laid siege to the town for forty days, and then, having made peace, he returned, carrying away much booty. During the same year there were battles between the sons of Mirzá Sultán Husain and Sháhi Beg Khán's Sultáns at Mashhad, Nishápur, Astaráhád and Jushúr. In all these encounters the Uzbeg warriors were victorious, and the Ghaghatái defeated. A great number of the Ghaghatái were slain, and those who escaped became so scattered that they were never again united.

At this time, Ubaid Ullah Khan, who was Sultán (and many

[1] Kahkstán appears to have been situated in the neighbourhood of Herat. It lay probably to the north or north-east of the city, but is not marked on maps now in use. (See Barbier de Meynard in *Journ. Asiat.*, 8e série, xvii. p. 530.)

[2] Násir Mirzá was Bábar's younger brother and had been appointed Governor of Kandahár, when Bábar took that place in 1507. (Erskine, *Hist.*, i., pp. 80 and 270.)

[3] Ubaid Ullah Khan (or Ubaid Ullah Sultán) was son of Mahmúd Sultán (Sháhi Beg's brother), and afterwards (in 938) became Khákán, or overlord, of the Uzbegs. It may be remarked here, that the Uzbeg government was not an absolute sovereignty, but was committed, by an election of chiefs, into the hands of one of their number. Sir H. Howorth likens it to that of the Russian mediæval times and says: "It was in fact a confederation of appanaged princes under its own Khan, and all subservient to an overlord who was styled Khákán and answered to the Grand Prince in Russia, which latter had a feudal authority over the appanaged princes. On the death of a Khákán the appanaged princes met together to choose a successor, and the choice was usually limited to their own body, generally falling upon the senior representative of the house not necessarily the heir by right of primogeniture but the eldest living representative of the senior line. It has followed, in consequence, that in many notices of Khákans there has not been sufficient discrimination between the line of Khákáns, or chief Khans, and those of the appanaged princes, and the two lists have been confused together." (Vol. II. p. 713.) Ubaid Ullah's private appanage was Bokhara, as mentioned in the text, but he was practically Sultán of the Uzbegs at the time in question, though Kuch-Kunji (otherwise Kichum Khan) was nominally in that position. It appears that Ubaid Ullah ruled the whole of Transoxiana, including Bokhara, during two reigns before he was himself proclaimed Khákán in 1010 H., or 1588 A.D. These reigns were Kuch-Kunji, 1510-30,

Abu-Said, 1530-88, and they were followed by

Ubaid Ullah Khákán, 1588-39.

Mr. Stanley Lane Poole points out the "duality character of Shaibani's dynasty," and remarks that, although Samarkand was the capital, "there was generally a powerful and sometimes an independent government in Bokhara." (See S. L. Poole, *Cat. Orient. Coins in Brit. Mus.* VII. p. xiv; also Stokvis, *Manuel d'Hist., etc.*, p. 157.)

victories were in his name), was going to Bokhárá, which was his hereditary seat of government. He begged my father to allow me to accompany her. The reason for this was that Habíbah Sultán Khánish (who has been mentioned, in the detailed list of my father's children, given above) had been married by Shíbání Beg Khán to Ubaid Ullah Sultán, after [my father's] flight from Shahr-i-Sabz. So, with my father's permission, I was taken to my sister in Bokhárá.

In the winter of the same year, Shíbání Beg Khán went to attack the Kazáks in Mávará-un-Nahr, that is to say the Dasht-i-Kipchák.[1] Shíbání Beg Khán [first] took my father to Bokhárá, but when he went to attack the Kazák, he left him in Samarkand. He returned in the spring, and then set out for Khorásán, entrusting my father to the care of Timur Sultán, his son, to whom he had given Samarkand. So my father spent that spring in Samarkand, while I was living with my sister in Bokhárá.

At this time news came that Sultán Mahmúd Khán had left Moghulistán and was advancing, on Andijan, with complaints and demands. Shíbání Beg Khán sent to beg my father to come into Khorásán. My father accepted the invitation and went. He felt his end was drawing near, and on the tablet of his face he recognised the hue of martyrdom. His hope of safety being more slender than a spider's web he devoted all his attention and energy to providing, for my safety, so that should his precious soul be drowned in the whirlpool of martyrdom, I at least on the shores of safety, should be protected from risks and dangers.

On his first visit to Herat, my father had sought out a pious and talented man to be my teacher, whose name was Hájiz Mírán. He was indeed, a pious and ascetic man [*fakír*], possessed of numerous talents. He could recite the Kor'án with special attention to the modulations of the voice, and wrote the *Nasta'álík* hand and chose beautifully. My father was much pleased with him, and during [his stay in Herat] this man was his constant companion, whether in the time of contentment and pleasure, or in the days of trial and sorrow. He instructed me in the Kor'án and in calligraphy.

When the time came for starting for Khorásán, my father showed me, in private, much kindness, and did his utmost to console and comfort me, saying,: "Your uncle Sultán Mahmúd Khán has arrived [from Moghulistán] in spite of my having warned him both by word and in writing. I said to him, 'After the conquests of Amír Timúr, and the devastation [*takhrib*] of Moghulistán, your forefathers, though dispersed, remained in that

[1] This is the literal translation of the passage, but it seems to apply to the valley of Tegirmen (?) on the Dasht-i-Kipchák and the Mávará-un-Nahr [illegible] and the same region. The meaning most likely is that Shíbání Beg went into the Mávará-un-Nahr to attack, or check the Kazáks coming from, the Dasht-i-Kipchák.

country, and were awaiting their opportunity. Contenting themselves with scanty clothing and simple food, they took care of their people and their army. Thus passed 150 years, until the sun of your noble nature rose in Moghulistán, which is an eastern clime and the quarter where rise the lights of the Khákíns. At the middle [redacted] of your youth in the manner of your noble ancestors, you restored the fallen Moghulistán to its former glory, and together with Yunus Khán, you seized that opportunity, which had been long sought by your forefathers, and brought under your control those states which they so earnestly coveted. Thus you spent nineteen years in complete success. It is now clearer than the day, that the power of your victorious forces cannot be compared with the numbers of Shíbi Beg Khán's army. Hence it is your obvious duty to remain in Moghulistán, both for your own personal safety and for the welfare of your people. For though you may there be exposed to many hardships, that is better than extinction. It is, moreover, quite evident to me that should you ever fall into the hands of Shíbi Beg Khán, he will subject you to the most painful of tortures, and will doom your death his own life: on *no account whatever* will he spare you.'

"Thus did I use all the arguments in my power to dissuade the Khán, but [redacted] often [redacted] my remonstrances reached him, certain base advisers, in their short-sighted ignorance represented to him that 'Muhammad Husain Mirzá does not wish you to go, because lately Sháhi Beg Khán has shown him great favour, and he knows that your going would put an end to this.' To absurd representations of this kind they would add 'It is our firm conviction that if [Shíbi Beg Khán has treated Muhammad Husain Mirzá well, in return for his services, he will treat a hundred, nay, a thousand, times better, you who have done so much more for him'].[1] After the expression of all these impossible and absurd ideas, the following answer was sent back: 'Oh! *Dásh*' (that is, oh! Friend, for these two had become 'friends' according to the Moghul custom, in their youth, and called each other by this name up to the end of their days): 'how strange it is that you should be leading such a happy life in Khorásán and Samarkand, in spite of your knowledge of the pitiable state of affairs in Moghulistán. How can you allow me to be exposed to so much suffering?' But taking my words and advice as mixed with evil intentions, he failed to recognise their truth, and came. This instance is not the same [redacted] the former one.[2] Certainly Sháhi Beg Khán will fill the cup of the Khán's hopes with the fatal wine of martyrdom, and whatever dregs remain he will cause me to drink. I now commit you to

[1] This is in the Turki, in the Persian texts the same appears to be the name, but [redacted] of [redacted] [redacted]—R.

[2] That is the times have changed now.

the care of God. Though your company would be dearer to me than my own life, I fear Shíhi Beg Khán would not allow it, and I prefer the idea of your life being prolonged, even though it involve the bitterness of separation, you must therefore bear my absence patiently. Patience is bitter but it has a sweet fruit. Remember that when the father dies, the children are his heirs. You also have become an heir. If the land of my life escape from the net of Shíhi Beg Khán's intentions against me, we shall all have the joy of once more meeting.

'Now as your teacher, Hafiz Mirám, is a devout man, and is not on friendly terms with any of our people if anything happens to me, he will, with the advice of my partisans, be able to look to your interests. Moreover, his family is also in Khorásán. It is just a year since he left them to follow me; therefore he is going along with me.

"I entrust you to the care of Maulání Muhammad. Be careful to pay attention to all he may say to you, for he is my vicar [*khalífa*]. His father was my instructor and guide. From the day of his birth up to the present time, he has been my confidant and companion. I trust that he will always be your support in times of trouble, and that he will protect you through thick and thin."

Having thus threaded many pearls of good counsel upon the string of wisdom, and hung them on the attentive ear of my understanding, my father departed to go and wait on Shíhi Beg Khán, who was at this time besieging Kalát.[1] To all outward appearance he received my father with friendship, and then allowed him to proceed to Herat. When he reached Herat, a person was sent after him to put him to death.[2] Sultán Mahmúd Khán and his children were killed on the river of Khojand. My father was buried in the mausoleum of Amír Sayyid Husaini, while Sultán Mahmúd was placed in the mausoleum of Shaikh Muslih-ud-Dín, Khojandí.

This happened in the year 914. On the Chín, the chronogram *Lab-i-darya-i-Khojand* the banks of the river of Khojand was discovered. [Here follow some blessings upon the martyrs . . .

[1] Or succeeded. The text is—he came to take my place after my father.
[2] Kalat-i-Nadiri was the mountain and is in Khorasán.
The text is very much what I have followed here. Tr.

CHAPTER XV.

SOME OF THE AUTHOR'S OWN ADVENTURES.

After Shíbi Beg Khán had put my father to death, he despatched an embassy to Bokhárá with instructions to throw me in prison, and thus send me from those who had overthrown him to the river of Khojand. Although the order was unbecoming me to Ubaid Sultán, who received it (for he was married to my sister) still it was impossible for him to refuse.

But how excellent a thing it is that the Almighty has power to check the violent and, if He so wills it, to restrain the hand of the cruel: so that, without His consent, the tyrant cannot touch a single hair of any man's head. And this is confirmed by the events of this disturbed time.[1] For, in his glory, vanity and magnificence, see how many royal families Shíbi Beg Khán destroyed, and the number of princely houses he annihilated! For example, Sultán Husaini[2] and his followers, to the number of nearly 200,000 persons; Sultán Mahmud and the Mirzás with nearly 50,000 men—these all suffered at the hands of Shíbi Beg Khán. Again the royal houses of Samarkand and of Mirzá Sultán Ahmad—to what extremities were they not all driven by this tyrant? In a short space of time, he scattered to the winds of annihilation many governors and officials, so that the dust of their existence formed towers on the plains of non-existence, which reached up to the heavens, and from the mists of their sighs a frightful whirlwind arose in the deserts.

This king, who could commit such atrocities and practise such violence, was resolved on my death at a time when I had only just passed the half of my childhood, and did not know my right hand from my left, nor good from evil, nor had I the ability to use my strength—nay, I had not enough intelligence to execute *my own wishes. I had become an orphan, without father or* mother, my paternal uncles were scattered and my maternal uncles slain. I had not even an elder brother who could share in my grief; no friend or relation to comfort me.

That year 914, proved one of disaster for the Sultáns of the day in general, and of massacre for the Moghul Khákáns in particular. When God willed that all my uncles, aunts, and cousins should be carried off in different directions and murdered,

[1] The Aulki MS. says: 'This is explained by what happened to myself.—R.'

[2] That is Sultan Husain Mirza, Baikara, whose poetical name was Husaini, as I have [illegible].

[3] 1508-9 A.D.

I was the weakest and youngest of the family. The strangest part of it all is that they were, everyone, at a great distance [from Shíhi Beg Khán], as has been mentioned above, but being helpless, nay, having no alternative, they came and threw themselves into calamity and were murdered, while I escaped, though in the town of Bokhárá, in the middle of the ocean of Shíhi Beg Khán's dominions. Since the decree of the will of the Almighty had not been issued for my destruction, but for my preservation, Shíhi Beg Khán, with all His boasting and power, was not able to touch one hair of the head of that helpless little child whom he wished to kill. (Thanks be to God, the Lord of Heaven and Earth, the Possessor of Might, Majesty, and Power.)

The details [of my escape] are briefly as follows. At the above date, my father went to Khorásán and was put to death by Shíhi Beg Khán, who also sent an emissary to Bokhárá to kill me. And although this was an act that would have been distasteful to Ubaid Ullah Khán, it was quite impossible for him to disobey the orders of Shíhi Beg Khán. He handed me over to the emissary, with instructions to throw me into the river Amu, that I might join the souls others who had been drowned in the ocean of divine mercy. He was engaged in investigating some of the property which my father had left [in Bokhárá], alleging that the Mirzá had said to him: "Bring my property along with my son." This occasioned a delay of a few days. During this interval Maulání Muhammad, who was my master and my father's Khalifa, went to see Hazrat Maulání Muhammad Kázi, who asked him, "When are you starting for Khorásán?" Maulána Muhammad replied: "We have decided to depart in a few days." Hazrat Maulání then said: "Come back in a little while, I have something I wish to say to you." After a time, when the assembly of faithful men had dispersed, Maulana Muhammad came in again, and Hazrat Maulání asked him "How could I consent to Muhammad Husein Mirzá going to Khorásán, and now to the Mirzá's son going, there too?" Maulání Muhammad replied: "Verily, we are taking him, fully trusting in God's protection." Then, said Hazrat Maulání: "The Holy Prophet, when his life was threatened by the infidels of Mekka did not put his trust in standing, still and doing, enjoined, but took to flight. Therefore, what you should now do is, trusting in God, to take the Mirzá and flee; and if danger a cause of fear presents itself, I am your security. You ought certainly to set out without delay."

Maulání Muhammad used to say. "I never had any such thought in my mind, but those words of Hazrat Maulání had a wonderful effect on me, and the determination to go and seize you and carry you away, took so strong a hold of me that as soon as I had left him, I turned my whole attention to ourselves."

Having reached this point in my narrative, I think fit to give some details of the life of Hazrat Maulán í, who has been mentioned above, in connection with my illness.

CHAPTER XVI

HAZRAT MAULÁNÁ MUHAMMAD KÁZI

His name was Muhammad bin Burh án-ud Dín. His father was one of the intimate friends of Káz i Imád-ud-Dín Maskín, Samarkandi, and for this reason *Hazrat Maulánd* was known as Maulánd Muhammad Káza. After he had acquired a certain proficiency in the sciences, he devoted himself to the study of theology—walking in the way of God—and to this end he repaired to Khorásán. On leaving Samarkand, he went to pay his respects to that much beloved and respected example of piety, Khwája Násir ud-Dín Ubaidullah, who lived there. He asked Hazrat Maulán í where he *was going*. *The latter replied that he was going to Khorásán*. Again he asked: "Are you going for the sake of study, or for some other object?" A certain student, who was in the company of Hazrat Maulán í, said: "His greatest desire is to become a darvish." His Holiness (the Khwája telling them to wait a little, went in to his garden, and after a prolonged absence returned, bringing two letters for Hazrat Maulán í: one was a letter of recommendation to Khwája Kabír, the son of Maulánd Sád-ud Dín Kásghari; the other contained an account of the rules and practices of devotees, which he had written, and which he now gave to Hazrat Maulán í.

[Here follows an epitome or summary of the contents of the "Tract," which contained commendations to the study of divine truths, through following Muhammad, and warnings against associating with dancing and singing (or howling) dervishes, and against listening to heretical doctrines.]

In the *Salwdt al Arifin*, one of Hazrat Maulán í's works, it is written: "It was most strange that in spite of the Khwája's admonition, my desire to visit Khorásán was in no way lessened; I at length obtained Khwája Nasír-ud-Dín's sanction to depart, and set out for Khorásán. But as, on the road, incidents occurred which prevented me from proceeding further, I returned and entered the Khwája's service. The writer remained some time with him, and managed his private kitchen; and so great was his

devotion but he used himself to come, on foot, and lay the meals before Hazrat Ishán. He, by degrees won his entire confidence, and Hazrat Ishán used to address Hazrat Maulánd in the presence of all his most distinguished guests [1]

In all matters the most perfect intimacy and trust existed between them—so much so, that Maulánd Muhammad became an object of jealousy to the other companions of Hazrat Ishán and his children. And as this gave rise to much unpleasantness Hazrat Maulánd set out for Khotán in company with Maulánd Muhammad Amín, who was also a disciple of Hazrat Ishán. . . .

* * * * *

And there they spent six months in the enjoyment of the society of Maulánd Abdu Rahmán Jámi. Hazrat Maulánd then entered the service of Hazrat Ishán in Táshkand, who encouraged him and honoured him with the respectful style of "Ishán." . . . .

* * * * *

It was the fashion, at that time, for every Sultán to have one of Hazrat Maulánd's disciples for a spiritual guide. Thus Sultán Abu Said Mirzá entertained Maulánd Kásim; Sultán Ahmad Mirzá, Maulánd Khwájá Ali, and all the Sultáns observed this practice. Sultán Mahmud Khán was guided by Hazrat Maulánd. I have heard this last say: "I was once praising Sultán Mahmud Khán to Hazrat Ishán, when he remarked that Sultán Mahmud Khán was indeed a very capable young man but he had one fault, which was a hinderance to his advancement. A pupil, with such an instructor, ought to do all that his instructor told him, and not rely on his own judgment; but, like a hawk, he should pounce down upon whatever prey he sees against, whether or no he has strength sufficient, and should not hesitate and doubt, as the Khan did. It was this that prevented him rising to that elevation which his people had expected of him."

In a word, after the death of Hazrat Ishán, Hazrat Maulánd went to Táshkand, where he was welcomed with honour and devotion, and where he remained till the desolation of Táshkand, when he migrated to Bokhárá. At that time Mahmud Sultán, brother of Shíbi Beg Khán, and father of Ubaid Ullah Khán, was ruler of Bokhárá, as representative of Shíbi Beg Khán. He cultivated the society of Hazrat Maulánd and was his disciple for one winter, which greatly pleased Hazrat Maulánd who for his reason stayed on in Bokhárá from that date to the year 916 when my father went to Khorásán [2] and was martyred. It has been

[1] This paragraph is very obscure.—R

[2] The omission here consist of some irrelevant details concerning those holy men. They are obscure in style, Mr. Ross informs me, and of little importance.

[3] The Turki text adds here:—"I, also, was at Bokhára." The date should be 916.

mentioned in my own story, and will be related again, how kind Hazrat Maulání was to me.

When the Kizilbásh[1] overran the land (as will be described), Hazrat Maulání left Bokhárá and went to Andijan and Akhsi, where he resolved to stay. There, many people became Nakshbandi under his guidance, thus attaining high rank, and are, to this day, a blessing in the land, where they propagate the doctrines of their sect. An account of these men will be given below, in connection with the biographical notice of Hazrat Makhdúmi. Wherever in this history Hazrat Maulání, the lately, is mentioned, Hazrat Maulání Muhammad Kázi is indicated. Further details of his life will be given in their proper place.

[1] Frequently applied at the present time, in Central Asia, that the word *Kizil-bash* is used to denote almost any Shiá, but more especially a Persian, a Khorasani, Shiah, and in less measure Turk. In the sixteenth century, however, as may be seen in many passages in Erskine's *History*, that term was evidently used by him to mean the Persians in general, who at that time were called *Kizil-bash*; and it appears to have originated at Mirza Haidar's mention of them. The Turki word is literally *Red Head*, but is properly *Red Cap*. The people who originally bore the name of *Kizil-bash* were certainly the seven Turki tribes who were the chief supporters of Shah Ismail during his early, successful, campaigns in the west of Persia, and which distinguished by a peculiar red cap, which included the name of these tribes are given by the historians as (1) the Ustajlu, (2) the Shamlu, (3) the Nikalu, (4) the Rumlu, (5) the Zulkadru, (6) the Kajar, and (7) the Afshar tribes. The new head-dress of these seven tribes at first consisted of twelve gores, in reference to the Shia twelve Imams, but as additional tribes were raised for the army by the king, the number of gores was increased, but the name of *Kizil-bash* was retained by the seven Turki tribes, who were the chief supporters of the throne during his early, successful campaigns in Persia, and who still form the bulk of the Persian army. The Persians, however, call the Turki-speaking Persians *Kizil-bash*, and also apply the term to the Persian language. The Turkis themselves, however, call their language Turki, and have adopted the Persian language. They are all Persian-speaking Turks, but they are considered as a distinct class in Persia. The name is now chiefly used in Afghanistan and the adjoining regions of Hindu-kush, Kashmir, and Turkistan. In order to distinguish these Turki-speaking Persians, from the Persians proper, the former are called the Kizil-bash of the country, while the Persians are called Núh Shiah, or Nine Shiahs. It would thus appear that they were originally Afghans, and that there are some 1200 families of the Kizil-bash in the city of Kabul alone, who are they say the only remaining military class in Afghanistan, and also a powerful party, in all assemblies of much importance. (Malcolm, *Hist of Persia*, i, pp. 123, 511; *Olearius*, p. 811; Elias, *Punjab Census* 1881, i, p. 278; Elphinstone, *Hist of Kabul Shah*, 1972, i, 197.)

[2] This is a loose explanation, but is from literally what it stands in the original. It does not determine whether the Maulana stayed at Andijan or at Akhsi.

CHAPTER XVI.

RETURN TO THE HISTORY.

BEFORE entering upon the life of Hazrat Maulá, I had reached that point in my narrative where Hazrat Maulánà Muhammad, who was my tutor [*ustád*], had resolved that he would escape with me. Though he had previously had no intentions of this sort the idea gained complete ascendency over his Christ like mind. With this intent he came to me, in private, and asked me. 'Do you propose to go to Khokán in now?' I replied. "Yes, I must go, for I have been sent for." He then said: "It is quite certain that Shah Beg Khán will put you in chains, but what he will do with you after that I cannot say. Then he added "I have something to tell you, but will only to so on the condition that you will reveal the secret to no one." I then took a very solemn oath and swore I would not repeat what he told me after which he said "They have murdered the Mirzá in Khokán, and have now sent for you They have given orders that you are to be sunk to the bottom of the River Amu, and thus to be despatched to the next world If you know of any one who will carry you off, then fly at once.

'So death attacks the both old and young,
And fills with fun the minds of all assess.'

Pain and dismay overcame me, and began to weep I longed to flee, in the hope of saving my life.

The Maulánà said: "You must keep this secret well hid, lest on the watch For the moment give the sign you must hasten away."

He had a friend who lived outside the town of Bokhárá, and arranged that I should pass a few days in perfect contentment in this man's house. He informed certain of my father's servants of this plan, and arranged that on the night of our flight, those servants should take some saddle horses and start in a certain direction, in order to make the spies think that we had fled on horseback, and thus cause them to scour distant roads, searching only the outside of the town while not suspecting the inside

Accordingly, the same night that we took refuge in the house of this friend, the servants took the horses and carried out the orders which had been given them. All turned out as we had expected The spies imagined that we had escaped on horseback, and no one made search for us in the town. We remained fourteen days in

the house of that excellent man. After this lapse of time, we joined a party of donkey-drivers and accompanied them to the town of Hisár Shádmán. In the bázár of that town one of my father's servants recognised Maulaví Muhammad. Fearing lest he might trace me out, we at once fled from Hisár. On the road I fell from my donkey, and dislocated my left elbow. We dared not re-enter the town, or the bázár, and in the villages we could not find a bone-setter, thus I endured the greatest agony for two months.

At Pushang, one of the villages in Khalján, we spent some days in the house of one of its holy men, who was known as Khwája Habíb Ullah. He was a benevolent person, and after diligent search found a bone-setter, whom he brought. The bone-setter broke the joint again, and set it. I had not been able to use my arm for two months, and from the intensity of the pain, had, during all that time, never slept at night. That night, however, I fell asleep.

One day, while we were there, a soldier came in and, placing his quiver in a corner, sat down. Having scrutinised the company, he came quickly forward, and said with great respect and courtesy, "Does not Khwája Maulaná Muhammad know me again? I was Mirzá Muhammad Husain's cook at such and such a time; in those days I rendered you good service.' And as he gave such clear proofs of recognition, it was vain to disclaim his acquaintance. Moreover, Maulaná Muhammad seemed much pleased, gave expression to his joy, and began to enumerate the good qualities of that man. That day and night they spent in friendly intercourse. When day broke and he was about to depart, he stood in the doorway of the house, in a respectful attitude, and said "Oh, Khwája Maulaná Muhammad, blessings be upon your zeal and fidelity. It was a noble and a suitable act of yours to take Mirzá Husain's son and escape with him. If I had had any power or means, I would have given my assistance; but I have not. However, if I can, in any way, further your plans, I will hasten to lend my part.' So saying he departed.

A little while after, there came an intimate friend of Khwája Habíb Ullah who whispered something, in the Khwája's ear; whereat the Khwája's colour fled from his face. He immediately took the man apart and said, "Now repeat what Shaikham' said.' The man replied "Shaikham told me to go and tell Khwája Habíb Ullah that 'this man' has fled with the son of Mirzá Muhammad Husain; the child is the cousin of Mirza Khán

[1] The only word in the texts is *Shaikham*, but no doubt reference is made to *Shaikham Mirza*, who, as author informs us lower down, was an uncle of Ubaid Ullah Khan. He was governor of Karshi, and was killed, in 1512, at the taking of that place by the Persians under Shah Nyan.

and of Bábar Pádsháh. Perhaps the Khwája is keeping him in his house and in this case he will inform the enmity of Hamza Sultán.' Behold, I am going to inform the Nayib Mutlab Sultán [of the matter], so that the house and home of Khwája Habíb Ullah may be swept away with the broom of plunder its dust mount to the skies, and its vapour be diffused over the earth.' With those words he went away.

This Mutlab Sultán was the son of Hamza Sultán, a one-eyed wretch, whose inward vision was rendered blinder than his outward sight by the darkness of tyranny. All the oppressed of those countries united, at his court, in a common protest against his tyranny. The leaves of the trees of these people's lives were constantly trembling from the violence of his blasts.

Khwája Habíb Ullah remained for a while buried in thought, then raising his head, he said: "No one has delivered you over to me as hostages. I will not, from fear of being held responsible for a charge I have not taken upon myself, deliver this little child into the hands of death. To do so, would be conformable neither with the teachings of Islám nor the dictates of humanity. Rise up and flee whithersoever you may be safe. And whatever chastisement may fall upon me, on your account, I will consider as treasure laid up for me in the next world.' We then having returned him thanks, bade him farewell, and set out on our

At this time Sháh Rizi-ud-Dín, who was a Chághatái Kúsh, appeared in Badakhshán. His folk were used to put to death every one they met, looming it a means of salvation, and reward in the next world. He had caused all the roads to be stopped, so that it was impossible for us to journey into Badakhshán. Sháh Rizi-ud-Dín was one of the cursed Mulhida of Kuhistán, whose story is to be found in all histories. Most of the people of Badakhshán are adherents of that sect. They hold the world to be without beginning or end [*kadím*] and do not believe in resurrection or a future state. They say that during the lifetime of the Prophet it was incumbent on all to abide by the statutes of the Holy Law, but at the present time, the sole duty of man is to speak truth, walk and to be faithful to their morning. All other ordinances are futile. Sexual intercourse [*zan*] with their own kindred is lawful, and the enjoyment of it is, in no respect, dependent on marriage; thus should one have a passion for somebody with whom its indulgence is practicable, it is lawful to gratify it—be it with daughter or son or mother.

[1] An Uzbeg chief who had at one time been in Babar's service, and afterwards joining Shahi Beg, turned against him. Finally, in 1511, he fell into Babar's hands and was executed as a traitor, together with two other Uzbeg leaders. At the time in question here, Hamza was master of Hisár (Haskins, *Hist.*, i, pp. 115, 315, etc.)

[2] The Turki has—no one has made me responsible for you—it

It is also lawful for them to take one another's lives or property [In fact] the sect of Mulahida is the worst form of heathenism in the world [1] At the time of the conquests of Shi'hi Beg, Khán,

[1] It is noticeable that Mirza Haidar uses the word *Chiragh-Kush* (= 'an extinguisher,' as a synonym of *Mulahida*, on the implication that such is alluding to Properly, the language used of Shiahs is *Ismaili* and they take their from Ismá'il the eldest son and nominal successor of Imam Ja'fu Sadik They consider Ismail as the first entitled to the Imámat, and do not acknowledge as lawful the succession of his brother Musa, and of the five last Imáms One branch of the sect founded the Fatimite dynasty of the Khalifs which for a time established in Northern Persia whence it was known by the name of *Ali-Illáh*, as well as by that of *Ismailis* It is not clear, however that all the eastern, or Asian *Ismailis* hold the doctrines of the *Ali-Illáhi*. Mr Colebrooke quotes the book called *Dabistán*, by Mullah Mohsin Fani, from which I transcribe the following extract as it brings to light the meaning and origin of the name "The Ali-Ilahi hold that celestial spirits which cannot otherwise be known to mankind, have frequently appeared in palpable shapes On Shimshál I was told that a human form, but especially in the person of Ali Murtaz, whose image I brought at Al-Ullat, or Ali-Ghol These actions and unlawful worship they again that Ali Murtaza whom he quitted this earth, returned to heaven, while he left with himself, and he shall descend *akhir* [sic] assume [illegible] humanity [illegible] the Koran it is now Mant . they do not in the transmigration of souls to the person [illegible] Imams Some of them that the human station of the divine being in the age of the world was *Ali-Illáh* his later Imáms his glorious posterity, and they consider Muhammad as applicable only *Ali-Illáh*. When they say they, are Nuseiri Ansariyeh, they manifestly assumed the name for the purpose of assisting the project" The names of *Mulahida* and *Chiragh-Kush* are forms to us strange, while that of *Assassins* by which the Isma'ilis were known to Europe in the Middle Ages, was doubtless their name of disgrace, a corruption of *Hashishiyun* the *Hashish-eaters*, a title applied in contempt, as well as in literal enumeration to Middle Ages, the *Old Man of the Mountain*. Full information regarding the *Ismailis*, the *Ali-Illahi* and their body may be obtained from Hasan 'Ali Shah, the present Aga Khan, who resides at Bombay in Kutch, and who, though only 32 years of age, is the head of the Khojah sect of Near East Africa, while his ancestors, the well known mediæval Persian *Mulahida* Kings, p' it is to the *assassins* of Kuhistan of North-West Persia that his titles. The ethnological name of "Old Man of Mountain was at *Alamut* (the "Eagle's Nest") about thirty-two miles N.E. of Kazvin, until the power the dynasty was broken, by the Mongol army under Hulaku, in 1253, when the seat, as capital of the dynasty was transferred to Mirza Hasan's (now called Kwaja) the present day) they seem to have flourished in the mountainous districts of Badakshan and the Upper Oxus, and from time to time no doubt, some of them, like Shahab-ed-Din the text, have emigrated to greater or lesser distances, and are now known as *Ismailis* or *Alphi-Khani* in honour of their "Imam of religious name, who took up his residence in Bombay in 1851, and whose successors still live there, and are known as Shiah sect, still carry tribute to him at Bombay, and revere him as the head of their religion

As regards the name *Chiragh-Kush*, it may be added that it is a term which has been applied by many religious sects besides those of the Shiahs, indeed it was applied by the early Christians, and is meant to stigmatize their proceedings as immoral or obscene by comparing them to what, after their gatherings for worship the lamps are extinguished and obscene orgies indulged in Thus it is merely an allusive term, invented by intolerant religionists In our times, at any rate, (as far as European travellers having opportunities of judging) their morality is no worse than that of their neighbours.

The most notices of these sects and their history will be found in Yule's *Marco*

the people of Badakhshán (as has been mentioned) were acting independently, still, they had never neglected to pay tribute to Razi-ud-Dín, who was a Pírzáda, or to his ancestors. At that time Shah Razi-ud-Dín was brought from Sistán into Badakhshán. But before his arrival Mirzá Khán, as already stated, had come, and having killed Zobir, set himself up as king. As the people of High as well as most of the Hazárahs of Badakhshán, attached themselves to him, his supremacy was absolute. All the inhabitants of Badakhshán, both far and near, openly and privately, adhered to him.

When we reached Dili Bízir, one of the chief villages of Khatlán, we heard of these events. Whereupon we debated together as to what should be done; some of the people of that place counselled us, saying, "Nik Pai Sháh, although he professes obedience to Hamza Sultán, is nevertheless a well-wisher of Mirzá Khán, and has also pretty constant intercourse with Shah Razi-ud-Dín. If you throw yourselves upon him for support and protection, he will be able to convey you to Mirzá Khán." The Maulaná, having, for some reason, gone to Nik Pai Khán, to whom he explained that he was the preceptor of Mirzá Khán,[1] and that having escaped the tyranny of the Uzbegs, he was desirous of repairing to the foot of the throne of Mirzá Khán. "If," he continued, "you will help me in this matter, your reward shall be great,[2] I shall moreover, be able to represent your loyalty in the most favourable light to Mirzá Khán." Nik Pai Sháh received the Maulaná with great respect and honour, and instructed five of his most trusted men to escort him across the river to Rusták, which, though in ruins, was at least a place of security from the violence of the Chaghatáis. About the hour of midday prayer, those five men came and conveyed us across the river Amu, whence we advanced towards Rusták. When the blazing torch of the sun descended into the west of the West, and the sparks of the stars were scattered over the smoke-stained vault of heaven, fire fell upon the souls of those five men, and they began to brawl and wrangle. These other poor men, who carried a little merchandise, were of our party, being bound for Kala-i-Zafar, where they hoped to realise a small profit. These five men said to us: "You must pay duty [*báj*]"; and what was demanded was accordingly handed over. Again they said: "To each of us, separate payment is due"; and this also they took. Finally they said: "[Your have

Polo, i. pp. 116-8, 152-5; *Cathay*, i. pp. 158 f.; Colebrooke in *Asiatic Researches* viii., p. 389; Sir H. Rawlinson, *J. R. G. S.*, vol. ix. (1839), pp. 82-7; Bretschneider, i., pp. 112 *seqq.*; and D'Herbelot, *Bibl. Orient.* s.v. *Ismailoun*, *Molhedoun* &c.

[1] The Turki MS. says: one of Mirza Khan's eldest attendants.—R.

[2] Literally: [Yours] shall be the reward of Gabriel.—R.

no need of money]," and they threatened to plunder us. How could five poor artless men withstand five stalwart ruffians *ghalcha*.[1] Besides, they gave us no time, but began to bind us all, as a first step towards putting us to death. When they had held of Maulaná Muhammad, he called out in an authoritative and severe tone of voice "You dare not do us any injury. Do you know who this is?" (pointing to me) "This is the brother of Mirzá Khán, who, flying from Bokhárá, is on his way to visit his brother. A great number of his servants are following after him, as fast as they can, while others have stayed behind with Nik Pai Sháh. If we do not reach Kala-i-Zafar in safety, you can imagine what will be done to you." When Maulaná Muhammad had said this, the ruffians [*ghalcha* became mild [*sust*], and replied in their own dialect "Take back your possessions, oh! Khwája!" So saying they restored what we had given them, and turned to depart. In spite of our assistance, they would not help us any further, but returned. We, however, had no intention of returning, but putting our whole trust in God's protection, continued our road until dawn. During the day we crept into hiding, and on the following night again set out. At daybreak we reached Rusták, where we were safe from the hostility of the accursed Mulhida.

On the following day we arrived at Kala-i-Zafar. During the time of the Uzbeg domination of which I have spoken, when the people of Badakhshán raised their heads in every corner, and the Uzbeg made several unsuccessful invasions, one of the officers of Badakhshán was Mubárak Sháh. He had chosen out a strong place for himself, but before he was able to complete the fortifications, the Uzbegs came upon him. He gave them battle in that place, and defeated them, and for that reason he called the fort Kala-i-Zafar [the Fort of Victory; which name is the more appropriate seeing that Mubárak Sháh was of a tribe called "Muzaffari." It is the capital of Badakhshán.[2] This Mubárak Sháh was put to

[1] The dialects now current in the wild *ghalcha* villages, vaguely, mostly. The late Mr. R. B. Shaw divided it as it came supplied to the Trans-Asian inhabitants of mountainous Badakhshán, Shignán, Wakhán, Sarikol, Kulab, Karátegín, &c. In eastern Turkestán it is found in many analogous if not identical forms. Yarkandy in the slums it "Dukan's, dar khán Wuchs", and Pavet de Courteille "Comment vous portez-vous?" In any case it was a reproachful name, applied by neighbouring tribes, and not used by the people themselves. In many parts of Badakhshán, in Shignán, Roshán and Upper Panja, I may say Wakhán, the name is unknown to the inhabitants. They not only do not call themselves by it, but appear unconscious of its being applied to them by others. It is one among the many instances in Central Asia of one people being known to another by a contemptuous appellation instead of by their own name. (For a full account of the so-called *Ghalchah*, see Shaw's *Ghalchah Languages*, Calcutta 1876.)

[2] The ruins of Kala Zafar are still to be found. They stand on the left bank of the Kokcha a little below the mouth of the Argu river and above that of the Yoshk in stream. The Kokcha valley contains several traces of mediæval times; for instance the ruins of a fort called Ak-Khánah (on an isolated hill near the mouth of the river, and on its right bank), which is said to have been destroyed by

death by Zobir Rágha, who had defeated him, but who was, in turn, killed by Mirzá Khán as already mentioned. [Mirzá Khán then ruled Badakhshán] and resided in Kila-i-Zafar.

Mirzá Abú Bakr had taken many of the upper *tálákán*[1] Hazára of Badakhshán, and the lower *páyán* side which is flat country, he had joined on to the Uzbeg states, which lie on the borders of this territory. But the best of the country that was left between these two territories was under the sway of Shah Razi-ud-Din, the Chiágh Kush, and his Mulkhida Mirzá Khán encountered many difficulties and hardships in Badakhshán. When I came to him, he gave me a warm and affectionate welcome. Eighteen days before my arrival, Sultán Said Khán had come to visit him, [had stayed a short time] and then left [for Kábul], as will be presently related. I remained one year in the service of Mirzá Khán. The rest of my adventures will be told after the account of the Khán's journey to Kábul.

CHAPTER XVII.

ADVENTURES OF SULTÁN SAID KHÁN IN ANDIJÁN. HIS CAPTURE AND DEATH. MY RETURN TO KÁBUL.

It has already been stated that Sultán Said Khán had passed some time in the service of Shahi Beg Khán, and was consequently well acquainted with his disposition and that of his nobles. He had assumed that Shahi Beg would now spare the Moghul Sultán, merely in recognition of having once been consoled by them, after

Chiágh Khan. Above Kila Zafar also I heard mention of the present capital Faizabad, there are the ruins of a stone bridge across the scattered blocks of which, one of my party in 1885 found an Arabic inscription to the effect that the bridge had been built by Shah Sultan Muhammad, in the year 881 H. How long Kila Zafar remained the capital of Badakhshán I am not aware but I apprehension the native of Mirza Haidar that it could only have been in the end of the fifteenth century. It was still the capital of Badakhshán in 1810 when Elphinstone took refuge there, but by my last date I have met with no mention of it.

[1] I would *bálá-kust* seems to be a rendering of the *Tárikh-i-Rashidi*, with the meaning of a 'hill,' or highland, district: while the word *Hazára* denotes the inhabitants of such districts, and becomes therefore the equivalent of 'highlanders,' without reference to any local conformation or to the meaning of the word. I have never heard it used in this way but to judge from the context of Munshi Faiz Bakhsh (1870) it must still be commonly met with, for his epithets of the inhabitants of Wákhán, Hunza, etc., are *Hazára* and the former of these places must have been one of the 'hill-dwelling Hazára of Badakhshán' mentioned in the text. (See Faiz Bakhsh in *J. R. G. S.* 1872, p. 172.)

having fallen into their hands.[1] So whenever he had heard praises bestowed on Shíbi Beg Khán, he had not stood. Ultimately, things came to such a pass in Moghulistán, that he had no resource left but to surrender himself to the Uzbeg.

Under these conditions, he entered Andijín. The government of the province of Farghána was, at that moment, in the hands of Jání Beg Sultán. He had given Andijan to Khwája Ali Bahádur, who was one of Shíbi Beg Khán's most trusty men, and whom he now promoted to the rank of *Atálík*[2] guardian. He was partially mad, but, in military and state affairs, exceedingly capable.

The Khán reached Sulit-Kand, which is one of the dependencies of Andijín, but, before he told his name and descent, asked the inhabitants what had happened to Sultán Mahmúd Khán, and whither Sultán Khalil Sultán had been sent. They answered him: 'Sultán Mahmud Khán and all the Khánims of the Moghuls, who have come here, have been sent to the City of Non-Existence, by the Gate of Martyrdom."

At this announcement, the thread of the Khán's hope, which was slender as a spider's web snapped in two. But he did not regret that he had come, for he had done so as a last resource, with his eyes open and knowing the risk he was running. Khwája Ali Bahádur sent people to seize whatever they had brought with them, and imprisoned the Khán in an apartment which was above the gateway of the citadel of Andijín.

On the morrow, when the glorious sword-bearer of the Sun drew his sword from the sheath of the horizon, and caused its dazzling brightness to illumine the earth, the resplendent world was as darkness in the eyes of the Khán, who was sent, with his hands tied to his neck, to Jání Beg Khán in Akhsi. But Khwája Ali Bahádur was depressed and sorrowful, he felt deeply for the Khán, but though he did not dare to disobey Shíbi Beg Khán's orders, he could no more think of releasing the Khán

[1] This passage is a mere outline of translation of what the text means.

[2] The proper meaning of *atalik* is "guardian" or "tutor." In speaking of Bokhara and the Kipchak country, Sir H. Howorth (on the authority of Schefska) tells us that "Originally the duties of the *Atálík* consisted in superintending the education of the heir-apparent, and he kept aloof as a honoured Afterwards the *Atálík* became one of the highest officials of state, almost equal to those of Divan-begi and Kush-begi, and eventually, having come to hereditary and fully independent rulers of the provinces, like to Merwi governors of the palace, and succeeded like them in usurping the chief authority of the state" (Vol II, p 869). Another instance of what Sir H. Howorth states here was the career of the late Amir Yakub Beg Wali, who, after he had begun to exercise power in Eastern Turkestan, and while nominally in the service of Buzurg Khan of Khokand, assumed the title of *Atalik Ghazi*, but soon afterwards abolished the office of *Atalik* and assumed the title of *Amir-ul-Mumenin*, and reigned independently.

On Ritter and Oetzel's map of 1811, a small place named Ush to the south east of Andijan, is marked as *Lait Kend*, which may possibly represent *Sulat-Kand* of the text. Neither name appears on modern maps.

Before sending him off he had despatched a special messenger to announce the Khán's approach. At about that time, Jáni Beg Sultán had fallen from his horse onto his head, and his brain had become severely deranged, so that now, most of his actions and words were inconsistent with a healthy understanding, and the reins of memory fell from the hands of his intellect. On the day that this news was brought to him, it chanced that his brain was influenced by the spirit of Islám and the Holy Law (the Most High God had ordained this, for the purpose of delivering the Khán), and he said: "I am not an executioner that I should have leave to take any man's blood." He then ordered a letter [*nishán*] to be written to Khwája Ali Bahádur, saying: "The Moghul Sultán who has come [to you] has not been delivered in our custody. It would not be acting in conformity with the statutes of the Holy Law were I to take his life. It behoves me] to open to him the meadows of mercy and safety, that he may wander whither he will." [Such was the purport of his letter.]

When the Khán related these incidents to me, as he frequently did, he used to say: "I had, for a long time, felt quite assured that the Uzbeg would spare none of the Moghul Sultáns, and had become so convinced of this, at the time of my first visit to Andijan, that when I arrived there [on this occasion and] certain pious men had written to me and sent prayers for me to repeat, I said in reply to them: 'One of the conditions [of prayer] is that nothing impossible should be prayed for; now my deliverance must be reckoned among impossibilities, and therefore these prayers for my safety would be ill-advised.' To which they answered: 'Though these prayers may not have the power to bring about deliverance from the imminent peril in which you stand, yet on account of them, God will give you a greater reward in the next world.' On this assurance I accepted the prayers which they had sent me. I began also to turn over in my mind my chances of safety, and how my escape might be achieved, but not one of the ideas that occurred to me seemed feasible. If, for example, Shíbi Beg Khán were now to die, how could his dying in Khorásán, at the time when they were going to put me to death in Akhsi, in any way further my escape? If, again, Jáni Beg Sultán were to die, his death would not throw the affairs of the Uzbegs into such confusion that, during the disturbance, my escape could be effected. In short, I could not conceive any possibility or probability of deliverance. As we drew near to Akhsi we saw a horseman riding towards us; I was persuaded that he was coming to put me to death, and wondered how he would do it. But when he approached, we found that it was Maulána Nadar Khamsuz, one of the notables of Andijan. Thereu-

The Tarikh MS. interpolates here: I was quite prepared for martyrdom.

ing himself from the saddle, he came and kissed my stirrup, with joy and delight that know no bounds, and said 'Good news for you Táni Beg Sultán has issued an order for your release. The joyful mandate is now being brought by Dust Ali Ghulák.' It then occurred to me that he was saying this just to set my heart at rest, so I said, 'May God reward you with good things. As for me, I have withdrawn my mind from life, and therefore do not stand in need of such comfort.' But Maulá Haidar took what his assertions, and was confirming them with the strongest assevera-tions and the most solemn oaths, when Dust Ali Ghulák arrived, and commanded my guard [*mumkhal* to return, to escort me back to Khwája Ali Bahádur and perform all the details of the mandate concerning me. Thus, from within one *farsákh* of Akhsi I was conveyed back to Andijún.

"When the mandate was delivered to Khwája Ali Bahádur, he [having read it handed it to me. On perusing it, I found it to contain exactly what Maulána Haidar had told me. Khwája Ali Bahádur then said 'Though he should not abide by this decision but, changing his humour, should issue a second mandate reversing this one, still this is sufficient pretext for me; you must be cheerful, and enjoy now the soul-stirring, wine-cups of the spirit of youth. Be at your ease.' However much I insisted that it was but base deceit and a mean device to pollute the cup of martyrdom with [earthly wine, my protestations were of no avail.[1] Moreover, in conformity with the rules of good breeding, [*ihtirámát*], I was obliged to give in to his mode of thinking, [and with an unwilling heart I accepted his invitation]. As the wine-cup was passed round, the rose-coloured liquor diffused itself over my cheeks, which had become yellow as saffron, from the jaundice-taint of fear o' the lurid-souled Sháhi Beg Khán, in a moment, as like the red rose or the new-blown tulip. All that day was spent in wine drinking, [and when night came on] the feast adorning torches made the banquet hall bright as the day. [The festivities had scarce commenced] when one of Jání Beg Sultán's chamberlains named Allah Birdi came in and placed a sorrow-bearing mandate in the hands of Khwája Ali Bahádur, who passed it on to me, saying 'Read thy letter.' In it was written 'The question of the release of Sultán Said Khán has been reconsidered, and found to be contrary to the orders of the Khán. He must be sent to join those who have gone before him and who will never return. or, otherwise, according to the old Moghul custom, he *must be sent to the capital, where he should*, by means of the gallows, be sent to his lasting home.' On reading his ill-favoured mandate, the rosy tints of joy were exchanged for the saffron hues

[1] The Turki puts it. Now that I have mixed the wine of martyrdom to defile my mouth with the pure wine [of forgiveness] was of no avail.

of apprehension. Khwája Ali Bahádur grasped the situation, and asked: "What is the cause of your rejoicing? Read out the mandate.' So I read it aloud. Then Khwája Ali Bahádur became enraged, and said: 'His brain is disordered with this brief whatever emanates from such a mind, if it be originally a good thought, becomes a sin and if it be a premeditated sin -then God pardons us When a man has escaped from the edge of the sword, or from the foot o the gallows, he is as difficult to lay hold of as quicksilver he disappears like camphor unmixed with poppy. Where can I find him?' The chamberlain, kissing the ground of respect, said 'It is not reasonable that you, Bahádur, should deviate from the straight road of loyalty and adopt that of falsehood, which is the worst of qualities You say that the Sultán, like quicksilver, is not to be caught, but he is now at your side, and of this I am a witness' [At these words] Khwája Ali Bahádur blazed up, like a fire, with rage, and cried 'Have all the wo thy services and deeds of valour I have performed in the employment of Jáni Beg Sultán, resulted in so little that a Chaghatái like yourself (whose skirt of service is still so defiled with the pollution of hostility that no water of forgiveness could cleanse it) should command give me the direct, and point out to me the straight road of loyalty to this family? I will report your answer in full to the Sultán. He then ordered a hole to be cut out of a beam, and that the beam should be placed upon the man's neck [and he be made to sit bolt upright by the gate].

After the Khán Sultán Said had been invested with the robe of sovereignty of Andijan, this matter Allah Bardi was taken before him, and he was thus reminded of the man's former base conduct But he said: "Khwája Ali Bahádur avenged me that same night, and the rancour I bore him was washed from my heart So I am now to be restored to his former post of chamberlain,' and he gave him the middle rank of chamberlain, which was a high office for him.[1]

"That night was spent in communion-ship, until day dawned, on the morrow, attended by a few men, we went for Karátigin After travelling for one day, the men sent to accompany us, having lost the right road, turned back When Khwája Ali Bahádur was informed of this, he vented his wrath upon these men and punished them severely." He kept the Khán with him some days, while he selected for him some distinguished and trusty persons The first among these was Maulána Khalíki, a talented, good, and studious man; he wrote the *Nasta'lík-Táalik* perfectly, and composed good poetry, he was also a proficient musician. Another of them was Khwája Sálih, who was the leading merchant in the province of Andijan, and was known by every one he met on the road, while

[1] For full account see Appendix

people often appealed to him for advice in their affairs. A third was Maulánà Yusuf Kishghari, who was an accountant [*muhtasib*], much esteemed in Andijan for his judgment. Another was Ghulám Pari, a professional *comedian madam* and a skilled musician. Another was Mir Ahmad, one of the Andijan Turks, who had travelled much and knew all the best routes. Another was Jalál, a very serviceable man. Having given him these few men as an escort, he started the Khán on a second time.

Khwája Sháh and Maulánà Yasuf were dressed like merchants, Maulána Khaliki, Darvish Pir and the Khán were in the guise of students, and looked very like kalandars. Mir Ahmad and Jalál passed as servants of the merchants. Thus attired, they set forth and reached Kala-i-Zafar in perfect peace and safety. There they found Mirzá Khán, who received and entertained them as well as his straitened circumstances would allow. They remained there eighteen days. Now, since Mirzá Khán was a very feeble man, some of his retainers, on account of his weakness, thought fit to offer the Khán the government of Kala-i-Zafar (which was not worth half a loaf of bread). But the Khán declined, saying: "Mirzá Khán, who is my cousin, has been exposed to a thousand hardships, by crooked fortune. It would be contrary to all rules of good feeling and justice to oppose him, or to deprive him of this [possession]." The Khán accordingly hastened to depart, and went on to Kábul. Eighteen days after his departure, I arrived at Mirzá Khán's [capital], as has been mentioned above.

On reaching Kábul the Khán was welcomed with the utmost respect and honour by the Emperor. The Khán used to say [when telling his story]: "The six days that I spent in Kábul were the most fortunate of my whole life. Ever since I have been experienced, or ever shall experience, [any] such [pleasure] as I felt at the hour of his excellent Prince, in a continual succession of enjoyments, and in the most complete abandonment to pleasure and absence of preoccupation. I was on friendly terms with all, and made welcome by all. I never suffered even a headache, unless from the effect of wine, and never felt distressed or sad, except on account of the single case of some beloved one."

In short the Khán remained in Kábul as the companion and confidant of the Emperor. There existed between those two great princes perfect accord and love and trust. The Khán's visit lasted from Shaʿbán 914 to Ramazán 916,[1] at which latter date Sháh Beg Khán fell into the hands of Sháh Ismail, and was killed by him, as will be related

[1] From Nov., 1508, to Dec. 1510

CHAPTER XIX.

MIRZÁ KHÁN'S LIFE IN BADAKHSHÁN. LIFE AT HOR (OLS FROM BADAKHSHÁN TO KÁBUL.

I HAVE mentioned that I arrived at Kala-i-Zafar just eighteen days after the Khán's departure for Kábul. Mirzá Khán was living there in exceedingly straitened circumstances, being without provisions and surrounded by the scheming natives of Badakhshán. The Tangi Bálá,[1] in which are situated the strongest places of the Hazára, had been annexed to Kishghar, as will be mentioned below. The flat country of Badakhshán, the most fertile and prosperous part of that state, was under the control of the Uzbeg; while the rest of the land [from fear of the Uzbeg had been abandoned and had] become a waste. What yet remained over from the panther of the mountains of enmity, on the one hand, and from the crocodile of the river of tyranny, on the other, (that is to say, the Uzbeg and the Kishghari) had passed to Shah Razi-ud-Din, the Chingh Kush, who, having been brought from Sultán to Badakhshán, had been appointed king [of this portion]. He had introduced the religion of the Mulahilas, and outdid the oppression of his two tyrannical predecessors. Mirzá Khán, as a Musulmán was much harassed [by those infidels] and had scarcely the necessaries of life. That winter was passed in suffering.

In the early spring, a dissension arose among the supporters of Shah Razi-ud-Din, which ended in their cutting off his head and laying it at the feet of Mirzá Khán. By this defeat of the Mulahida [Mirzá Khán] gained a little power. Thus passed the spring; and at the end of autumn [*tirmáh*] a compulsory order came from the Emperor of the following purport: 'The son of Muhammad Husain Mirzá has been with you; your country is always exposed to the forays of the Uzbeg and my mind can never be at rest as long as he remains there; you must send him to me.

When Mirzá Khán gave me leave to go to Kábul, he tried his best to procure a coloured garment for me, but was unable to find one [and was obliged to excuse himself]. On that day a most curious incident occurred. I have already mentioned that I fell from my horse and dislocated my elbow at Langar Mir Amán (which is a dependency of Hisár), and that it had been broken again and set at Pushang. Although the pain had subsided I was not able to bend and straighten my arm. I could not bend it

[1] The *Tangi Bálá* may be translated—'the high defile' or "the upper regions."

enough to touch my face with my hand, nor straighten it sufficiently to draw a bow. During the spring, I spoke with Mirzá Khán, a man of Badakhshán, having stolen a two year old horse from the Uzbeg, had brought it as a present *pishkash* to Mirzá Khán who, in turn, gave it to me. One day the Mirzá was taking a ride for pleasure, and I accompanied him on that particular horse. While we were riding along, a thorn ran into the *Jhánsh-gáh*[1] of my horse. He gave two or three bounds into the air, and as I had not strength enough to keep hold of the bridle, it fell from my hand and I was thrown on to the ground upon my injured arm. As I struck the ground, I heard a sound in my bad elbow. The shock was so violent that I fainted. After a time I came to, and found that Mirzá Khán was holding my head upon his knees. He asked me how I felt. When I had quite recovered my senses, having bound up my arm, they conveyed me to Kala-i-Zafar. There they sent for the bone-setters *Jarráhan*.[2] On examination, they found that my arm had gone back to its proper place, so that after a short time I recovered the use of it, and no injury was traceable. This was certainly a very strange occurrence.

In a word, at the beginning of the month Rajab I left Kala-i-Zafar and the service of Mirzá Khán, and turned towards Kábul, accompanied by a party of sixteen. We only had two horses with us, and so limited was our baggage that I had nothing to lie on at night. Maulána Muhammad, who was a sort of father to the party, had nothing, but one meagre shawl, such as is worn by the poorest men in Badakhshán. What the condition of the others was, may be surmised.

When we reached Kábul, we were received by Shamsu 'Dagháí, who was maternal uncle to the Emperor and myself, and one of the pillars of state. With a hundred marks of respect, he invited me to his own house where I was entertained with distinction and kindness. Later, the Emperor sent a messenger to say that, after three days, the happy hour would arrive when he would see me. After that, the moon of my ascendency and [the star of my good-luck] emerged from their eclipse, and my misfortune changed to prosperity. Another command that I should have the honour of waiting [upon the Emperor]. When I came into his presence, the joy-diffusing glance of the Emperor fell upon me, and from the excess of his love and the intensity of his kindness, strong pearls and scarlet rubies began to rain down upon me from his

[1] I can find no meaning for *Jhánsh-gah*. The dictionaries only give 'pith of wheat.'—R.

[2] The word only means "bow-maker" in Persian, but is, I believe, used for "bone-setter."—R.

[3] In Bábar's own words this man's name is written *Shaikan* but in the *Tadhkirah*, everywhere *Shaikan*.

benign, jewel-scattering eye. He extended towards me the hand of favour and bade me welcome. Having first knelt down I [raised myself and advanced towards him. He then clasped me to the bosom of affection, drew me to the breast of fatherly love, and held me thus for a while. When he let me go, he would no longer allow me to observe the formalities of respect, but made me sit down at his side. While we were thus seated, he said to me with great benevolence. "Your father and brethren and all your relations have been made to drink the wine of martyrdom, but thanked God you have come back to me again in safety. Do not grieve too much at their loss. For I will take their place, and whatever favour of affection you could have expected from them, that, and more, will I show you." With such promises and tenderness did he comfort me, so that the bitterness of orphanage and the poison of banishment were driven from my mind. He then asked me, "Who was it that carried you off in flight?" I replied, "My nurse or, More' Mahram Sáh." He then sent for the Maulánú. When he arrived [the Emperor] honoured him with many kind speeches, and kept asking him the particulars of his story, while the Maulánú several times recounted the details of our escape. [The Emperor] praised him highly and rejoiced his soul with promises of favour. [When the Maulánú had taken his leave] the Emperor said to me, "You have not yet paid your respects to Sultán Said Khán," and thereupon he ordered one of his private officers to take me to the Sultán. I accompanied this officer, and at once waiting on the Khán, benefited likewise by his joy-scattering glances. I then retired to the presence of the Emperor. After sitting with him for a short time, I took my leave, amid assurances of royal favour.

When I came out, a man advanced to meet me with great respect and said: "I am the steward [*kárkúns*] of the abode which the Emperor has appointed for you." So saying, he led the way to an elegant mansion, its rooms were spread with many-coloured carpets and beautiful thrones [*masnad*]. Everything in the way of furniture, food, clothing, servants, and slaves, had been so fully prepared as to leave nothing to be desired in the whole building. It may be imagined how I enjoyed so sudden a transition to comfort, ease, and abundance from a state of poverty, misfortune, suffering, and hardship, which had rendered the soul weary of its confinement within the cage of the body. How can I ever show sufficient thankfulness? May God reward him with good things!

Thus I passed a long time in the service of the Emperor, in perfect happiness and freedom from care; and he was for ever, either by promises of kindness or by threats of severity, encouraging me to study. If he ever noticed any little virtue or new acquisition, he would praise it in the highest terms, commend it to

everybody, and invite their approbation. All that time the Emperor showed me such affection and kindness as a fond father shows his son and heir. It was a hard day for me when I lost my father, but the bitterness of my desolation became scarcely perceptible, owing to the blessed favours of the Emperor.

From this time, to the year 918 [1512 A.D.] I remained in his service. Whenever he rode out, I had the honour of riding at his side, and when he received friends, I was never to be among the invited. In fact, I never let me be separated from him. When I was studying, for example, directly my lesson was over he would send someone to fetch me. And in this fatherly manner did he continue to treat me till the end of my stay [*tá ál hán-i hál*].

CHAPTER XX.

EXPEDITION OF SHÁH BEG KHÁN AGAINST THE KAZÁKS, AND THE BEGINNING OF HIS REIGN.

As Shâh Beg Khán had filled the cups of the Khâns and my father with the wine of martyrdom, and had made them drink it to the last dreg, so also was his own cup of life full, and his fortune departed, for has it not been said "The wine which thou hast made others drink, that must thou also drink of in the end"? The goblet of his prosperity was upset, and that which he had caused others to taste, he was himself, in turn, obliged to drink to the lees. To be brief, as soon as he had set his mind at rest concerning the Khâns and my mother, Shâh Beg Khán carried devastation in all directions. In the year 915 [1509 A.D.] he proceeded against the Kazâks. At that time although Baranduk was Khán, yet all the business of government was conducted by Kásim Khán. In spite of his great power, Shâh Beg Khán had not force enough to withstand Kásim Beg. At that period, the numbers of his army exceeded 20,000. In winter time every one stayed in some place[1] where there was fodder for the cattle. In the middle of the winter, Shâh Beg Khán was engaged in plundering on every side, but he soon returned, his object being not to remain too far from his own country.[2] About the time above mentioned, he made his last expedition, but the strength of his horses and soldiers was quite exhausted, he himself remained in

[1] In the Turki MS.: "Were scattered in all directions."—R.

[2] This passage is obscure. It may mean that he never stayed away long at one time.—R.

the district of Kuk Kishlák, and having detached a force, whose horses had some strength left, sent them forward. This party fell in with a few men, whom they defeated and made prisoners.

One day they had halted for the sake of feeding their horses, when news came that Kásim Khán was at hand. This news alarmed them. Bayan Pir Hasan, one of Kásim Khán's Amirs, having heard of the invasion of the Shaibání, advanced against them with his own followers, he spread the report that Kásim Khán was approaching and had let himself be seen in the distance. Shibi Beg Khán's men, being fully persuaded that Kásim Khán was really upon them, *abandoned all they had seized—nay, even all they had brought with them* and retreated, in the utmost disorder and confusion, to Shibi Beg Khán, learning the news of Kásim Khán's approach. Sháhi Beg Khán at once ordered them to sound the drum of departure, without paying attention to anything but getting away. Those who liked stayed, those who wished to go went. Broken and in disorder, they reached Samarkand at the end *of the winter* [Sháhi Beg Khán] *himself went on to Khorásán*, where he spent the spring.

In the beginning of autumn *towards* he led an army against the Hazára, but search as he might, he could not find a trace of them in the Hazára mountains. For they had crept into hiding, so that it was impossible to find them. He returned by way of the passes, and along the bottom of a ravine where flows the River Halman [Helmand]. There were but few roads by which it was possible to descend the ravine, and these were extremely difficult. It was well nigh impossible for an army of that magnitude to pass by one or two paths, or to carry away sufficient [or to water the horses and beasts of burden]. They marched as they could for several days, but from want of water they lost their courage. Numbers of them perished; and this army, so, having received the decree of defeat returned to Khorásán. As it was winter, and two armies in succession had fared thus badly, he gave his soldiers a general leave of absence allowing every man] to return to his own home and country, whether he came from the confines of Turkistán or the furthest extremity of Irák and Kumán. At this juncture, news came that Shah Ismail was advancing on Khorásán. Now, as the army was dispersed, Shibi Beg Khán did not think it advisable to remain in Herat. He sent messengers to the surrounding districts, to summon the Sultáns and Amirs to assemble in Merv, whilst he himself proceeded thither; and when he reached Merv he found Shah Ismail was already close upon him, as shall be presently related.

CHAPTER XXI

THE BEGINNING OF HOSTILITIES BETWEEN SHÂHI BEG KHÂN AND SHÂH ISMAIL: DEATH OF THE FORMER AT THE HANDS OF THE LATTER.

It is written in the beginning of this Part and is mentioned in the list of the kings who were reigning in the different countries in the year 905, that Shâh Ismail had gained complete dominion over Turk. His dynasty had driven the Perfect Law [*Shariat*] out of that country, and had brought about general massacres. However, there is no room in this Epitome for an exposition of his misdeeds. When the frontiers of Shâhi Beg Khân's states came to border on Turk, the Uzbeg used to make forays into those parts of Turk which immediately adjoined Khorâsân. On this account Shâh Ismail sent an envoy to Shâhi Beg Khân, bearing suitable gifts, together with a letter, which ran as follows. "Hitherto the dust of dissension has never settled upon the skirts of our thoughts to such an extent as to raise a cloud of enmity. So the path of *fatherly conduct be observed on your side, and on this side* the bonds of filial relationship shall be established. [VERSE]

Plant the tree of friendship, for its fruit will be the desire of your heart,
Root up the sapling of enmity, which produces nothing but grief.

When the bearer of this missive arrived[1] at the court of the Khân, the following answer was returned. "It is fitting that every man follow the profession of his father. If he follows his mother he is going backwards. For Uzun Hasan withdrew himself from the circle of kings, on the day that he gave his daughter in marriage to your father, as did also Sultân Yakub, son of Hasan, *in giving him his sister. You had a right to make claims on your* mother's side, so long as there was no son in the world like me—Sultân, son of a Sultân. As the proverb says 'Let the son do the father's work, and the daughter the mother's.' [VERSE]

Kings know the secrets of true greatness of heart,
Oh Hâfiz, thou beggar, sitting in the corner, do not complain.'

Having exhausted his eloquence, Shâhi Beg Khân sent back by the envoy a staff [*dasti*] and a beggar's bowl [*kashkul*], adding:

[1] The Turki [illegible] is fuller here; it says: 'Having performed the requisite observances, they laid the presents before the Khân and submitted the letter for his perusal. When Shâhi Beg Khân had acquainted himself with the contents of this excellent epistle, he made answer [illegible].'—R

"In case you have forgot on your father's trade, I remind you of it. Verses

> Oh! my friend, if you value your life give ear to good counsel,
> You happy youths, listen to the wisdom of the sage old man.

If you place your foot on the step of sovereignty think of your own danger. Verses.]

> He may clasp the bride of sovereignty fondly to his breast,
> Who dares to kiss her mouth and the clashing of her swords.'

So saying, he dismissed the envoy from Irák, while he himself led an army against the Uzbeg. The envoy, on his return, *delivered the reply to Sháh Ismail, who, on hearing it, said:* "If it is incumbent on every son to follow his father's trade, we, being sons of Adam, ought all of us to practise prophecy. If sovereignty had been confined to the hereditary descendants of kings, there would have been more Dishdidi, and never any Kaanu. How would Chingis himself have become king? and where did *you* come from?

[Verses.] Oh youth, do not boast of your dead father,
Do not, like a dog, take delight in bones.

Then, in return for his presents, he sent Sháhi Beg, Khán a spinning-wheel and spindle, saying. "You wrote in your letter to me, 'Whosoever would clasp the bride of sovereignty close to his breast . . . .' I, too, say the same thing, and behold, I have bound on the girdle to offer you fight, and have placed the foot of contest in the stirrup of fierce warfare. If you come out to meet me face to face in battle, our claims shall be thereby decided. And if you will not fight, go and sit in a corner and busy yourself with the little presents befitting you. Verses.]

> We have had many experiences in this monastery of Reconciliation
> Whosoever quarrelled with the family of the Prophet was defeated."

Sháh Beg Khán had disbanded his army, and was in Merv when this letter arrived. He despatched expresses to every quarter to collect his forces, but before even the troops of the neighbouring districts could assemble, Sháh Ismail arrived and pitched his camp in the vicinity of Merv. During three days there were continual skirmishes, and the army of Shâhi Beg Khán began to muster from all directions. Sháh Ismail then came out from the broken ground [where he was camped], and when the pickets of the Uzbeg army saw this movement they reported it. The Uzbeg [at once] imagined that the enemy had repented having come, and were about to turn back. At the hour of afternoon prayers,

on the *naz-i-shak* of Ramazán i the year 916 1510 A.D.], they marched out, with a force of about *20,000 men* Some of his advisers, such as Amir Kamba and Amir Bái, represented that "To-day we had better suspend hostilities [and not pursue Shâh Ismail]; for Ubaid Ullah Sultán and Timur Sultán are encamped with 20,000 men at a distance of one *farsákh*, [to-morrow they will come and join their force to ours] Moreover it has been positively ascertained that the enemy, in thus returning, either means to retreat or [to draw us on to] battle If they wish to fight, we had better [wait until more of our troops have assembled from the surrounding districts] and engage them with as large a force as possible And if they are really in flight, there is no necessity for the chief to pursue them in person. Ubaid Ullah Sultán, Timur Sultán, and a few other Amirs can follow them, while His Majesty the Khán can travel quietly and leisurely, stage by stage, right into Balk It is evident that in the case of his retreating from this place, our men can drive him forward and rout him, so that he will not have strength to establish himself even in Balk." To this the Khán replied, "[You have said well] nevertheless, to make war on Shâh Ismail is a holy war, and one of importance, moreover there will be much plunder, and it would be a sacrifice of gain in this world and advantage in the next, were I to share this undertaking with the Sultáns We must be bold." So saying, he [mounted his horse and that same hour] set out [in pursuit of Shâh Ismail]. When they had crossed the broken ground and entered the open plain, they saw that the enemy had halted and they calculated them to be 40,000 strong. Before the Uzbeg army had time to get properly into fighting order, the Turkomán contingent charged them. When Shâh Beg Khán's men saw themselves outflanked by the enemy they lost their steadiness and turned in flight. But the horse of the army stood their ground, till at length Shâhi Beg Khán and all his officers were killed No history has recorded, nor has any one read or heard of another battle in which all the commanders of the army were slain

When the fugitives reached the foot of Merv, every man of them who was able to do so, took his family and fled, while such as were unable, repeated the verse from the Koran about separation from wife and children, and then departed.

Now, most of the Moghuls had been sent to Khorásán by Shâhi Beg Khán, so that they might be far off from the Khans and from Moghulistán. When the Uzbeg reached the River Amu, they fell into the hands of those Moghuls, who did not fail to plunder them. 20,000 Moghuls then separated themselves and went to Kunduz Ubaid Ullah Sultán and Timur Sultán were still encamped near Merv, when news of the defeat reached them.

They immediately repaired to the fort of Merv when they seized the haram of Shâh Beg Khán, and of several of the Sultáns and nobles, together with any thing that caught their eye, and went off again the same night. Of those who stayed behind, all the men were compelled, by the flashing swords of the Turkománs, to taste the wine of martyrdom, while the women were carried off into bondage. There followed, then, a general massacre of the people of Merv.

Meanwhile Shâh Ismail arrived at Herat, where he commanded all the chief men [*aláâbi*] of the town to assemble in the Mulkán mosque, and read the *Khutba*; also, while the *Khutba* was being read, to pour out curses upon the Companions of the Prophet and the faithful Aisha. When the chief men were met together in the mosque of Mulcán, they carried out that unseemly order, and then remained silent, until Hâfiz-ud-Din, who was the preacher [*khatib*], was conducted to the pulpit. Hâfiz ascended the pulpit and gave out praise and thanksgiving to the Bestower of all good gifts, and praises to the Lord of all living things [the Prophet]. When the turn came for the blessed names of the Companions of the Prophet, the hand of honour and piety seized the collar of [faithfulness to] Islám and gave him the courage of Hâfiz, so that he, preferring the good things of the next world, and eternal felicity, to this transitory life, said: "For many years I have read the *Khutba* in accordance with the *Sunna*. To-day, the sun of my life has reached the west of old age. If it were the dawn of my days, I might not have hesitated to perform this act of infidelity to preserve my young life; but now that my days are just drawing to a close, what benefit could I derive from such an act of blasphemy [*kufr*]?" So saying, he proceeded to extol the Companions, with the customary honour and respect. The accursed Kizilbâsh (may God curse them) rose up like a man, and pulled the hoary-headed Hâfiz down from the pulpit, by his collar, trampled him under their feet, and then cut him in pieces; while the great men of the city all fled.

On the following day, the Shaikh-ul-Islám (who has been mentioned among the great men of Khorásán) was sent for by Shâh Ismail. When the Shaikh came into the king's presence, *the king turned to him and said: 'Oh, Shaikh! you are a learned man. It is a pity you should commit an error. Come and curse the Companions and adopt the Shia faith.'* The Shaikh then opened his lips and said, "Oh, my son! what do you know of religion, that you should point out the way thereof to me? Bring before me those cowardly men who are nothing more or less than infidels and worthy of death, and who have brought you to this sad plight. If their words convince me, I will renounce my own faith and enter their sect. But if the superiority of my

religion is proved against them, then you will renounce your corrupt belief and adopt my pure faith."

Then Shâh Ismail turned to his Ulama and asked them what they had to say to him. They replied, "What people such as these words are of no avail!"

That hundred times a wretch twice turned towards the Shaikh ul-Islâm and said, "Come, Shaikh, renounce your sect!" But the Shaikh retorted insultingly: "Oh, cursed infidel, may your mouth be filled with the earth of malediction and your head struck with the stones of execration! You, who are deceived by false and wicked guides, and cannot distinguish between the path of life and the road to perdition! what do you know of religion, or of sects? How do you know Satan from God, the all-merciful? By what science, learning, intelligence, or perception can you distinguish the true from the false, that you should lecture me on the True Faith?" On hearing these scornful remarks, the king laid hold of his bow and let fly an arrow at the Shaikh, which struck him. The Shaikh pulled the arrow out, rubbed some of the blood that issued from the wound, over his blessed face and white beard, saying: "Thanks be to God, that after a life of eighty years spent in the confirmation of the True Faith, and the refutation of false doctrine, I have seen my white beard stained with the blood of martyrdom." That black-faced heretic *bad-lish* then drew another arrow from his quiver (*lish*, and shot it at the Shaikh. He then gave orders for him to be carried out and hanged on a tree, and for the tree to be afterwards cut down from the root. The Shaikh fell with the tree, and they carried him away and burned him in the Malik bi'zan. Try as they might, they could not make the blessed beard of the Shaikh to burn, and he lay for some time in the bi'zan exposed to the kicks of infidels . . .[1] In short, the persecution was continued as long as Shâh Ismail remained in Khorâsân.

A summarised account of the rest of his reign will follow.

[1] Here follows a rhetorical passage, explaining why God allows His faithful servants to be exposed to calamity, in the defence of the truth.—R

CHAPTER XXII.

ARRIVAL OF THE NEWS OF THE DEFEAT OF SHÁHI BEG KHÁN BY SHÁH ISMAIL. MARCH OF THE EMPEROR FROM KÁBUL TO KUNDUZ

In the early part of Ramazán of the year 916 [1510 A.D.] a person came to Kábul with a letter from Mirzá Khán to the Emperor. The passes were blocked with snow, for it was the season of the beginning of Capricorn. The letter contained the news that Sháh Ismail, having come from Irák, had engaged and defeated Shíbi Beg Khán at Merv. It had not been fully ascertained whether Sháhi Beg Khán had been killed or not.[1] All the Uzbeg had recrossed the river Amu, and fled to Kunduz, where Amír Unus Dúrmán then was.[2]

Nearly 20,000 Moghuls having separated from the Uzbegs, had also gone to Kunduz from Merv. "I, myself," he added, "have gone over to Kunduz. If you will quickly turn the reins of your power in the direction of Kunduz, I will attach myself to you, and I have the firmest hope that you may soon recover your hereditary kingdom."

[As soon as the Emperor had read the contents of this letter] he set out with all possible speed although it was in the depth of winter. [He took the route] of Ab Dara [since by that route] there were no high passes to cross. He kept the coast of Ramazín[3] in the Bámián district, and at the beginning of

[1] It is somewhat singular that Mirza Haidar nowhere reports the death of Shíbi Beg Khan, as given by account of how it took place. It is fully recited, however, by other authors. His history was completely routed by Shah Ismail at Mukammadabad, near Merv, in 1510 when Shíbi Beg, attended by about 70 men, chiefly heads of tribes and places of distinction, had to fly for his life. They were pursued and took refuge in a walled enclosure, erected for herding cattle. This enclosure had but one entrance and as the pursuers essayed towards it, those inside attempted to escape, by jumping in horses over the wall on the further side, at the foot of which was a river. They fell in heaps, one upon another and Shaibi Beg was crushed and smothered by those who followed him. Afterwards, his body was disentangled from the heap of men and horses and his head was cut off and presented to Ismail, who ordered a number of barbarities to be committed with the Kanasrunians. (See Erskine's *Hist.*, i, p. 68; Haworth ii, p. 708 etc.)

[2] This Amu Unus I cannot trace. It appears to have belonged to the Durmán section of Uzbegs, who now dwell occupy, according to Mayer, the valley of the lower Vakhsh or Surkháb. (*Geog. Mag.*, Dec. 1878 p. 329)

The *Ab-dara* pass or defile is frequently mentioned by Babar, though we never hear of it nowadays. It appears to be the [illegible] not of an actual pass (or *Kotal*) across the main range, but rather that of a defile leading up to the *Shabr*, or *Shabatu* pass from the northern side, and was only known when the water was low. The name does not occur in our [illegible] recent maps. (See note 2 80)

[3] The 2nd January 1511.

Shuwál reached Kunduz, where he was received by Muzaffar Khán, and by the Moghuls who had been with the Uzbeg. Having reposed for a few days in Kunduz, after the fatigues of the journey, it was proposed that they should proceed against Hisár, where Hamza Sultán and Maludi Sultán, two of the most eminent of the Uzbeg Sultáns, were ruling. The winter was nearly over when they passed the River Amu, at the ford of Tukuz Túrám. When Hamza Sultán heard of their approach, he rode out of Hisár and repaired to Vakhsh, while the Emperor advanced to the plain [*dasht* of Kulak,[1] which is one of the most noted localities in Khatlán. There he learnt that Hamza Sultán was in Vakhsh. That same night he set out by the higher road to surprise Sultán Hamza and at sunrise reached his camp. Nobody was here. They searched on every side, and found a few peasants, who gave them the following information concerning Hamza Sultán: "Yesterday, at the hour of midday prayers, news came that the Emperor had pitched his camp in the plain of Kulak, whereupon Hamza Sultán, immediately set out for that place, by the lower road." The Emperor at once started in pursuit along the road which Hamza Sultán had taken, and at noontide prayers again found himself at his quarters of the night before. Hamza Sultán, for his part, had reached the camp at dawn, and found a precisely similar state of affairs, he, too, set out in the track of our army, and at midday prayer time re-entered his own camp.

The Emperor and his men believed that Hamza Sultán would not be able to resist them while Hamza Sultán, on the other hand, thought that [the Emperor had only brought] a few men with him from Kábul, and that the Moghul army, having only just arrived, would not yet have recuperated sufficiently to be able to fight. As both sides entertained such ideas as these, they became afraid of one another.[2] That same night the Emperor pressed on to Kunduz, while Hamza Sultán fled to Hisár. After a few days, they each received the news of the other's flight, and both of them repeated, in thankfulness for their escape, the verse "Praise be to God who has averted from us an affliction." The Emperor, on reaching Kunduz, found that an embassador had arrived from Sháh Ismail, bearing tenders of friendship. In the

[1] *Tukuz Zamín* means, in Turki, the nine-thousand-fingers [or forks] of a river. The word is not marked on any published map, but I am acquainted with many particular towns and villages of *Vakhsh* by name, and the *Dasht-i Kulak* But the route taken from Kunduz to Hisár is made evident by a reference to the map in this volume. In all probability, what was formerly well known as *Vakhsh*, at the period in question would have been situated not far from the modern *Kurghán Tipa* on the *Kuygan Tch* of Russian maps (See pp. 21 and 24.)

[2] The author seems to have fallen into an anachronism here. As all the texts, Persian and Turki, record, it was Babar who was afraid to stand. It can scarcely be thought the other way, if it were not otherwise known, that he would have headed from another to avoid a battle.

meantime Khánzáda Begum, the Emperor's sister had come from Khorásán [having been sent by Shah Ismail. It has been already related how the Emperor, at the siege of Samarkand, had given his sister, Khánzáda Begum, to Sháhi Beg Khán, as a ransom for his own life and had thus escaped. The Begum was taken into Sháhi Beg Khán's haram, and by him, had a son named Khurram Sháh Sultán. After this, the Khán [Sháhi Beg] began to fear that she might, in concert with her brother, plot against his life, he therefore divorced her, and gave her to Sayyid Hádi, one of the most eminent Sayyids of the *Sayyidátái*[1] a man who was held in the greatest respect and honour by himself and the Sultáns and all the Uzbeg. Sayyid Hádi had been killed in the battle of Merv, and the Begum and her son had fallen into the hands of the Turkománs. When Sháh Ismail discovered that she was Bábar Pádisháh's sister, he treated her with great attention, and sent her back, with an ambassador bearing costly gifts, to the Emperor. When Khánzáda Begum arrived [the Emperor was overjoyed] and despatched Mirzá Khán to Sháh Ismail laden with presents, and charged with protestations of submission, good faith, and entreaties for support and assistance. Sháh Ismail received him well, and having acceded to his requests, speedily gave him leave to return.

During this interval, a messenger came from my uncle to announce that he had entirely cleared Farghána of the Uzbeg, and that he had brought that country under his complete control so that *the extermination of the Uzbeg, and the conquest of Mavará-un-Nahr would now become an easy matter.* This brings me to the next chapter.

CHAPTER XXIII

BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF MY UNCLE SAYYID MUHAMMAD MIRZÁ, AND DETAILS OF THE CONQUEST OF THE COUNTRY OF FARGHÁNA.

At the time of the devastation of Táshkand, my father's brother, Sayyid Muhammad Mirzá (who is everywhere spoken of in this book as "my uncle" in an absolute sense), was in Táshkand, in

[1] In order to explain who were the Sayyids and the Sayyidátái, I cannot do better than cite Sir H. Howorth. He informs us (on the authority of M. Schefer) that the former "were all who claimed descent from the Khalifs Omar and Ali *through the daughters of the Prophet.* The Khojas *claimed descent from the* Khalifs Abu-Bakr and Omar, by their wives [sic] daughters of the Prophet. The Sayyids had precedence of the Khojas. The latter were divided into two categories, the Khojas Sayyidátái who possessed deeds proving their descent, and the Khojas Nuibati, who [illegible] were lost, and who could only appeal to tradition and repute." (Vol. II., p. 871.)

the service of Sultán Mahmud Khán. When the Khíns went to attack Andijún, they first of all easily subdued Kásán, and gave it to my uncle; they next proceeded to Akhsi, whither Sháhi Beg Khán had also gone, and there a fight ensued, which has been already mentioned. On the news of Sháhi Beg Khán's victory reaching my uncle, he left Kásán [immediately] and though he himself had not been defeated, he joined those who were flying into Moghulistán. When Sultán Mahmud Khán went into Moghulistán (as I have been mentioned) my uncle remained with him till the death of Sultán Ahmad Khán. After this event (as has also been related) the Khán said to my uncle, in disparagement of Aksan and Moghulistán: "The position of towel washer in Táshkand is better than that of king in Moghulistán." To which my uncle responded: "Verily, it is better if one is allowed to wash towels." The Khán was offended at these words, and some of those base men *ná-ázil*, whose manner it always is to slander good people behind their backs, strove to aggravate the Khán's anger to such a degree as to cause him to put my uncle to death, and succeeded in preventing any reconciliation ever being effected between the two. However, the Khán said: "He is too near a relation on me to take extreme measures with. As he has no evil intentions against me, let him take himself off; let him go to Mansúr Khán at Turfán." My uncle, therefore, was sent to Turfán, while the Khán himself went to Moghulistán. In journeying towards Turfán, my uncle allied himself, at Aksu, with the survivors of Sultán Ahmad Khán's people, who had remained in that province.

When Sultán Mahmud Khán came to his brother in Aksu, his son Sultán Muhammad Sultán, and Amir Ahmad Hájí were left in Moghulistán, with some other persons and on the whole ruled with success. They sent out some men who brought my uncle; and he and Sultán Muhammad Sultán lived on the most friendly and intimate terms, until one night some assassins [*fidáí*, dagger-men] as servants, came and murdered Amir Ahmad. It was never discovered by whose order this deed had been done.

After this, the entire government of Moghulistán, and the authority of Sultán Muhammad Sultán, devolved upon my uncle. But for want of the old army and of able councillors [*sahib-i-rái*] my uncle's affairs did not prosper. All the old stock and the chief councillors were with my father, and had accompanied him to Hisár, so that nothing could be accomplished with the handful men or so, that my uncle had with him.

During that time, Sultán Said Khán and Sultán Khalíl Sultán, together with the Kirghiz, made repeated forays into Moghulistán, so that my uncle at length [fled from that country to Yarkand, which was the residence of Sultán Mahmud Khán. Those same base [*ná-ázil*] again commenced their intrigues, and

caused my uncle to be seized and sent to the Uzbeg. Jáni Beg Sultán was at the time in Andijan, and to him my uncle was taken. Jáni Beg Sultán did nothing to injure him, but rather treated him with his wonted kindness and consideration. With him my uncle remained until the time of Sháh Ismail's conquest, and he Emperor's expedition from Kábul.[1]

In the spring following the winter when Shibi Beg Khán was killed, all the Sultáns of the Uzbeg assembled in Samarkand. Jáni Beg Sultán also went thither, taking my uncle with him. At that meeting, the Sultáns came to the conclusion that not one of the Moghuls who yet remained in Mávará-un Nahr, should be left alive. But to this Jáni Beg Sultán would not consent. He dismissed my uncle, and all the Moghuls who were in attendance upon him, [permitting them] to go to Andijan and join their families. My uncle, however, placed no trust in the permanence of Jáni Beg Sultán's decision, and fearing a change in his humour, got away with all speed. Soon after this, Jáni Beg Sultán regretted the action he had taken and sent some men in pursuit of these Moghuls, with orders to put to death any they should find of them. My uncle had only just escaped in time. On his arrival at Andijan he joined the remainder of the Moghuls and the people of Andijan with these he raised a revolt, and drove all the Uzbeg out of the country of Farghana. He then sent a messenger to the Emperor, by way of Kar'tigin,[2] to inform him of these events, and to beg him for help, as has been mentioned above. The news filled the Emperor with joy.

CHAPTER XXIV

BÁBAR PADISHÁH LEARNS THE SUCCESS OF MY UNCLE SAYYID MUHAMMAD MIRZÁ, AND SENDS SULJÁN SAID KHÁN TO HIS AID IN ANDIJÁN

Before this news reached Kunduz, a deputation of the leading men [*sahib-i-ás* of the Moghuls, such as Mir Shuaim, Mir Mazid, Kul Nazar Mirzá, Amir Ayub, Mir Muhammad, Mir Ibrahim, Yadgár Mirzá, Kará Sultán Ali Mirzá, Mir Ghazi Barlás, Amir Dáud Ali, Mirzá Muhammad, Mir Beg, Muhammad, Mir Kamran, Sháh Nazar Mirzá, Kutluk Miták Mirzá, and others came and represented to the Khán, at a private interview, that if he desired it they would

[1] A, in 917 A.H., 1511 A.D.

[2] Erskine reads *Kar Yagan* and in the printed text of all the texts spell it in that way. I have, however, adhered to *Karatigin* throughout, as that is known to be the real name of the country.

make away with the Emperor, and set him [Sultan Said Khán] in his place. [For at that time there were 20,000 Moghuls armed and fully prepared, while there were not more than 5,000 Chaghatáis.] But the Khán replied, "During the period of the humiliation of Shíbi Beg Khán's conquests, when the buffetings of the waves of calamity and contention dashed in pieces the ships of the life and prosperity of the Moghul Khákáns, [and they had all been drowned in the ocean of annihilation] I saved myself upon the plank of concealment, and arrived at length at the island of Kibul, which Bábar Pádisháh had contrived to save from the violent shocks of the billows of events, and where he then was. On his island, the Emperor protected me with the utmost benevolence. Now that I have attained the shore of prosperity, how malicious, how ungrateful it would be for me to perform so ignoble an act [The Holy Law and the dictates of humanity prevent my entertaining any such base thoughts]." By the hand of Amír Khán Khobir, who stood in the place of guardian to the Emperor, he sent the following message: "Praise be to God, the affairs of [your] State are to-day prosperous, and the various peoples are turning their faces towards the palace of that Refuge of the Nations [your Majesty]. The Moghuls, more especially, who are distinguished above all other tribes by their numbers and their strength, and whose Amírs have been the most eminent of Amírs, have always devoted their energies to the advancement of the work of their colleagues *dowlat-i-yana*], they now turn to your Majesty. As no longer expedient for me to remain near you it is fitting that our ancient union should be changed to separation. If your Majesty send me to some quarter, where it will be possible for the bonds of our old affection to remain fast bound, it will contribute to the welfare of both."

Just at this time news came from Andijan, together with my uncle's petition for help. The Khán was immediately sent off to Andijan, together with every one that thought fit to go. These events will be presently related, if it please God.

CHAPTER XXV.

ACCESSION OF BÁBAR PÁDSHÁH TO THE THRONE OF MAVARÁ-UN-NAHR.

As a the Khán had been despatched to Andijún, Mirzá Khán arrived with the auxiliary force which had been sent by Sháh Ismáil, and thus the power of the Emperor became complete. Then, without delay, his Majesty marched for the country of Hisár; on learning which the Uzbeg, on their part, collected their forces, and under the leadership of Hamza Sultán, Mahdi Sultán, Timur Sultán, and several others of their great Sultáns, set out to oppose the Emperor. Kuchum Khán—who had been set up in the place of Shibi Beg, Khán Suyunjuk Sultán, Jání Beg Sultán, Wali Ullah Sultán, and all the other Uzbeg Sultáns, had assembled and encamped at Karshi, which was originally called Nakhshab. When the Emperor approached the Pul-i-Sangin, Hamza Sultán advanced and occupied it. Both sides remained encamped for nearly one month. Finally it became apparent that the Uzbeg force was numerous, their Sultáns renowned, and that it would be a difficult matter to resist them.

The Uzbeg, on their part, came to the conclusion that the Emperor was unable to withstand them, and crossed the river by swimming it below the Pul-i-Sangin. Intelligence of this reached [Bábar] at about afternoon prayer-time, and he immediately broke up his camp and advanced towards Aldana, a locality where there are mountain fastnesses. They continued to march at their best speed all through that night, until the midday prayers of the following day, when they reached a spot which the most experienced leaders considered strongly enough protected to justify a halt. At midnight news came that the Uzbeg were advancing in full force; the commanders announced this simultaneously to the whole army, and up to daybreak every man was busy getting his arms ready [for action]. About sunrise . . . [1] our pickets came in and reported that the Uzbeg army was approaching. Thereupon the Emperor mounted his horse and rode to the top of some rising ground. He saw that there was only one road by which the enemy could advance; on the left hand of the elevation [on which he stood] there was another hill, and between the two there was a deep ravine, through which, also, only one road led. When the enemy had deployed on the level plain, they saw that it would be no easy task to ascend the first mentioned hill. Timur Sultán

[1] A rhetorical interpolation of three lines, descriptive of the victory of the day over the night, is omitted here.—R.

and some of the other Sultáns with about 3,000 men, detached themselves from the rest of the army and began to mount the other hill. Against these the Emperor sent Mírzá Khán with a detachment of brave warriors. Abdi Kuttár, he says, followed a body of men, and he asked who they were? When my father had left Kábul, there were nearly 3000 household retainers, [who had come from Khorásán to Kunduz with Mughuls]. The chiefs and leaders of these men, to the number had taken into his own service, and some of the remainder he now attached to myself. It was upon this latter body that the Emperor's eye now fell. They replied "We are Mírzá Haidar's followers." The Emperor then [addressing me] said "You are still too young to take part in such serious affairs as these. Stay by me, keep by you Maulánà Muhammad and a few others, and send the rest to the aid of Mírzá Khán."

When my retainers came up with Mírzá Khán, the Uzbeg made a charge, bearing down *like dashtand* every one who was in front of Mírzá Khán till they came close upon the Mírzá himself. At that crisis my retainers arrived on the scene. Their leader was Atáka Páki, whose name was Ján Ahmad Atáka,[2] — hereafter, whenever his name occurs, he will be called by the latter style. He attacked the Uzbeg with the men under him, and put them to flight. Those who had fled from the front of Mírzá Khán rallied and returning to the fight, drove the enemy back. In the midst of this confusion and scuffle one of my retainers took one of the enemy prisoner, and led him before the Emperor, who viewed it as a good omen *fál*, and said, "I learn of the name of Mírzá Haidar upon the first trophy (*ghanímat*)." Thus, fighting continued on the left of the army till evening, but on the right side of the army there were no engagements, for here the road was very narrow, and the position was not easy of approach from that side. At the hour of afternoon prayers the brave warriors, having left the Emperor's presence, dismounted and encamped. At night fall *bigáh* the enemy found it impossible to encamp where they were, on account of the absence of water — for none was to be had except at a distance of one *farsákh* — so with the object of long marching by night they retreated. The infantry, who had descended the hill, ran after them, shouting Hai Ha [and making a great noise]. That portion of the enemy's army which was opposite to Mírzá Khán also became anxious to retire as soon as they saw that Hamza Sultán, who was in their centre (*qhol*),[3] was in retreat. As long as the two armies remained facing each other, neither side

[1] [illegible] Pers. MS. adds "The Emperor asked who they were. They replied "We are Mírzá Haidar's men."

[2] The Páki MS. says "Their leader was [illegible] and Ján Ahmad."

[3] Qaul i Mughal in words, also written *Aul*.

prevailed over the other. But when the enemy turned to retire, those of Mirzá Khán's men who had been facing them, suddenly made a charge, and the enemy at once fled. When the centre saw this division put to rout they too lost the reins of self possession, fell from the land of stability, and likewise turned and fled. It was at the hour of evening prayers that Hamza Sultán, Mahdí Sultán, and Mamak Sultán, who had been captured, were led before the Emperor, who did to them that which Shibáni had done to the Moghul Khákháns and the Chaghatái Sultáns.[1]

From night to morning and from morning to the next night, did our men pursue the Uzbegs as far as the frontier [of the State] of Dabandi Ahanin. The whole of the victorious army now assembled in Hisár, when further help arrived from Sháh Ismáil, besides bodies of men from all the surrounding tribes, so that the entire force amounted to 60,000 men. They next marched out of Hisár and proceeded to Kunduz. Most of the Uzbeg Sultáns were in Samarkand, while Walí Walí Khán had fortified himself in the castle of Kunduz. All his Emperor's] counsellors (and they were these who solved the difficult questions of State) were against laying siege to Kunduz. "It would," they argued, "be far wiser to push on to Bokhárá. For if Ubaid Ullah keeps himself strongly fortified and garrisoned in the castle of Kunduz Bokhárá, which is devoid of troops and full of fools will fall easily enough into our power. It has nothing to gain by staying in Kunduz [and found that, learning he had run there,] he should abandon the fort and come out." The Emperor agreed with these opinions and passing Kunduz went and encamped [at a distance of one *kos*, beyond it]. Scouts came, in rapid succession, to report that Walí Walí had come out of the fort of Kunduz and was on the road to Bokhárá. At last came [to the Emperor] mounted his horse, and set out with all speed in pursuit of the Uzbegs. He marched night and day until he reached the city. The pursuers drove the Uzbegs out of Bokhárá into the desert (*chul*) of Turkistán, plundering as they went.

When the Uzbeg Sultáns who were assembled in Samarkand heard this news, they were suddenly filled with terror and fled, scattered and dispersed, to different parts of Turkistán.

Now when the Emperor arrived in Bokhárá, he sent back the

[1] Babur's account of these transactions is wanting in his Memoirs. The battle described took place early in 1511, while the portion of the text relating to Babur's doings in Hisár Firúza, which he evidently left unfinished, was not completed until 1529. Babur does not explain why he put the two last-named Sultáns to death as traitors for they had, at one time, been in his service, and he had shared his bread and salt (see Erskine, *Hist. of India*, i. 344) with Mahdí Sultán, whose life he spared to be executed anywhere.

[2] The meaning of this passage appears to be, that Walí Walí knew it was formidable that he was to attempt to storm Kunduz, and gladly availed himself of the excuse to retire

auxiliaries of Sháh Ismáil,[1] after praising them for their services and bestowing upon them adequate rewards, while he himself, victorious and covered with glory, proceeded to Samarkand. All the inhabitants of the towns of Máwará-un-Nahr, high and low, nobles and peasants, grandees and artizans, princes and peasants—alike testified their joy at the advent of the Emperor. He was received by the nobles, while the other classes were busy with the decoration of the town. The streets and the bazaars were draped with cloth and gold brocades, and drawings and pictures were hung up on every side. The Emperor entered the city in the middle of the month of Rajab in the year 9 7, in the midst of such pomp and splendour as no one has ever seen or heard of, before or since. The angels cried aloud: "Enter with peace," and the people exclaimed, "Praise be to God, Lord of the Universe." The people of Máwará-un-Nahr, especially the inhabitants of Samarkand, had for years been longing for him to come, that the shadow of his protection might be cast upon them. Although, in the hour of necessity, he Emperor had clothed himself in the garments of the Kizilbásh (which was pure heresy, nay almost unbelief), they sincerely hoped, when he mounted the throne of Samarkand, (the throne of the Law of the Prophet) and placed on his head the diadem of the holy Sunna of Muhammad, that he would remove from it the crown of royalty. *Sháh*, whose nature was heresy and whose form was as the tail of an ass.

But the hopes of the people of Samarkand were not realised. For, as yet, the Emperor did not feel able to dispense with the aid and support of Sháh Ismáil, nor did he consider himself sufficiently strong to cope single-handed with the Uzbeg, hence he appeared to overlook *midára* the gross excesses of the Kizilbásh. On his accession, he people of Máwará-un-Nahr expected, that as a mark of gratitude for his having espoused their cause, he would at once declare war against the Uzbeg, and drive them out of the country. But as his regard for him was at an end. It was thus that the Emperor began [already] to flatter the Turks of Ins, and associate himself with them.[2]

[1] Erskine, following the *Haidar Mirza's History* (which differs from Khwándamír in following the Tárikh-i-Alam Ará-i-Abbási of Mirza Iskandar) makes Bábar receive Ismáil's Persian auxiliaries after his march to Bukhara; while Mirza Haidar states that they were already with him at Balkh. Had the latter been correct, Bábar would have left Balkh prematurely and in the current season, which he is unlikely to have done. (Vol. I, p. 108, note.)

[2] Perhaps, in what Lanki chronicle, that most difficult epoch in Asiatic history, as to some of the events of which all writers, including Abu'l Fazl, Firishta and Jahangir, are hopelessly at variance, and which falls just within one of those gaps which unfortunately occur in several places, in the course of Bábar's Memoirs. In this instance, the gap extends *from the beginning of 911 to the beginning of 925* (May 1505, to January 1519) and to this omission of Bábar, the unsuccessful issue of Sháh Ismáil's warlike and difficult enterprise has been found in assigning the exact date. It would appear that Indian historians, such as Abu'l Fazl, Firishta, Khafi Khan, and Abdul Hamid, differ entirely in their view from the Persian writers, Iskandar Beg and Khwándamír. The former group assert that the city was attacked and the

CHAPTER XXVI

THE KHÁN'S JOURNEY TO ANDIJÁN AND EVENTS THAT OCCURRED THERE

It has been recounted above that the Emperor sent the Khán to Andijún. Along with him he sent, of the Moghul Amirs Mir Ghází Bulás, Mir Dírim Alí and his brother Ahmad Alí, Mahmúd Kulí, Mirzá Muhammad Bogak and his brother Beg Muhammad, of the tribe of Dughlát, Shíh Nazar, Mirzá Alí, Kutluk Muhák; of

Khutba (prayer for the sovereign) was read in Babur's name, while the Persian throne-affirmation was employed as that of sovereignty in 917 (1511). Again, when referring to the subsequent battle with the Uzbeg under Ubaid Ullah at Kul Malik, he Indian writers make Babur's army very small and the Uzbeg Ubaid Ullah very numerous, while one of them (Abul Fazl) goes so far as to give Babur the victory, though he acknowledges that he temporarily fled to Kabul. Mr. R. S. Poole, who has gone thoroughly into the subject (taking the coinage of the period as principal guide), cites Khwándamír to show that there was an agreement between Babur and Ismá'íl, to the effect that if Transoxiana were to be conquered by the Allies, the prayer and coinage should be in the name of the Shíh. He then, in support of Khwándamír, points to a recently-discovered coin of Babur's reign in Transoxiana which bears the Shía formula of the names of the twelve Imáms, and he concludes from this, and some other numismatic evidence, that Babur caused the Khutba to be said and the coinage to be struck in the names of Shíh Ismá'íl, as overlord of himself as vassal." This indeed is evidence that cannot easily be gainsaid, and it derives something very like confirmation when the religious ideas of the various authors who have commented on these transactions are considered. Their historical opinions appear to be governed, to a great extent by their sectarian leanings and in no case is this more evident than in that of Mirza Haidar. There can be no question that, whatever may be the true facts regarding the Khutba and the coinage Babur gave great offence to the Sunnís by acting in subordination to Shí'a ideas and by adopting Persian costume of the Kizil-básh, for himself and his men. This was an outward and visible sign of subordination of Shí'a interests, which all would understand should Shí'a ideas ultimately prevail. Babur's compromise by substituting the Sunní religion, and as Mirza Haidar relates his having some of their most revered lives with barbaric cruelty. It is scarcely surprising, therefore, that Mirza Haidar should speak with bitterness of the transactions of his cousin and protector, with the Persians and their Turkman allies at this period, or that a Sunní historian at a later date, should, to some degree, be understood with a reserve. It should not be forgotten however, that in accordance with one of the customs of the times, Mirza Haidar's family connection with Babur's government, and the enjoyment of his own rule. Ubaid Ullah was his brother-in-law and it is to be remembered, throughout the *Tárikh-i-Rashídí*, that the tie of relationship flows over all for a great deal. On the other hand, Babur owed Shá'h Ismá'íl a debt of gratitude for rescuing his sister, Khánzáda Begum, as related at p. 210.

With regard to the missing pages in Babur's Memoirs, Mr. R. S. Poole believes that their absence may be accounted for by the desire, on the part of the autobiographer, to hide from the world proceedings which he could only look back upon with shame. From this view, I cannot help thinking, requires some substantiation. In the first place, the objectionable connection with the Shí'a extended only over the period 916 to 921—some five years—while the gap in the Memoirs embraces the eleven years from 911 to 922. If the object of the writer had been to hide the traces of events of the shorter period there would seem to be no reason for also destroying the record of an additional period of six years. Secondly, this gap in the Memoirs is not the only one of the kind, which extends from late in the year

the Kunji Amirs, Kul Nazar Mirzá, Khanúka Mirzá, Amir Kamal, son of Hudai Kukaldásh Baki and others. All these deputed on the part of the Khán Phuspaty, on her arrival at Andijún, were received by my uncle and the Amirs who had assisted him in the conquest *withdrawn* of Farghána, such as Sultán Ali Mirzá Beg, the Pulka Mirzá Pír, Pulad Nuyghut and others, who all came to kiss the Khán's stirrup.

After the Khán had come to Andijún, he (Uzbeg Sultán) Samarcandí's arrival and the support he brought to Moghuls of Andijún. Moreover as was mentioned above, Humza Sultán, Mahdi Sultán and Tahir Sultán, together with a few other Sultáns, had assembled in Hisár with the intent of opposing the Emperor. Although Ubaid Ullah Sultán knew that Shah Ismail had given over [the kingdom of] Mawará-un Nahr to the Emperor and was not going there in person, he (Ubaid Ullah Sultán) nevertheless, by way of precaution, stayed and occupied Kunduz. What happened to him has not been mentioned. Jání Beg Sultán, Kuchum Khán and Suyunjuk Sultán advanced towards Akhsi and Andijún, in order to check the downfall of Farghána. The Khán had made no preparations in Andijún, when news of their approach arrived. In the hope of despatched Sultán Ali Mirzá and Pulad Nuyghut Mirzá to Káshán. As the castle of Káshán was not well fortified, these men went and made it strong. It was the first place which the Uzbeg Sultáns attacked, and they reduced it to straits. On learning this news, the Khán sent all the captains of his army to the hills of Kásán, hoping that although they were not strong enough to cause the Uzbeg to leave them, yet they might, at least, be able to harass their flanks, and make no doubt an attack on their rear would hardly be somewhat encouraged.

When the body was sent [back] to Kásán, news of the event reached the ears of Abú Bakr Mirzá who had just come from Káshghar, with the project of seizing the kingdom of Farghána. He had taken possession of all the country above Andijún, such as

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968 to the end of 30., and 3rd ind., whence only six causative forms viz., from 920 to 932. Yet this is the first word suggested in Redhouse's onomastic pages which is altogether absent, on the evidence of which he declared to obliterate. In the simple it is one of the intransitives whose aspective, the transitive role is suddenly in the middle of a sentence—a meaning that points at the accidental loss of the initial *s* of the causative. The point is not altogether devoid of significance, however, as will be pointed out in detail on (See Blochet, *Mus.* i., 421, R. S. Poole, *Cat. of Coins of Shahs of Persia in Brit. Mus.*, 1887, II. xxiv *seqq.* Ancient and modern system of Balance and Israel, Howard, i., ii. 712 13)

The name is very uncertain. I have read *Sindi* and *Sindi* as suggestions in other ways

[illegible] Uzbeg for it

Uzchand[1] (better known as Uzkand), Mádu- and Ush, which comprise the best parts of Farghána, and he now on hearing that those troops had left Andijín] marched towards that place intending to lay siege to it. [He imagined that the fort of Andijín was a very strong, and large one, and that, without the necessary siege appliances, it could not be taken by a party of two or three thousand assailants. Therefore, he first gradually some engines *manjanik* ladders etc., and then set on for Andiján]. When news of this was brought to the Khán, he and all his people were filled with bewilderment.

In the meanwhile the Uzbeg Sultáns had delivered a simultaneous attack on the fort of Kásán had made breaches on all sides and applied the scaling ladders. Such was the violence of their assault that those within the fort giving up all hope of being able to defend it, made their escape by the gateway on the side removed from the river. All the Uzbeg army had dismounted and were on foot, loyal men though of the garrison taking flight, and before they had time to get back to their horses and mount the fugitives had gone a great distance. But those who lagged behind they put to death, together with the people of the fort.

The garrison that had escaped from the fort fell in with those captains who had been sent to the hills of Kásán to succour them. They now all went straight on, until they arrived at a spot within half a *farsakh* of Andijín, where they found Abú Bakr Mirzá encamped, with all his siege appliances made ready, for he had determined to deliver an assault from all sides, early the next morning. That same night the army arrived from Kásán. On the morrow the enemy advanced with the intention of storming the fort, quite ignorant of the fact that the Khán's troops had arrived. At early dawn, the Khán in person issued from the castle, and drew up his troops in order of battle. Mirzá Alí Bakr, on his side, brought forward his forces ready to lay siege to the castle. The opposing armies met at a place on the road called Putluk; both sides at once drew up, and raising their battle-cries, began the struggle. It would take too long to detail all the particulars of this battle. In short, the standard of the Khán was filled by the winds of victory and success while the faces of his enemies were covered with the dust of death and destruction. The victorious

[1] Or it may be read *Uchand*.

[2] Known nowadays as *Mádí* or *Mál*.

[3] The Turki translator reverses the order of the two paragraphs which occur at this point and which begin with the words: When this body was sent . . . He introduces the second paragraph with the following interpolation: "When Abú Bakr Mirzá heard the news of the Khán's arrival in Andijín, and history of Kásim's flight the Uzbeg Sultáns, he dismissed the army within his power from the vicinity of Farghána and left Kásghar."

breezes of the Khán scattered the enemy (whose strength and numbers might be compared to straw and) like dust before the wind. Thus the army of Mirzá Abú Bakr suffered an overwhelming defeat. All of the enemy who were taken captive by the conquering army, were brought together, and there the order was issued for them to be put to death in the park *[wank]* of Andijún. Having, accordingly, made them sit down in lines the victors began to kill them. At that moment my uncle [Sayyid Muhammad Mirzá] placing the knee of intercession upon the ground of entreaty, said to the Khán "Praise and gratitude we owe to God for this victory, for it is the key by which may be opened the whole kingdom of Káshghar. I sincerely hope that Káshghar may fall into our hands with the same ease. But these prisoners whose execution is permitted by, and is in accordance with, the laws of retaliation *[ʿazháb-i-istilám]*, are all natives of the country [of Káshghar]. If you do not spare them here, it will be as if you had committed a general massacre in that place itself. In case that would, in the end, be a cause of reproach and disgrace [to yourself]. If his Highness the Khán will forgive these men, who yet remain, and hand them over to me as my share of the spoil, his reward in this world and the next will be enhanced by such an act of mercy." When the entreaty of my uncle reached the blessed ears of the Khán, he drew the line of forgiveness with the pen of pardon, upon the tablet of the existences of those prisoners. Thus about 1000 persons were rescued from death. Then, raising up their hands in prayer, they filled the air with acclamations of thanksgiving.

This important victory caused the Uzbegs to keep the foot of reflection yet longer within the skirt of hesitation. Following this event, news arrived of the defeat which Hamza Sultán had sustained from Bába Dídish'h, and of his death by the Emperor's order, all of which has been mentioned. About a month afterwards, intelligence was received of the Emperor's march on Samarkand and his reception by its inhabitants; also that the Uzbegs, who were in the city, had taken flight and there were many who surrounded him. After these occurrences, the Emperor and the Khán reigned absolute in Samarkand and Andijún, respectively. Sháh Ismaʿil became to fear the Emperor gave Kábul and Ghazní to his younger brother, Sultán Násir Mirzá. The Uzbegs all collected together in Turkistán. The rest of the events that ensued will please God, be recounted below.[1] How, for example, the Khán and Sultán Khalíl Sultán came, one after the other, to Andijún. Sultán Khalíl Sultán left one son, who was still at the breast, named Báki Sultán, and the wife of the Khán, who has

[1] The Turki MS. interpolates here: "It has been mentioned above that Sultan Khalil Sultan was put to death, at Akhsi by Jání Beg Sultan."—R.

been mentioned above, was with child at the time when the Khán was put to flight by Khwája Ali Bahádur the Uzbeg[1]: she fell into the hands of the Uzbeg, and after a short time was delivered of a son. The Khán arrived in Kábul at the same moment as this news[2]. The Emperor said to the Khán, "As your illustrious name is Said, it would be very suitable to call him [the child] Abdu Rashid," and the Khán decided upon that name. Both [those Khánzádas], Bábá Sultán, son of Sultán Khalil Sultán, and Abdu Rashid Khán, son of Sultán Said Khán, were taken in charge by Tutuk Khánim, daughter of Sultán Mahmúd Khán, who, at the destruction of Táshkand, had been captured by Jání Beg Sultán, as has been mentioned. When the Khán gained his victory at the battle of Tutluk, and drove the Uzbeg out of the country of Farghána, these two Sultáns were brought to him. I shall speak of them hereafter.

Having related the story of what passed between the Khán and Mirzá Abú Bakr, my history would not be complete without a full account of the Mirzá's career.

CHAPTER XXVII.

SHORT ACCOUNT OF MIRZÁ ABÚ BAKR.

Amír Sayyid Ali, my great-grandfather [*awwal jadd*], whose history will, God willing, be told in the First Part, had two sons, Sániz Mirzá, whose mother was of the line of the Jaláis Amirs, and Muhammad Haidar Mirzá, my grandfather, whose fortunate and blessed name has devolved upon me. His mother was an aunt [*amma*] of Sultán Yúnus Khán. On the death of the great Amír Sayyid Ali, his elder son, Sániz Mirzá, according to the ancient Moghul custom, succeeded to his father's throne. After seven years, he went to join his father in the next world, leaving two sons, the first Abú Bakr Mirzá and the second Omar Mirzá. The mother of these children was married [afterwards] to Muhammad Haidar Mirzá, in conformity with the Moghul custom of *Yangahlik*[3]. By her, Muhammad Haidar Mirzá also had two

[1] There appears to be some mistake here as Khwája Ali Bahadur can hardly have been an Uzbeg. The Turki MSS. seem to read: 'At the time when Khwája Ali Bahadur was taking the Khan from the Uzbeg.'

[2] The Turki version is: 'The Khan was in Kabul when this news reached him.' R.

[3] *Yanga* means 'aunt by marriage,' or wife of an elder brother, the custom being, apparently, that a younger brother should take to wife the widow of his older brother.

sons: the first was my father Muhammad Husain Mirzá, and the second my uncle Sayyid Muhammad Mirzá. After the death of Símr Mirzá, the government of all the districts of Yarkhan devolved upon Muhammad Haidar Mirzá, who for a period of twenty-six years ruled with perfect justice and impartiality. He was a prosperous man, fond of intelligent friends, he always reached his desires, and examined into details, [to exceptional degree for a man of his position] but those by whose conduct, rather than by any natural weakness, he failed to encourage. Mes dames de compagnie and his foster-brother Amir Sayyid Ali had grown round him, during a space of eighty years, and suddenly by the death of Muhammad Haidar Mirzá's life, or if they were not actually dead, they were only decrepit old men *shaikh-i fání*, whose hands and intellects were no longer capable of guiding or controlling. Their sons [had developed into incapable young men] quite unworthy of their parents. At this time, Mirzá Abú Bakr was about twenty years of age, and was in the service of his guardian *abar atáb* uncle [Sayyid Muhammad Mirzá]. He existed as best he could, in a most friendly way, with the princes and youths of the court; while they, for their part from equality of age and a fellow-service, became very devoted to him. Mirzá Abú Bakr was accordingly handed over in a few days to distribute all his property and household possessions, as if they were plunder *bitáraj mulk*. Quickly, on the following morning, he emerged from his tent, he found everything gone, and the others had already assisted to carry off the spoil. He came out into the court of Mirzá Abú Bakr's house, saying, "Although I have come last [and am disappointed of booty] nevertheless I have found a good pledge [which I will not give up until a ransom is paid]." At these words Mirzá Abú Bakr laughed, and thought himself fortunate in having such a companion. In a word, his liberality was so unbounded, that all men looked to him.

At this period he went to Aksu and Moghulistán, and paid his respects to Dust Muhammad Khán, son of Isán Daulat Khán. Dust Muhammad Khán treated him with honour, and after giving him his own sister in marriage, allowed him to depart. It would take too long to tell this story, and the details would carry us too far afield. In short, he arranged, by one means or another, to reduce Yarkand, which is one of the most renowned cities of the province of Káshghar, and is distant four days' journey from the town of that name. To-day Yarkand is the capital of Káshghar.

He had collected 800 men in his following, which had grown to upwards of 30,000. When his troops reached this district he openly sounded the drum of ascendancy, and ran the bolls of independence.

Muhammad Husain Mirzá went out to meet him with an army 30,000 infantry and cavalry, but he was defeated and fled. He sought refuge with Yunus Khán who was his cousin. The Khán also undervalued the strength of Mirzá Abú Bakr, and had not taken his whole army. He came against him with 30,000 armed men. Muhammad Husain Mirzá again made ready his forces as best he could, and set out [with Yunus Khán]. Thus it was, also, [Mirzá Abú Bakr] *sallied forth from the gates of the citadel of* Yarkand with 3000 chosen men, and defeated and scattered those two armies, and Yunus Khán and Muhammad Haidar Mirzá both retired, crestfallen, to Káshghar. The Khán passed into Moghulistán, *and in the following year returned with the whole of his* troops. On this occasion, Mirzá Abú Bakr had made fuller and better preparations. He strengthened his cavalry by embodying with it lightly-armed archers on foot, as he had done on two former *occasions* and engaged in such a battle [as the tongue of the reed is incapable of describing.] His men thereupon became bold and showed more steadiness [and courage] than ever, so that they easily put to rout that numerous army, and the Khán, with Muhammad Haidar Mirzá, returned once more, defeated, to Káshghar. But this time it became impossible for Muhammad Haidar Mirzá to remain in Káshghar, so taking his household with him, and accompanied by Yunus Khán, he went to Aksu. Meanwhile Mirzá Abú Bakr gained complete dominion over the whole of the kingdom of Káshghar. After this he put out the eyes of his full [*yak-chashm*] brother Omar Mirzá, and then banished him from his territories. Omar Mirzá went and lived in Samarkand. [Subsequently when [Sultán Said] Khán took Yarkand and Káshghar, Omar Mirzá returned to Káshghar, where the Khán paid him unbounded honour and attention, until his death.

The affairs of Muhammad Haidar Mirzá and of Yunus Khán will be related in the First Part, the object of this chapter is to give a brief account of Mirzá Abú Bakr.

For forty-eight years he remained firmly established and successful in Káshghar, exercising always absolute authority [*istiláí*]. During this period he was attacked on one occasion when Sultán Ahmad Khán, son of Sultán Yunus Khán (and known as Alácha Khán) in the course of the year 905, came against Káshghar. But his army likewise was put to rout, as will be mentioned in the First Part.

After the above mentioned victory over Sultán Ahmad Khán, Mirzá Abú Bakr began to extend his conquests on all sides. In the first place, he sent an army into Tibet. It gained glorious victories, subdued most of the districts of Tibet as far as the

[1] This Turki MS. has "damaged by their two former successes."—R.
[2] The Turki MS. has "a third time."—R.

frontiers of Kashmir, and carried such desolation [*zabun*] into those countries that nobody was left to withstand him. He next sent armies in the direction of Balur, which gained decisive victories and carried off untold booty. After this, he sent a force into Badakhshán, where he subdued most of the Hazára of Badakhshán. At the time when Sháhi Beg Khán was making the whole world tremble, Mirzá Abú Bakr despatched an army to Andijan and reduced Jání Beg Khán to great straits. He took Ush, Márán and Uzkand from the Uzbeg, and reduced the whole of Moghulistán to such a condition, that not a single Moghul was able to remain in the country,[1] as already mentioned in the history of the Khán. The reason of him [the Moghuls] passing to Andigán has been explained. All the Moghuls who were in Moghulistán fled in different directions before the prowess of his army. Even the Kirghiz who are the ravening lions[2] of Moghulistán, were no longer able to stay there, but had to join Mansur Khán in Chúsh. After the death of Ahmad Khán, on the arrival of Sultán Mahmud Khán in Moghulistán, Mirzá Abú Bakr went to Aksu, which he seized, together with Uch,[3] and carried off all the people from the neighbourhood of the latter place. He also left a garrison in the fort of Uch. My object in detailing the prowess and valour of Mirzá Abú Bakr, and the extent of his conquests, is to show what a great warrior Sultán Said Khán was, to have defeated such a man, as he did, at the battle of Tutluk

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE EVIL DEEDS AND WICKED WAYS OF MIRZÁ ABÚ BAKR.

One of the obligations I have imposed on myself in writing this Epitome *mukhtasar* is, that what I have heard from other people and on good authority, I would briefly relate, when it was of importance; but what I have witnessed myself I would not dwell on too long, for fear of exaggeration, which I desire to avoid. But what I have witnessed or taken part in, that I have written as personal experience. I have divided the strange life, the evil deeds, and the depraved conduct of Mirzá Abú Bakr into three sections. Firstly, what I have heard from others and from trust-

[1] The Tarikh adds, there was nothing left for them but to go to Andijan, prepared to die.—R

[2] *Shir-i-bisha*. Lit. lions of the forest.—R

[3] The place is known as *Uch Turfán*

wor hy reports this I have stated briefly, secondly, what I have myself seen or found directly, but which I could not bring myself to relate, and thirdly, what I have myself witnessed, and have written down in the Memo. But this is only a one in a thousand incidents a little out of many— a long story cut short

Heaven forbid that any reader of these pages should accuse me of exaggeration or of slander. If I had deemed it permissible to depart ever so little from truth in any way, should not I have said anything about Mirzá Abú Bakr, for he was my uncle But if I were to omit his history, all other facts connected with him would be obscure and incomprehensible. It is my duty both to shun exaggeration and to avoid omissions. The truth is that for more than forty years Mirzá Abú Bakr ruled supreme Towards the end of his life, the spirit of tyranny so mastered his nature, that if an offence was committed against him, though the offender might not be liable to any sentence according to the law, yet his evil heart was not satisfied with killing him once, but desired the death of the sinless sinner, a thousand times over

If any one had, in the slightest degree, opposed him, and he only heard of it ten years after, he was sure to punish, not only the offender, but likewise his children, relations, connections, and dependants. On this account, his subjects grew so submissive to his government, that nobody dared dream of acting contrary to his orders. When he had brought his authority to the point of complete supremacy in all things, he made such a collection of wealth, in treasure, property, mules and cattle, as surpasses all reckoning.

He used to set culprits to work, involving difficulty which was proportionate to the gravity of their offence; he arranged for the separate employment of men and women, but he got some work out of everybody. [For instance he ordered the old ones [known as] Kizil[1] to be excavated by these [prisoners], and the earth dug from them to be washed. If there were anything big, they would come upon it in digging, while anything small such as gems] they would find when they washed [the earth. In this way, innumerable treasures in precious stones, gold and silver, were discovered. I have heard some of his confidants say that a

[1] The word *Kázik* has proved somewhat of a puzzle, and I am not quite satisfied that the author's meaning is correctly rendered, either in this passage or in those immediately below, where the word is used In all it occurs five times but the texts are so obscure that, in some places, it may be read as the name of a person, rather than that of ruined towns generally Mr Ross informs me that there is a verb *Kázmak*, in Turki, meaning "to make excavations, excavating, while *Kázik* signifies, literally, "a spade" But from the context it appears rather that *Kázik* stands for *excavations* and has been applied, in a general way to the sites of ruined towns or those buried in the sands where probably the inhabitants were in the habit of digging for treasures In that case it would be used like "the mines," "the roads," etc Still, it is a word that does not appear in any book relating to Eastern Turkistan and the buried cities, so far as I am aware, and I am not acquainted with it from local experience.

tomans were found in the citadel of Khotan.[1] There were twenty-seven jars [*khum*] of such size that a man, with equal ease, could go inside them, without stooping or bending [and without touching the sides]. Inside each of these jars were four ewers [*dúlába-ha*]. One of these ewers fell into my possession. It is a sort of flask *surahi* with a long narrow neck which is fixed through iron handle. In the centre of the ewer is a copper pot, the rose of which is enamelled with *barába* the mouth of the ewer. The height of it is about seven and a half *gaz*.[2] When filled with water, two persons had great difficulty in lifting it, and they could not carry it from one place to another. Inside each of the jars was placed one of these ewers filled with gold dust and outside the ewers the space was filled with *bátish* of silver. In historical works, such as the *Jahán Kushá*, the *Tarikh-i-Tavá'ifu*, and others, a *bátish* is thus described. "A *bátish* is 500 *mithkál* [of silver], made into a long brick with a depression in the middle." I had a thin [or only] hundred [and

[1] The Turki translator changes *Khotan* into "the city of Yarkand," very possibly he may have made the statement with some reason, perhaps in accordance with local traditions, with which I am not acquainted. Many stories it may be remarked are current in the country, to this day concerning Abú Bakr and his successors.

[2] See p. [illegible] *gaz* as usually Bábar was accustomed daily to visit a vault of considerable size to the little east of the two Laghmán tombs. He concluded his notes on the subject as follows: "A fair allowance for one *gaz* I take would be about [illegible] *gaz*, which appears to be equal to Malik *gaz*." A great variety of *gaz* are in use in the Central Asian and East Persian countries, differing slightly in length. In stating Mirza Haidar's *gaz* it will perhaps be best always to use the Persian, as that it longest, because small and because the Persian, however, is fully second to Indian rather in measurement, etc., little more than equal to Mirza Haidar's.

[3] The author is obviously right in the Chinese hypothesis, and *Yuan-jao* which appears to have very generally known, however to the numerous *bátish, bádisht*, [illegible] *gláms* [illegible], as well as Arabic writers. Sir H. Yule's ingenious explanation of the word in question is that *Yuan-jao* (or "shoe-ingot," as it is usually called) is the Chinese (pp. 111 *seqq.*) for which they gather it still turns up in the word is uncertain. From the *bátish* was an assay, in which very certain unapparent by which that difficulty is, will the two *bátish* [illegible] gold and [illegible] silver. But it is to the silver *bátish* of 500 *mithkáls* weight that [illegible] alludes. The word also [illegible], like that of most Asiatic [illegible] words, [illegible] Mr. H. Yule (*Cathay and the Way Thither*, 1866) makes it [illegible] purposes, at 71.18 grains. At this rate the *bátish* would [illegible] 7111 grains troy. As usual, the Chinese *Yuan-jao* would be weighed about [illegible] 65 *liang* (or *taels*) and his standard *liang* is equal to 579.8 grains. Taking it at 65 *mithkáls*, the *bátish* would have weighed about 6½ *liang*, which is perhaps [illegible] yet the point in question is [illegible] two hundred than in a hundred. The *Yuan-jao* (or "shoe-ingot," as it is usually called in Chinese) is [illegible] Mirza Haidar's meaning by *sandúk* is perhaps [illegible] Eastern Turkestan it is called nowadays *Kaun-a-Yárki* would be derivation which [illegible] of-ancient *Yámbu* which is, of course, [illegible] Chinese *Yuan-jao*. Its value in exchange with India is usually about 165 or 170 rupees (See also Yule's *Glossary* under "Shoe" and "Tael.")

had never seen one myself, but had read the description in these books] These *bálish* had been placed outside the owers, but inside the jars. Many of them were brought, just as they were, to the treasury, which fell into the hands of the Khán's army [when Sultán Said Khán conquered Yarkand]. I myself possessed some of them. Thus subsequently I saw the *bálish* [and found them correspond to the description I had seen in books]

One of the most singular things that I heard from those who had worked at the Kizik was this. In every one of the owers was a letter written in Turki, which read ["This treasure was prepared for the expenses of the ceremony of circumcision of the son of the Khitan called Khamár."] But no one could discover who this Khamár Khitan was, nor when she had lived, nor how How strange that in spite of witnessing such examples, man is not restrained in his lusts, desires, and vain fancies!

After the discovery of this treasure, Mirzá Abu Baki urged forward the men employed at the Kizik, to work with greater diligence and one than before, and several other treasures were brought to light in the old cities of Káshghar, Yarkand, and Khotan The mode of operations at the Kázik was as follows: eighteen or twenty prisoners, more or less, were secured together by a chain running from one to the other, at their backs, through a collar fastened round the neck of each. In their hands they carried spades (*kaland*).[1] They laboured both summer and winter. [During the day they worked] and at night they were put into a prison If the prisoner's offence was very grave, neither friends, relations nor strangers were allowed to speak to him or give him anything. So that not even one of the same gang chain'd as himself was able to tell him a story. There was an overseer to every gang, and over every fifteen of the overseers was another person, and there was one man at the head of the whole of the Kizik. If any one of those overseers, whether superior or inferior, in the slightest degree neglected his duty with regard to the convicts as in flogging, commanding, urging them on, or throwing them into prison and the like, he was himself consigned to a gang of convicts. Moreover, such was the strictness of discipline that the overseers never dared to show any leniency. In fact, they could never speak a word, except officially

Those who were confined for lesser offences, were allowed to see a relation or friend once a week; and in like manner, there were many different gradations for individual cases, from which [favours], however, not the slightest deviation, in the way of enhancement, could be made, without authorization. Separate work was found for the men and the women. The above is only one example, out

[1] *Kaland* may mean a shovel or spade or pick-axe. The Turki MS. gives *Katmán* which signifies a spade. Vámbery has pickaxe.—R.

of many, of Mirzá Abú Bakr's cruelties. Many more instances might be mentioned, but they would disgust the reader, and the mind shrinks from narrating them.

I have [already] told you, by Shah Begum, Mihr Nigár Khánum, my brother Muhammad Sháh, and the maternal sister of my father (who was the full sister of Mirzá Abú Bakr) whom they were coming from Kábul, on their way to Badakhshán, were captured by the army of Mirzá Abú Bakr. The Mirzá brought them to Káshghar. His sister, Khán Sultán Sultánim, was a very pious woman, and had spent all her life in acts of religious devotion. For a long time he allowed her no food but wine, and when she was brought to the point of death by hunger and thirst, she was unduly forced to drink some of that [wine], so that she died in torture and suffering, all the same.[1]

He kept my brother, Muhammad Sháh, up till he was of fifteen years among his eunuchs (*ghuldm-i-akhtá*). When my brother reached this age the Mirzá ordered a roasting-spit to be thrust *into his stomach, then to be driven through with a hammer, so as* to come out at his back, and impale him against a wall; thus nailed to the wall, he was left [to die in agony]. From these examples, one may judge of his treatment of his nephews and nieces, and of those two noble women, the Begum and the Khánim. On consideration, I have decided to withhold my pen from further details, for I do not wish the honourable mind of the reader of this Epitome to be clouded by the darkness of that black nature, I will therefore not detain him longer on this subject.

In spite of all these barbarities Mirzá Abú Bakr allotted great piety, and was given over to good works, charity, and almsgiving to such an extent, that he never rested from these matters; while Mullas and doctors of the law were continually in his assemblies. In all his affairs and actions he relied upon *fatwá*, he even procured *fatwás* for the most atrocious of his deeds.[2] If the Ulama granted the *fatwá*, well and good, if they refused it, he would accuse the Mufti, find him guilty and sentence him to death, but would pretend to shew him mercy, saying, "He ought, according to the law, to die, but owing to my regard for him, I will remit the sentence of death, and will give him some work to do instead." But he work he gave him was far worse than death. Among the *fatwás* he demanded were the two following.

[1] In the Turki we read: Mirzá Abú Bakr practised such cruelty towards his sister, that for some time he refused her food, and gave her nothing but wine in place of water; and that wretched woman was at length, driven to drink one or two drops of the wine to quench her thirst.—R.

[2] In place of this passage the Turki MS reads: Until the Ulama had granted a *fatwá*, he had no right to do anything, and in order to legalise and justify his most hideous and abominable undertakings, he would ask for a *fatwá* and would thus show that he was in accordance with the Holy Law.—R.

If Amr attack Zaid with the intention of killing him, Zaid does all he can against Amr in self-defence, and according to the law is justified [1]

Again, if Khálid [2] be one who excites sedition and carries his evil intentions to another kingdom, in order to stir up rebellion in his own, the governor of his own country does all he can to prevent Khálid from going to another country, lest he may become a source of distress to his own people; and in so doing is justified by the law.

On the strength of these two *fatwá*, Mirza Abú Bakr put to death 3000 of the men of Jágnák, Uzkand, and Mádu, who had designs upon his life. And he cut off the feet of several thousands of others, with the excuse that "if these men run away to another country, they will stir up revolt [against me]; in this manner I will keep them within my own kingdom, that they may not escape." Such were his acts of cruelty. [In this book] there is no place for a further record of them Haply they are contained in the book of the Most Merciful of Scribes. On this account, I will now close the description of these repulsive matters.

The rest of Mirzá Abú Bakr's reign will be related presently.

CHAPTER XXIX.

UBAID ULLAH KHÁN MARCHES FROM TURKISTÁN AGAINST BOKHÁRÁ. IS MET AT KUL MALIK BY BÁBAR PÁDISHÁH. A BATTLE TAKES PLACE, IN WHICH THE LATTER IS WORSTED. EVENTS THAT FOLLOWED

When the Emperor, in Rajab of the year 917,[3] mounted the throne of Samarkand, as has been stated above, the learned men and nobles of Máwará-un-Nahr were indignant at his attachment to Sháh Ismail and at his adoption of the Turkomán style of dress. When that winter had passed and spring had set in (the plentiful drops of her rain having clothed the earth in green raiment) the Uzbeg advanced out of Turkistán. Then main body marched against Táshkand, while Ubaid Ullah went to Bokhárá by way of Yatí Kudak As the citadel of Táshkand had been fortified by Amír Ahmad Kásim Kuhbur, [the Emperor] sent him some rein-

[1] In Arabic grammars Amr and Zaid are generally taken in examples of rules of syntax, and correspond, in sense, to A and B. in English, as Caius and Balbus in Latin.—R.

[2] Khálid is, I suppose the typical name for a general, after he is now only Muhammadan conqueror.—R.

[3] October, 1511.

forcements, under the command of such men as Amír Dost Násir, Sultán Muhammad Dulídi,[1] and others, while he himself the Emperor advanced on Bokhárá. When he reached the town, news of his approach reached Ubaid Ullah who, [becoming alarmed] immediately drew his bridle and returned along the road by which he had just come. Pursuit was at once taken up by Kul Malik, who implored him to return. Ubaid Ullah Khán had 9000 men with him, while the Emperor had 40,000. Ubaid Ullah's answer was repeated to the end of the verse "And how often has a small force defeated a large one, by the permission of God!" [and he halted]. The horse had begun to rage. God the most high, has shown to the peoples of the earth, and especially to kings and rulers, that no boast is to be made of, no reliance to be placed in, the numbers of an army nor their equipment; for He in His might gives victory to whomsoever He will.

Thus Ubaid Ullah Khán, with 9000 shaikhzádahs, who eight months previously had retreated before his same force, now entirely defeated an army of 40,000, perfectly equipped and mounted on fine horses *tap hál*.[2] This event occurred in Safar of the year 918. The Emperor had reigned eight months in Samarkand.

When the Emperor returned to Samarkand, he was unable to get a firm footing upon the steps of the throne, and so bidding farewell to the sovereignty of Samarkand, he hastened to Hisár. He sent one ambassador after another to Sháh Ismáil, to inform him of what had passed, and to beg for succour. Sháh Ismáil granted his request and sent Mír Najm,[3] his commander-in-chief, with 60,000 men, who had [The beginning of the winter succeeding the spring, the Emperor marched from Hisár to Uzkand. On reaching Karshi, they found that Shaikhan Mirzá, the uncle of Ubaid Ullah Khán had strengthened the fort of Karshi. They, therefore, began by laying siege to the fort, which they quickly reduced. Then they put to death Shaikhan Mirzá, and massacred the whole of the people of the fort, killing both high and low—the sucklings and the decrepit.

Of the Uzbeg Sultáns, each one had fortified himself in his own

[1] For *Duládi* the Turk has *Kutádi*.—R.

[2] The Turkish text this passage is: Ubaid Ullah Khán saw that it was possible, and that he must, fight an immediate battle to Barak Tabrid, although he had only 8000 men to the Emperor's 40,000.—R.

[3] *Tapchák* is an Eastern Turki word meaning 'swift horse.' Erskine says it signifies 'a dun,' and that it is used to distinguish it from *tighan ak* or 'thorough-bred.' (*Yarkand Report*, p. 70.) Babar constantly uses it towards his Mirzás, and it probably applies to a man and a flying horse.

[4] April—May 1512 A.D.

[5] Mír Najm, sometimes called Najm-i-Sání, or the 'Second Star,' was according to Howorth minister of finance to Sháh Ismáil. His real name was Mír Muhammad. (*Ib.* p. 712.)

castle. Thus Jání Beg Sultán had stood on the defensive while fort of Ghajdaván. When the Turkománs had finished with Kashi, they asked the Emperor about the condition of all the fortified cities of Mávará-'n-Nahr, and he described the route by one. It appeared that the easiest of all to take was that of Ghajdaván; towards it therefore, they marched. The Uzbeg Sultáns heard of their coming, and entered the fort on the same night that the Turkománs and the Emperor, who were encamped before the place, were busy preparing their siege implements. At dawn they arranged their forces in the midst of the suburbs, and stood facing the enemy. On the other side, too, preparations were made for a fight.[1] Since the Uzbegs were in the midst of the suburbs, the field of battle was narrow. The Uzbeg infantry began to pour forth their arrows from every corner, so that very soon the claws of Islám twisted the hands of heresy and unbelief, and victory declared for the true faith. The victorious breezes of Islám overturned the banners of the schismatics. [The Turkománs] were so completely routed, that most of them perished on the field, all the tents that had been made by the swords at Kashi, were now sewn up with the arrow-stitches of vengeance. They sent Mír Najm and all the Turkomán Amirs to hell. The Emperor retired, broken and crestfallen, to Hisár.

As I now a difference arose between the Emperor and those Moghul Amirs who, when the Khán went to Andyján, had stayed behind and entered the Emperor's service. To make a long story short, one night, Ayub Beg, Mír Muhammad, Yádgár Mirzá and Nazar Mirzá, in company with the rest of the Moghuls fell upon the Emperor so unexpectedly that he was with difficulty able to escape, naked, into the castle of Hisár; while the conspirators, having plundered all they could find outside the fort, marched away towards the mountains of Karátegin. The Emperor was powerless to oppose them, having left several of his trusted Amirs to defend the castle of Hisár, he himself proceeded to Kunduz. The whole province of Hisár, except the fort, fell into the hands of the Moghuls. The Moghuls have a proverb which runs 'when a place is left unoccupied, the pigs will mount to the top of the hillock'[2] . . They withdrew the hand of tyranny and oppression from the sleeve of violence and enmity, and seized upon the households, families, possessions and cattle of all the people. One of the most distinguished of those Moghuls, who was in my service [at one time], used to relate. "They once [by way of paying my allowance] gave me an assignment *barát*] for obtaining provisions, which was addressed to one of the inferior officials

[1] The Turk says 'The Emperor and the Turkománs advanced'—R.
[2] This saying is followed by a line containing a coarse pun, which is untranslatable.—R.

at Vakhsh. I alighted at his house and showed him my assignment. He pondered for a while; then he came out and displayed before my view about 200 horses and a proportionate number of sheep camels, slaves, household furniture, clothes and various materials, saying: 'I entreat you to let me and my children and wives go with the clothes we have on, while you take possession of all that is here, and release me from the balance of the sum that is mentioned in the order.' When I had reckoned up the value of the cattle and property, though it came to a considerable sum, it was only half of that entered in the assignment." This story shows what degree of tyranny, violence and oppression they had begun to practise. Whatever property or flocks they found among the people of Hisár, they extorted from the owners, whom they ruined with waste and extravagance. There ensued a terrible famine among the Musulmáns,[1] and in the whole town of Hisár [only] sixty persons survived. The living ate the dead, and when these had died in such a condition that no nourishment was left in their flesh, the living fell upon one another. The end of those calamitous and revolting scenes was, that out of those thirty or forty thousand people, only about two thousand escaped, leaving their property behind, the rest were all engulfed in the ocean of violence, or annihilated with the sword of vengeance. The women and children were led away captive by the Uzbeg, and bear the burden of the ignominy to this day.

To add to all this distress and suffering, that winter there was such a prolonged and incessant snowfall, that the plains became like hills and the hills like plains. But as for that abominable race (the *Uzbeg*), as their tyranny and cruelty increased, so did their prosperity decrease. They, also, began to suffer from want of grain; and as the fodder all lay buried under the snow in the plains, they had nothing to give their horses; nor could they find any corn for themselves. Thus were those cursed people likewise reduced to great distress, and became impotent.

When news of their helpless condition reached Ubaid Ullah Khán, most of whose efforts were guided (at least by good intentions he felt at his back) under duty, both from a desire to restore order in the country, and also from a sense of right and justice, to go and expel those evil doers. At the end of the winter, therefore, he set out for Hisár. When [the Moghuls] heard of the approach of the Uzbeg, they knew not which way to turn, for they had themselves darkened their road to the Emperor, nor did they think fit to go to the Khán in Andiján, because whenever they might enter the Khán's service, they would be obliged to do some work which they considered beneath their dignity. The hands of their

[1] By Musulmáns the Sunni appear to be meant—*i.e.*, the Uzbegs and their party.

tyranny would be cut off and the fact of their insubordination crushed. On this account they abhorred the idea of going to the court of the Khán. Moreover, the roads were rendered impassable by the snow. For those several reasons, they took up a strong position in the mountains of the Sukhán and of Vakhsh. On one side it was protected by the River Surkháb, on two others by the mountains, while on the remaining side was deep snow, on which they placed much reliance.

When the Uzbeg drew near, they reconnoitred on all sides and found the enemy well fortified. As the Ustád says: "Life is like snow under the summer sun." The snow on the one flank, on which they had put reliance, thawed a few days later, and left a very broad way through the defile. This wide passage caused joy to [the Uzbeg] and depression to those wicked [Moghuls]. One morning the Uzbeg charged down upon [the Moghuls], who, when they saw them coming, threw themselves into the water . . . . (Couplet). . . . Most of those wretches passed through the water to the flames of hell, some few escaped; and all those who had not reached the river, went to hell by way of the flashing scimitar. Those that survived were taken prisoners, and all the suffering that they had inflicted on the people in Hisár during a year, God Almighty now caused, by the hand of Ubaid Ullah Khán, to descend upon them in one hour . . (Couplets) . . . All those that escaped the Hisár river and the glittering sword, went to the Khán in Andijún, in the condition that has been described, or rather, their condition would not be possible to describe.

I have heard Mir Ayub relate "Often, when I experienced ill-treatment from the Moghuls, and witnessed their dealings with the people [in Hisár], I have prayed to God to hasten to send down calamity upon them, that some Musulmáns might thereby be delivered.' The moral to be drawn from this story is that one should shun cruelty, which embitters life and destroys happiness: one should practise justice, which strengthens prosperity and sweetens life. "Divine aid is a precious thing and is only given to the faithful servant."[1] In short, through the villany of that tribe [the Moghuls] Hisár fell from the hands of the Emperor and came under the dominion of the Uzbeg. So long as the Emperor entertained any hopes [of recovering Hisár], he remained in Kunduz, though exposed to the greatest distress and want. Mirzá Khán possessed that country, but in spite of his entire subordination [to the Emperor], he was not able to give up his own country to oblige him. The Emperor, with his accustomed courtesy, bore the situation patiently and made no attempt to deprive Mirzá Khán of his dominions. At last despairing altogether of recovering Hisár, he returned to Kábul.

[1] An Arabic quotation from the Korán. –R

When he conquered Máwará-un-Nahr, he left Sultán Násir Mírzá upon the throne of Kábul. On learning the Emperor's approach, Sultán Násir Mírzá came out to receive him, with protestations of devotion and respect, saying: "When you withdrew your foot from the throne of the glorious kingdom of Kábul, you entrusted the high honour of government to me. And I have guarded this imperial throne for you until, through the changes of fortune and the revolving of the spheres, you have again come to a place where you will let fall upon the steps of the throne. I would now crave your permission (if allowed) to return to my former government of Ghazní, and would be most grateful if a few Amírs, of whom I stand in need, were appointed to my service." This devotion on the part of Sultán Násir Mírzá made a deep impression on the mind of the Emperor, who showed his gratitude by many favours, and allowed him to return to Ghazní where Sultán Násir Mírzá died soon after *dar hamán ayyám*. Whereupon Bábar's sons arose among the Amírs in Ghazní, which shall be spoken of in their proper place. The Emperor remained in Kábul until he conquered Kandahár; after that he conquered Hindústán, which shall likewise be mentioned in its right place.

CHAPTER XXX

ACCOUNT OF MY UNCLE, KHWÁJAH MUHAMMAD MIRZÁ.

It has already been briefly related how the Khán, on the 14th of Safar in the year 917,[1] separated from the Emperor, and went to Andijún, also how he defeated [Mírzá Abú Bakr] and the Kásh-ghari [at the battle of Tutluk]. At the same time the Emperor seized Samarkand while the Khán became absolute master of Andijún. In speaking of the children of Sultán Ahmad Khán, it was mentioned that Sultán Khalíl Sultán, being in great distress, had come to Andijún, and that Jání Beg Sultán had been afflicted in the brain, by falling from his horse onto his head.

At the time when Sultán Khalíl Sultán came to Andijún, Jání Beg Sultán ordered my uncle Sayyid Muhammad Mírzá, Sultán Alí Mírzá Begjik, and Tuba'i Nuyághut,[2] to kill Sultán Khalíl Sultán, in order that he might be assured that they were cut off from the Moghuls, otherwise he feared that, on the first opportunity, they would stir up a rebellion and attach themselves to the Moghul Khákáns. These three, fearing for their own lives,

[1] 14th Safar, 917 = 14th May, 1511.
[2] = Tuki MS. has *Tubighuth*.—R.

declared Sultán Khalíl Sultán in the river of Akhsi. He Sultán was younger brother to the Khán.[1]

So long as the Uzbeg had the upper hand and were successful, these three men lived in peace, but when the Uzbeg were overthrown, they grew apprehensive lest the Khán should take vengeance upon them for that crime [and this thought was never out of their minds]. One day the Khán, in a state of intoxication, killed Túbra. It came about in this wise. Túbra was a rude unpolished man, who had never been in personal attendance on the Khákáns, but had always lived in the deserts of Moghulistán and Uzbegistán, engaged in forays [*tazáki*] and skirmishes [*kanávuli*].[2] He was ignorant of the manners of an Amír. He now looked upon himself as one of the pillars of the State, and thought that for him to speak gently or courteously to a prince was but flattery, while flattery was the vilest of qualities, that coarse speech was a sign of power, and that a rough manner and the non-observance of the rules of politeness due to a king, should be regarded as a mark of dignity in himself. The people thought he was insane, and that pride had thickened the fibres of his brain. In spite of fear and apprehension, he had certainly made roughness of speech and rude manners his second nature. One day, at a feast given by the Khán, the wine was passing freely, and Túbra's head became hot with intoxication, reason left his brain, and in its place came pride and wickedness. All those thoughts which, when sober, he kept to himself, he now let flow with full force, and began to talk wildly. It was in vain that the Khán expostulated and pointed out to him that his railleries were out of place; that he should not let loose the reins of coarse speech and vulgarity. Túbra retorted in a speech reflecting on the Khan's family.[3] At this answer, the Khán quite lost control over his temper, and the harvest of his patience was consumed; he then and there gave orders for Túbra's head to be struck off and hung over the gate, as an example to all not to forget the respect due to authority.

When Sultán Ali Mirzá, who was one of the three, heard of this event, he fled to the Emperor in Samarkand, and joined his brothers, Mir Ayúl, Mir Muhammad, and Mu Burán. My uncle, Sayyid Muhammad Mirzá, who was their leader, was plunged into the greatest alarm. This event had occurred at Akhsi, while my uncle was in Andijan. The Khán immediately sent off Mir Kamba, in great haste, from Akhsi [to explain the matter to my uncle], saying. "Túbra was an ass, but no ass would endure him, even to buckle on his nose-bag.[4] Moreover,

[1] The expression is: *birádar-i-padar-i-mádari*.—R.
[2] The Tarikh says: Like a Karáki.—R.
[3] The speech, which is about one line in length is obscene and impossible to put into English.—R.
[4] A play on the word *Túbra* meaning a "nose-bag" for feeding horses.

he had entirely given himself up to the paths of evil ness." Mir Kamba succeeded in quieting the Khán with this message. Soon after this, the Khán himself came to Andijan. Here he treated my uncle with such friendliness and affection, as to blot out all fears from the latter's mind, and such a firm friendship was established between them, that it lasted all their lives. In later times the Khán never mentioned my uncle's name without shedding tears of affection.

[Verse: Behold the kindness and mercy of the Lord;
The servant has sinned, and the master is ashamed.]

After settling this matter, the Khán became firmly established upon the throne of the Khánate, until the time when the Emperor abandoned Samarkand, and the Uzbegs again obtained the ascendancy in Mivará-un-Nahr. The Emperor appealed to Shah Ismail for assistance, which came in the person of Mir Najm, with whom he again marched against Samarkand, as has been already recorded. On learning this news, the Khán set out for Andijan, and with the desire to anticipate [*pishdasti*] the Emperor and Mir Najm, before they had crossed the Darband-i-Ahanin, burnt naked Suyunjuk Khán,[2] who was one of the chief Uzbeg Sultans. With him a pitched battle was fought at a place called Bishkand.[3] But the Khán was defeated, after displaying great personal valour and receiving many wounds, and he arrived discomfited at Andijan, where he awaited news of the Emperor and Mir Najm. The Uzbegs, for their part, were unable to pursue or harass him to any great extent, for the Emperor and Mir Najm had turned towards Samarkand, thereby causing them great alarm. On this account, the Khán remained in Andijan, to repair the effects of his defeat and wait for news of the Emperor.

[1] Erskine's *Gulistán*. The following sentence, which is omitted—R.

[2] He was son of Abulkhair Khan, and brother of Kasim Kunji and Mirza Budigh—consequently, uncle of Sháibání Khan.

[3] *Bish-kand* is rendered into Persian by Panj-kand, a town in the Zarafshán valley, some way west of Samarkand. *Panj Kand* or "five towns" is merely the Turki form of *Panja Kand*, which is the more scientific form in Persian. The case, indeed, is similar to that of Yatlik and Hi to Del, alluded to at p. 180. The statements of our two parties refer to one locality very clearly, but they are sufficiently plain to show that *Bish-kand* = *Pishkand* beyond the right bank of the Sir, and south of Tashkand, cannot be the place indicated by Bisa-kand.

CHAPTER XXXI.

PERSONAL ADVENTURES OF THE AUTHOR

It has been already related that in Rajab of the year 915,[1] I left Mirzá Khán and proceeded to Kábul, to be honoured by the blessed glance of the Emperor, who welcomed and entertained me with the warmest affection. In public he ranked me with his brothers and nephews; but in private he regarded me with a truly paternal eye, as one of his own children, and I was the special object of his fatherly sympathy. So much did he comfort me, that he entirely banished from my mind the bitterness of orphanage, and grief at separation from my friends. Thus did I pass my time in perfect ease and contentment. In the meanwhile the Emperor resolved to lead an army against Kunduz, as has been already mentioned. It was the season of the polar star and in the rigour of *Dai*,[2] when he said to me, with great affection, 'The difficulty of the road and the coldness of the air are extreme. [You had better] stop in Kábul this winter. When spring comes, and the air is cleared of the bitter cold, you can come to me.' But I remonstrated with him, saying "In this country, it is the consideration and kindness of the Emperor which have enabled me to endure the bitterness of my desolation. If the Emperor leaves me behind, to whom shall I turn for comfort?" When he saw that to insist upon my remaining behind, in Kábul, would prey upon my mind and break my heart, he ordered such preparations for my journey to be made as the limited time allowed, and permitted me to accompany him to Kunduz.

As many of my father's old followers were among the Moghuls, they all hastened, at this crisis, to enter my service, bringing with them such presents and offerings as their circumstances admitted. In short, I was well equipped with arms and men. More especially [I must mention] my foster-father, Ján Ahmad Ataka, whose name will frequently occur hereafter, in its proper place; he, together with the rest of my father's old retainers, attached himself to me. This Ataka was a trustworthy man and had distinguished himself by his personal exploits at the time of the Uzbeg ascendency. He had made a goodly collection of horses and arms, which he put at my service. It was thus that he was employed until the winter, when [the Emperor] led his army into the Dasht-i-Kulak, as has been mentioned. I personally accompanied that expedition. On

[1] Oct.—Nov., 1509.

[2] *Dai* would be the tenth month of the ancient Persian year, or December.—R.

cur return from the Dasht-i-Kipchak, in the spring the Emperor sent the Khán to Andiján. The Khán was very anxious to take me with him in his service and, I for my part, had a strong desire to go. But when I asked leave of the Emperor, his blessed heart became heavy, and he put all such ideas from me. Thus the Khán went to Andiján, while I remained in the service of the Emperor.

Soon after this, followed the campaign of Hisár, in which the battle with Hamza Sultán and the defeat of the Uzbegs occurred. In the former engagement, the aforesaid Jan Ahmad Atka led my men in the battle, and having captured one of the Uzbeg chiefs alive, brought him to the Emperor, who promised him a reward for his bravery *puldu*,[1] saying: "This is Mirzá Haidar's first exploit and is a good omen." He then ordered them to record the *puldu* in the book, under Mirzá Haidar's name. This story has been already related.

I was with the Emperor when he captured Samarkand, and, mentioning my father's children, I said that the eldest of all was Habíba Sultán Khánish; [she was my full sister] and I had fallen to Ubaid Ullah Khán. When Ubaid Ullah fled from Kashi to Bokhárá and entered Turkistán, he was not able to look after his own family properly. Every one who could find means to make that difficult journey went: those who could not, stayed behind. Among those last was my sister, Habíba Sultán Khánish, whom I joined in Bokhárá. We then came to Samarkand, where we found my uncle, who had come, last winter, from the Khán in Andiján, on business of the State. Having settled his affairs to the best of his powers, he returned to Andiján, taking with him my sister, whom on his arrival he gave in marriage to the Khán.

In the spring of that year, when the Emperor went to the combat Ubaid Ullah Khán at the battle of Kul Malik, I was detained in Samarkand by an access of fever. When the Emperor returned to Samarkand discomfited, and I then again departed [being unable to remain there], I was in a state of convalescence, nevertheless, I continued to follow him to Hisár. The Khán sent messengers several times to the Emperor to fetch me, and at last, displeased and irritated, he gave me leave to go. In my childishness I did not (as it was my duty to do) pay attention to the Emperor's consent [but determined to go to Andiján]. Thus, on the arrival of Mír Najm, the Emperor mounted his horse and joined the expedition, while I set out for Andiján. I have already mentioned how the Emperor joined Mír Najm. I (as I say) went to Andiján; but before reaching my destination, the Khán[2] had been put to rout by Suyunjuk Khán, and returned to Andiján just as I arrived

[1] A Turki word meaning a present made to heroes, or a reward for bravery.
[2] Sultan Sa'íd Khán

there. This occurred in Rajab of the year 918. From that date to the day of the Khán's death, in Zulhijja 939,[1] I remained constantly in his service, and was all the while distinguished by his regard and liberality. In short, until he conferred upon me the rank of Kurkáni, I was never absent from him. At night, wherever his bed was spread, one was also spread for my convenience, at his side. At royal banquets, the right hand of my fortune was joined to the left hand of the Khán's favour. Whenever a consultation was held, my uncle was sure to be ■ the head of the meeting *sar-i-dafta*], but he gave me precedence over my uncle; nay more, he did so at the request of my uncle, who used frequently to point out to the Khán that [although] I was only the son of his brother, still he recognised that my precedence over him was not only proper, but necessary. When he rode out, I always rode at his side; and when he went hunting, he used to instruct me in the sport [and initiate me into its secrets and subtleties]. He used to load the hunt himself, for he was a keen sportsman. He never allowed me out of his sight, but used to persuade me to go hunting with him, and if ever I showed any reluctance, he would compel me to enjoy it. He used to set me various tasks to do, at the same time pointing out what benefit I should derive [from doing them], and would say: "Until young men begin to perform duties, they can never gain experience. [Otherwise] in important affairs and in large assemblies, in mosques and in the battlefield, where the leaders of the people, whether Khákáns or Sultáns or Amirs, take part, they become confused, and meet with opposition from their people. But when young men practise themselves in the business of their elders, they gain insight into the particulars of their various duties, and in all such matters as wars and the like, they acquire a certain confidence. Thus self-reliance gains for them the esteem of the people, which strengthens their authority. In the performance of these duties they learn to recognise their own merits and demerits, and to judge of the best modes of action.

"While in the service of my father and my uncle, I had these principles indelibly engraved upon my heart, and they used to make me perform numerous duties, that I might turn the advantages derived from them to the best possible account. What I learnt from my elders I now am teaching you, that you, in turn, may also profit by it.

Till the age of twenty-four, I was employed in every kind of service and all that the Khán gave ■ to do, both great things and small, I carried out single-handed. But if, even in the councils of the Amirs, in which I had my special place, ■ opportunity of some service presented itself to me, the Khán would forbid my performing it, saying. "In the battlefield you must remember

[1] Rajab, 918, began 12 Sept., 1512. Zulhijja 939, began 21 June, 1533.

you rank, ▬ that you may not fall in the estimation of the people" When I was between twenty-four and twenty-five years of age, he bade me desist from all those services, and said, "All that I have given you to do, you have done well. Now you can return to your favourite pursuits" Thereafter, till the age of thirty, he entrusted to me the affairs of the army. But he caused me to be attended by men of judgment and experienced Amirs, and ins ructed me never to deviate from what they considered right, but to follow them in all matters When several campaigns *lashkar*] had been carried through in this way, he gave me leave o speak my mind in debates and plans of action. Up to the age of thirty I had never received this permission nor had I ever spoken in an assembly, but had always remained silent. After sanction was accorded me, however, I spoke much and whenever I used to speak in the assemblies, the Khán would say to me: "Explain this matter more fully, give us your proofs and your reasonings" If I explained myself well and said what was fitting, he would praise me, and desire the people to applaud; and when I did not say exactly what was right, he would add, "What he means to say is so-and-so"; and thus would improve my words and ▬ isfy the Amirs.

When some time had passed in this way, he said to me: "I have now learnt to rely on you thoroughly; he then entrusted to me the entire management of the army and the direction of the government, giving me, in those matters, absolute freedom of action, together with sanction to issue mandates and *farmáns*. When I returned from my expedition into Kashmir, and came to kiss the Khán's foot in Tibet, he called me by no other name han "brother," both in private and in public. The details connected with those events will be given in the account of the Khán. I shall now record the rest of my own life until I have related the end of his.

CHAPTER XXXII

ACCOUNT OF SULTÁN SAID KHÁN AFTER HIS DEFEAT BY SUYUNJUK KHÁN.

[Soon] after I entered the Khán's service, news arrived of the defeat of the Emperor and Mir Najm at Ghajdawán. This was at the beginning of the same winter in which the Moghuls revolted

[1] By *Tibet*, Ladak is not here, as in nearly every case where the word *Tibet* is used.

against the Emperor, when the severe famine broke out in Hisár, [and much snow fell]. During that winter the whole of the province endured great misery and want.

At this crisis, news came of Suyunjuk Khán's march [on Andijún]. Three months previously [the Khán] had been defeated [by Suyunjuk], and his power of resistance had been broken. After much deliberation, it was resolved that my uncle should fortify himself in the citadel of Andijún; that Mu Ghul Balás should defend Akhsi and Mir Dúst Ali should hold the citadel of Maughinún, while the Khán should retire to the hills on *the north of the province of Andijún, with his family and the rest* of the army, for it would be difficult for the Uzbeg to come into the hills [to fight], and the fact that the Khán was still in the field [*bírun*] would make them fear to besiege the citadels. Having decided upon these plans, they were at once put into execution. When Suyunjuk Khán learnt this, he did not see fit to advance, but abandoning his purpose, remained quietly where he was for that winter.

In the spring, news came of Kásim Khán. The incidents were as follows. When the Emperor conquered Mávará-un-Nahr, he gave Táshkand [in charge] to Mír Ahmad Kásim Kuhbur, and Sairám to the latter's brother, Kitta Beg. When the Emperor left Samarkand and went to Hisár, the Uzbeg, having regained their composure, laid siege to Táshkand, and at length reduced the defenders to great straits. One night, however [the garrison] rushed out of the citadel, and attacking one corner of the Uzbeg army, got away. The Uzbeg looked upon their departure as a great blessing, and did not follow them, but were satisfied with the reduction of Táshkand. Afterwards, Mír Ahmad Kásim went to the Khán in Andijún, and on leaving that town, proceeded to join the Emperor in Hisár. But his brother, Kitta Beg, had put the citadel of Sairám into a state of defence, [lest the Uzbeg should come and besiege him], and could find no road for escape. All that winter he remained within his fortifications. Early in the spring he sent to Kásim Khán for help, saying "If you will come to me, I will deliver the citadel of Sairám over to you." With such words did he entice his brother and rouse his ambition, thus bringing him against Táshkand.

But at this point, in order to understand what follows, it is necessary to say something about Kásim Khán.

CHAPTER XXXIII

ACCOUNT OF THE KAZÁK AND THEIR SULTÁNS: THE ORIGIN OF THEIR NAME AND TRIBES.[1]

When Abulkhair had made himself master of the whole of the Dasht-i Kipchák, he desired to remove several of the Sultáns of the race of Jú, in whom he detected symptoms of seditious designs. Karáí[2] Khán and Jáni Beg Khán, perceiving the intentions of Abulkhan Khán, fled, together with a few other Juí Sultáns to Moghulistán. This country was at the time under the Khánship of Isán Bughá Khán, who received them favourably and assigned a corner of Moghulistán for them to live in. Here they dwelt in peace.

On the death of Abulkhair, differences arose between the Uzbeg *Ulus*. As many as were able, repaired to Karáí Khán and Jáni Beg Khán, for the sake of peace and security, and in this way the two Khánsbecame very powerful. Since they had first of all separated from the mass of their people, and for some time had

[1] The whole of this valuable section was translated by Erskine, and will be found in his MS. at the British Museum. As Sh. R. H. went over it in his chapter on the *White Horde and the Kirghiz Kazáks* and has collated it with other accounts of the same events it would be superfluous to offer any comment on the subject here. I would only remark that, when Mirza Haidar says that "in the year 1 not a vestige of Kazák of Moghulistán remained on the confines" he must have been unacquainted with what was going on in that country. He wrote the passage, apparently, in the year 8 H. (1511-2) A. Khánish's death nine years after he had served Sa'íd on the occasion with Moghulistán, and was possibly wrongly, or imperfectly informed. Sh. R. H. Howorth observes "It is probably an exaggeration, but there can be no doubt that at this time the Kazák confederacy was much disintegrated." The Khánship of Khans continued, however, and Sir Henry Howorth sees their history, and their decline down to the only one in the eighteenth century.

For convenience of reference the Khans of the Kazák of the White Horde may be detailed here, for the period of Mirza Haidar's history as follows:—

Karáí and Jáni Beg	(sons of Barák)	1427–1488	A.D.
Barák	(son of Karáí)	1488–1500	"
Kásim	(son of Jáni Beg)	1500–1518	"
Mamish	(son of Kásim)	1518–1528	" (?)
Tahir	(grandson of Karáí)	1528–15	"
Burák	(*Ibid.*)	1530–15	" (?)

There is some doubt about the date of Sh. R. Howorth, citing a Russian author, allows that it may have been Uzbeg Abulkhair. The date 1524, I have taken from Stokvis, but do not know his authority for it. It is wanting in the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* and in Howorth. (See *Hist. of Mongols* II. pp. 627 *seq.*, and Stokvis, , p. 108; but the latter's table does not agree with the above.)

This is the exact transliteration of the name as it occurs in the text, and not as Europeans have written it (*Jani*

boon in an indigent and wandering state, they got the name of *Kazák* which has clung to them ever since.

On the death of Kasim Khán, his son Barunduk Khán succeeded to the Khánship, while Kásim Khán, son of Jání Beg Khán by his father, became obedient and submissive to Barunduk Khán. In addition to Barunduk Khán, Kasái Khán had many sons, and Jání Beg Khán had others besides Kásim Khán. Among Jání Beg's sons[1] was Adik Sultán, who married Sultán Nigár Khánum, the fourth daughter of Sultán Yunus Khán, on the death of Mirzá Sultán Mahmud son of Sultán Abu Sa'íd Mirzá. After the devastation of Tashkand, Adik Sultán abandoned Shahi Beg Khán to join the Kazák, and was followed by Sultán Nigár Khánum. But Adik Sultán dying soon after this, Kásim Khán took Sultán Nigár Khánum to wife. At the death of Adik Sultán, Kásim Khán obtained complete ascendency, and Barunduk was Khán in name only. Finally he banished Barunduk Khán, who repaired to Samarkand and died in exile.

Kásim Khán now brought the Dasht-i Kipchák under his absolute control, in a manner that no one, with the exception of Juji Khán, had ever done before. His army exceeded a thousand thousand. In the year 921 he died, whereupon contests ensued among the Kazák Sultáns. He was succeeded in the Khánate by his son Mamásh Khán, who in one of the wars, died of shortness of breath[1] and was succeeded by Páhis Khán, son of Adik Sultán. Being a harsh man, he practised much cruelty, so that his people, who numbered about 400,000 persons, suddenly deserted him and dispersed, while he was left alone among the Kirghiz, and at last, in misery.

Nearly 40,000 men, now collected together in Moghulistán, they appointed as their Khán, Bahish Khán, brother of Páhis Khán. But the wheel of Fate has made such strange revolutions, that for the last four years, not a trace has been visible of these people. In the year 930 the Kazák numbered a thousand thousand, in the year 941, not a vestige of all this host remains on the face of the earth. They will be frequently mentioned in this history in connection with the Khans. Such is the story of the Kazák.

Even previous to the time of Kásim Khán's assumption of the title of Khán, his power was so great that no one considered Barunduk Khán, nevertheless I did not wish to live side by side with Barunduk Khán, because, if near him, he would not be able

[1] The Persian texts have *dam-gat* the Turki *tang-nafas*. But in Persian *dam-gat* is generally used for short breath produced by the rarefied air at high altitudes while *tang-nafas* usually stands for ordinary asthmatic breathlessness. The Bighat-i-Kipchák therefore would probably have *tang-nafas* instead.

[1] Thus no may perhaps read *Tahish*.

to pay him due respect, but would offer him opposition, and [he felt that] if he did [not] know how to [do] so, he could not reconcile passive submission with his own private convictions. He therefore kept at a distance. Ramadán Khán lived at Sarai Ghuk,[1] and Kasim Khán in order [to] put away at a hint, went to the confines of Moghulistán. He made Karátál[2] his winter quarters, intending, early in the spring, to return to his original capital, when one of Kitta Beg's men, with some of the chief inhabitants of Sairám, arrived, bringing the keys of Sairám and soothing him to accept the town, which he did. He then marched on Tarz, which the Moghuls call Yángi. In advance of himself, he despatched one of his own Amirs into whose hands Kitta Beg delivered the town of Sairám. [Kitta Beg waited on Kásim Khán in person, and induced him to attack Táshkand.] Kásim Khán then set out with a countless army for Táshkand, where Suyunjuk Khán had fortified himself within the citadel. Kásim Khán arrived, spent one night outside and then turned back again, wondering, all the envoys of Táshkand as he went. The rest of the events of Kásim Khán's life will be related in their proper place.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

EVENTS THAT FOLLOWED THE ATTACK WITH SUYUNJUK KHÁN; AND SULTÁN SAID KHÁN'S OWN EXPEDITION AGAINST KÁSIM KHÁN.

In the spring of the year 918, the Shaibání Uzbeg (by which name is meant the tall warrior Shibi Beg Khán) had become absolute masters of Mávará-un-Nahr. They had struck into every heart. That winter had been spent in the above-mentioned plot, in the spring they were busy devising further schemes, and thinking what they should next attempt, when suddenly news

[1] If this is the right form of the name, some such name as *Sal Sarai-Ghik* etc. [i.e. a town of the Sarai-ghik] on the Yaxartes [Sir Daryá], in the north-west of the Caspian, and this quite possibly is the place indicated. But the text may conceal "the palace of Ghuk Jik," etc., and in fact as I am unable to suggest any explanation of it.

[2] The *Karátál* River, which I was not able to cross [on the Bálkash] from the south, was, as Mirza Haidar states, in later days, on the northern confines of Moghulistán. The name also called *Karátál* in the upper course of the river, but it is likely to have been the name of a town rather than that of a camping-ground. Both the river and the modern camping-ground, or village, are marked on the accompanying map. There are however, other rivers also called *Karátál*.

[3] The Turki translation here adds the following explanation. "The Khan of Andijan had been at peace with the Auzbegs, and Suyunjuk Khan, hearing of this, had desisted from his hostile designs against Andijan."

of Kásim Khán's advance [on Táshkand] was brought to them. Before Kásim Khán's arrival, however, the Khán went and plundered Ahangarán, one of the most important towns in Táshkand, and I accompanied him in this foray. When, at early morn, we came upon the people of Ahangarán, they rushed with their wives and children and effects into a wood, and there took up a strong position. On one side of the wood was a large river, and on the other a deep ravine, which could only be approached by one road. They would not allow the pillagers to approach, and when the Khán heard of this he put me under the care of Khwája Ali, saying: "Hold the bridle of Mirzá Hadi's horse, lest he get into some dangerous place." For I was still too young to distinguish good from evil or to keep myself out of danger. [Having entrusted me to Khwája Ali, the Khán placed himself at the head of his men and advanced on the enemy.] When he drew near them, he saw that their foot bowmen had made ambushes in every corner, and were ready to shoot. They had stretched their bows, washed their hearts of life, made a right, a centre, and the left, a right. As our men advanced, the Khán stimulated and encouraged the champions of his right and the warriors of his left, warning them not to ride impetuously, but to make a charge in one body. The heroes drew their horses up in line ready to charge, and so busy were they getting into order, that they did not notice the Khán, who had made a charge all alone. It had been the Khán's intention to conceal his design from them by his words. *Thus he threw himself upon the enemy before any of the others.* Three men who were lying in ambush let fly their arrows simultaneously at him; but by the mediation of the Almighty, they all three missed the mark. Then the Khán made his bright sword to flash upon one of those three men who, bleeding, and in fear for his life, fell at the foot of the Khán's horse. The Khán turned against another of them, but the first had just put out his hand from behind the horse, when Abdul Wáhid, who was the Rustem of the Khán's warriors, having followed close behind [his master] came up and struck a blow with his sword at the wounded man's head, which sent it flying a bow's length off, while the Khán fell upon the second. Then commenced a conflict, in which all the enemy were annihilated, and where the Khán exceeded all the other warriors in valour.[1]

On his return, in safety, from this expedition, laden with booty, the Khán learnt that Kásim Khán had attacked Suyunjuk Khán in Táshkand. Whereupon he immediately set out for that town, but on reaching the pass of Kandalik, which is situated between the provinces of Farghána and Táshkand, news came of Kásim

[1] This sentence is an abridgment of four lines full of high-flown phrases.—R

Khán's retinue. Returning, the Khán proceeded to Akhsí, and having put the various forts of Farghána into a state of defence, he turned towards the Kazák husbandmen bringing to mind [Kásim Khán's] treachery and accompanying that expedition; long, in short, he stayed behind.

The Khán advanced [through the desert of the Kazák] till he came to a well-known town called Mughulistán called Aktáb. At this time Kásim Khán was nearer seventy than sixty years of age, while the Khán, being still under thirty, was in the full vigour of youth. Kásim Khán feared, or the plot called upon it to be, caused him coming out *istiklál* to receive the Khán. He commanded all his Sultáns to go and kneel before the Khán, and receive him. Some of those Sultáns were fifty and sixty years old, such as Jánish Khán, Sabásh Khán, Mamásh Khán, Ján Nadar Sultán, Kúsh Khán, and others to the number of thirty or forty. All Sultáns of the race of Juji. When Sabásh Khán[2] and Jánish Khán (who were very old)[3] bowed, the Khán rose up, but when the others bowed he remained seated. Then Kásim Khán advanced with a courtesy which the Khán, to the end of his life, never forgot. Whenever he was spoken of the Khán used to say that Kásim Khán was a most upright and worthy man, and would then relate the events of their friendship.

On meeting, Kásim Khán preached and said: "We are men of the desert, and here there is nothing in the way of riches or formalities. Our most costly possessions are our horses, our favourite food their flesh, our most enjoyable drink their milk and the products of it. In our country are no gardens or buildings. Our chief recreation is inspecting our herds. Therefore let us go and amuse ourselves with looking at the diverse of horses, and thus spend a short time together." When they came to where those were, he examined them all, and said, 'I have two horses which are worth the whole herd. These two were then brought forward; (and the Khán used to say that never in his life had he seen such beautiful animals as these two). Then Kásim Khán resumed: "We men of the desert depend for our lives upon our horses and [personally] put my trust in no others but those two [I could not bear to part with either of them.] But you are my esteemed guest, so I beg you to accept whichever of them appears best to you the better, and to leave the other for me.'

Having examined the points of each, the Khán chose one which was called Uighán Turuk and truly such another horse was never seen. Kásim Khán then selected several others from his droves, and gave them to the Khán. He next offered the Khán a

[1] That the author is mistaken in this place is shown p. 271 f.
[2] The [illegible] as *Sabáh Khan* in some texts.—R.
[3] The Turki text says Muchulka than the Khan.—R.

cup of the spirit *kimiz*, saying: "This is one of our forms of hospitality, and I shall esteem it a great favour if you will drink it." Now the Khán, a short time before this, had renounced all intoxicating liquors; so he excused himself, saying: "I have forsworn such things as this, how can I break my vow?" To which Kásim Khán replied, 'I have already told you that our favourite beverage is mare's milk and its products, and of these this [*kimiz*] is the pleasantest. If you do not accept what I now offer you, I am totally at a loss to know what to give you in its place, in performance of the duties of hospitality. Years must elapse before such an honoured guest as yourself again enters the house of your humble host; and now I am incapable of entertaining you. How can I make reparation for this?" So saying he hung down his head with shame, and marks of sorrow appeared upon his face. Thereupon, for his host's sake, the Khán drank the spirit to the dregs, to the great joy of Kásim Khán. Festivities [*sukbat*] then began, and during twenty days they continued to indulge together in quaffing cups of the spirit *kimiz*. The summer was just drawing to a close, and the Kazák set out, by Kásim Khán's orders, for winter quarters. Kásim Khán said "To go and attack the Shaibání, at this time would involve great difficulties. Men of the desert do not think of winter at this season [without orders]. It is impossible. An expedition is not to be thought of at this time.' He then dismissed his army,[1] and with the utmost courtesy and regard he bade the Khán farewell. He himself returned to his capital, while the Khán, much pleased with Kásim Khán, returned to Andján. It was then autumn *tímáh*. A learned man, to commemorate these events, discovered the chronogram *Ashte-i-Kazák*, or "Peace with the Kazák" [919 A.H.]

CHAPTER XXXV.

ACCOUNT OF THE MIRACLES OF MAULÁNÁ MUHAMMAD KÁZÍ.

At the time of Sháh Ismail's victory over Shaibeg Khán, and the arrival of the Emperor in Samarkand, to lend his aid to the former, Hazrat Maulání had left Samarkand and come to Andján, as has been mentioned above. At the period of which I am now speaking, Hazrat Maulání was living in the province of Farghána,

[1] The Turki text says, literally: He excused his army from going against Tashkand. From the words, 'The summer was drawing . . .' onwards to this point, the passage is obscure and involved in all the texts.

and all the Amirs, of every degree, used to wait upon him, and profit by the blessing of his converse. I also took upon myself the duty of waiting on him frequently, and he continued to shower upon me the same kindly favours as he had done when I was a child in Uraʻpha (as the name of the collection is Bokʻárá); and by the blessing of which favours, I was rescued from that horrible abyss, all of which has been already explained.

Hazrat Maulánà performed miracles and wonders. Among them was the following: One of my father's relations, Sayyidiná Kukildásh, who was a disciple of Hazrat Maulánà, was one day waiting on the latter. Hazrat Maulánà, seeing that he looked sad, questioned him as to the cause. Sayyidiná Kukildásh replied: "A certain person" (meaning me) "has come from Khárá in the hopes of obtaining the Khán's daughter in marriage and being thus raised to the dignity of Kurkán." All the Amirs no

The Mongol word *Kurkán*, as was natural enough, gave rise to many false etymologies among the Muslim authors. Thus, writing sometimes from hearsay only and sometimes from Turki sources, they variously derived it from *Kúrá* or *Kú* or *Kó* (which in many Turki dialects is pronounced *Kú*) and *kán* or *gán* (which in Persian and Turki both mean 'lord'). But it frequently happens that an author, as written Mongol syllable *khán* and in this way has implicitly distorted the original Kór-kán, Gurkan, Guregu, or Kuigan would in many cases be found to be Turki for Mongol (translitterated *Khanglen* in Kowalewski's dictionary) *gürgen*, 'son-in-law,' and the well-known Mongol title *Gürgen*, 'son-in-law of the Great Lord' (in Turki *Kürkán*), would be explained as 'son-in-law, son-in-law' or 'son-in-law upon son-in-law,' or 'mighty mighty son-in-law' (in Mongol *Yeke Gürgen*, in Turki *Ulu Kürkán*, "which we will leave to show the" [illegible] "that the *Kurkán Kungi* [illegible] *Timur-i-lang* [illegible] of Cathay, but in Mongol *Khangha* 'son-in-law,' which applied to persons, until [illegible] the Mongol kings but by Timur [illegible] that [illegible] found it in some of the Mongol [illegible] the many [illegible] were misled. Dr Bretschneider says that the Mings [illegible] Amir Timur the title *Tai Hi-ma-i*, [illegible] Timur in Chinese [illegible] son-in-law of the Great Lord.' But the Chinese could hardly [illegible] great humiliation [illegible] of the Prince of China. Timur [illegible] Mongol title *Kurkán Kungu*, which would [illegible] by marriage with the house of Chingiz Khan [illegible] Mongol *Khangha* 'son-in-law. He then shows that a number of [illegible] Chinese princess, notwithstanding [illegible] several writers to the contrary. "I have not [illegible] to find" he continues, "still in the *Yuan Shi* or the *Ming Shi*, where lists of the imperial princesses [illegible] are given, [illegible] which [illegible] nine wives of Timur, [illegible] nothing of such a [illegible] among them [illegible] is known to us was (according to *Zafar-Náma*) one Bádi Malik Khanim daughter of Kazan Sultan, Khan of Turkistan [illegible] Mawa-

now opposed to this match, and it is difficult to carry through anything that the Khán's Amírs have set their faces against. This is the reason of my sorrow and dejection.' Hazrat Maulánú then said: "I feel convinced that God has fore-ordained this union; therefore the efforts of the Amírs can avail nothing. The marriage will certainly take place." When Sayyidí returned, he repeated to me the words of Hazrat Maulánú, and announced the good news. It was at this time that the Khán was away among the Kazák, but a few days later he returned, and raised me to that dignity which Hazrat Maulánú had foretold. Thus, in Rajab of the year 919 I was elevated to the rank of Kurkán.

n-Nahi, who was a descendant of Chingiz. She was married to Timur in 1360, and became the mother of Shah Rukh. The next year he married another Moghul princess named Tukal Khánim, who was a daughter of Khizr Khwája, Khan of Moghulistan and was also a descendant of the house of Chingiz.

But the personages in Asiatic history to whom it is the form *Gurkhán* is most generally applied, are the kings of the Kara-Khitái or Si-lao and more especially to that one of the line (named Yé-lü Tashi) who made himself notorious in the early part of the twelfth century. It is in stance Rashid-al-Din, Abul Ghazi Tuvarni Mirza Haidar, and Abul Fazl all give the meaning *Gur-Khán* and three of them explain the meaning of the word to be great or 'universal, king' — a translation which one of them (Abul Ghazi, p. 7) has *from the Kara-Khitái language*. There is one that is noticeable, however, in Abul Ghazi throughout his book, to whomsoever the title is applied he (or his translator, Desmaisons) spells *Gur-Khan*, while Rashid-ud-Din (according to Quatremère) makes a distinction, Mirza Haidar also distinguishes between the two forms. He uses the word *Kurkán* as a title applied to several of his ancestors in his history but in the passage under note here, he records that he himself by marrying the daughter of Sultan Said, Chief of Kashgar, was raised to the dignity of a *Kurkán*, while only a few pages later (p. 287) he writes of the chief of the Kara-Khitai by the title of *Gur-Khan* or *Kur-Khan*.

It would appear, therefore, that there were two titles in use: but if this was the case, how is it that we find Shah Rukh, the son of Timur, styling himself on his coins *Gurkhan*, while those of his own son and successor Ulugh Beg are stamped with the form *Kurkan* (S. Lane Poole as follows)? The two princes were both descendants of Timur, who used *Korkán* as would not readily be any line of descent from the *Gurkhans* of the Kara-Khitai. At first sight this seems to be an objection, but the evidence is so complete on the other side, that I do not think the name of Shah Rukh need have much weight. Small probability the following is a mere misreading of the style *Kurkán* on the part of the engraver, who was very possibly ignorant of the word *Kurkán* and its derivation, the engraver used to the employment of the title of *Khan* in one form or another.

If this be admitted, perhaps the most likely explanation of the matter is: that originally *Kurkán* was a Mongol title used only by a son-in-law of the Khán (first of Mongolia and afterwards of China) while in later times, it was assumed by all or at any rate by many, (1) women daughters of ruling princes or (2) by those who married women and not of Chingiz Khan, though not totally his daughters; or (3) that when its true significance was forgotten it became a more honorific and was pretty much the dignity. My impression is that, as in the case of Mirza Haidar, None of the above explanations will account for the manner in which the title was used by Timur and his descendants and by those who assumed it. Indeed, if applied in that way, it would suit nearly every Khan or Amir in Central Asia, for most of them must have been able to take to wife the daughter of some ruler or another and most likely did so.

Thus Dr. Lehmann's opinion that there were two separate titles, appears to be established, although the facts he brings in support of it may not be correct. One of these titles was of Mongol origin, and it means 'son-in-law', the other,

CHAPTER XXXVI.

SOME FURTHER DETAILS IN THE SAME CONNECTION.

At the beginning of this book, in enumerating the offspring of Sultán Ahmad Khán, it was mentioned that the Khán had four daughters. The third daughter, Muhibb Sultán Khánim, on the death of her first husband was married to his brother, Sultán Mahmúd Khán, who was then at Akhsi by order of Shahi Beg Khán. Muhibb Sultán Khánim then remained with Kutuk Khánim, daughter of Sultán Mahmúd Khán, and who, after the devastation of Táshkand, was given to Táni Beg Sultán, as has been mentioned. After my uncle had risen up against Táni Beg Sultán, and driven him out of the province of Paghána, Muhibb Sultán Khánim separated from Kutuk Khánim, who was her cousin. On the Khán's return to Andijan, she rejoined him. Of all his four sisters, the Khán loved her the best, so that when she came to him, he showed her the greatest regard and affection. The occasion of my marriage was celebrated by magnificent banquets and entertainments, which were remembered long after.

That winter the Khán took up his winter quarters at Pishkamán, a township of Akhsi. In the middle of the same season, Mír Ghiyás Beg's, Governor of Akhsi, died a natural death, whereupon the Khán moved from Pishkamán to Akhsi, where he remained the rest of the winter. Early in the spring, Mír Ayub and the Moghuls who had been in Hisár, having been detached by Wais Ulláh Khán as above related, came to Paghána.[1] The Khán gave Akhsi to Mír Ayub Begjik.

Meanwhile, news was brought that the Uzbegs were approaching. The reason for them coming was that the year before, Kásim Khán had advanced [and had again retired], but during the whole of

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probably of Kara-Khitanan, or perhaps Manchu (Jurchi) mount 'Great Cave.' But soon to become familiar to Western writers until some time in the twelfth century, and they, knowing nothing of the languages in which the words originated, began in the course of time, with varying orthographies, to confuse the two.

In spelling the words I have adopted throughout the form *Kutlan* for the Mughal title, using the most exact and simple transliteration of it as it is found in the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* as well as in other texts, while for Kara-Khitai till I have written it as *Ki—Gun Khan* in order to distinguish it as much as possible from the other (See Bretschneider, *Researches into the Mongol Affairs in Bull. Acad. Sci.*, VII, 1, xxx; Abel Rémusat, p. 5; *Haft Iklim* in Quatremère *Not. et Extraits*, XIV, p. 378; Klaproth, *Beitr. Asien*, etc., 1, 3; Oriental authorities have frequently made confusion necessary through misunderstanding.)

Of the rest of Akhsi

the spring, the Uzbeg would avoid [that he might advance again]. When winter set in, they would fearful lest Sháh Ismail should come and avenge Mir Najm, taking advantage of] the low state of the Amir. For these reasons they had, for a whole year, desisted from attacking the Shaibání. When Sháh Ismail returned to Irák, and Kásim Khán, likewise, went back to his original residence, and Biban Pádisháh fled to Kábul, there was nothing left for the Shaibání Uzbeg to attend to, but an expedition against the Khán and Andijan. So that spring, they set out in full force against Andijan. On hearing of this, the Khán left the province of Turghána [and went to Kishgham], as will be told.

CHAPTER XXXVII

SHORT ACCOUNT OF SHÁH ISMAIL'S END.

During the time when Sháh Ismail came from Irák and killed Shibání Beg Khán in Merv, he inspired great dread among the Sultáns on all sides. Thanks to this dread, and with a little assistance from Sháh Ismail, the Emperor was able to meet and defeat Hamza Sultán. After this, his fame spread in every direction, and following up his success, he subdued Bokhárá and Samarkand [without difficulty], as has been related. When the Emperor a second time quitted Samarkand and retired to Hisár [he asked Sháh Ismail for help]. Sháh Ismail, thereupon, sent him 60,000 men under the command of Mir Najm. They were, however, defeated at Ghaidwán, all the Emperor's arms and military accoutrements being lost [while Mir Najm perished]. On this account, [the Uzbeg] feared lest Sháh Ismail should march into Mávará-un-Nahr to avenge Mir Najm. They had been expecting this event the whole year, and made no expeditions in any direction.

At that period Sháh Ismail returned to Irák, where he was attacked by the Sultán of Rúm, Sultán Salim with an army of several hundred thousand men. Sháh Ismail met him with a force of 40,000, and a bloody battle was fought, from which he escaped with only six men, all the rest of his army having been annihilated by the Rúmí. Sultán Salim made no further aggression after this, but returned to Rúm, while Sháh Ismail, beckoned [with his forces] dispersed, remained in Irák. A short time after this event, he went to see his colleagues Nizámul and Pharhad, and was se-

[1] The Pukhtú translator spells the word *Ushtá* instead of *Shaibání*; but the meaning is *Shaibání Uzbeg*.

ceeded by his son Shíh Tahmásp. This Sháh, however, was on several occasions exposed to the kicks of the Rúmí army, moreover, from fear of the Rúmí he was not able to maintain his ancestral religion, nor uphold the evil practices of heretics. He continues to sit on the throne of Irák down to the present day.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

ACCOUNT OF THE SHAIBÁNÍ WHO HAVE BEEN IN SUCCESSION IN MÁVARÁ UN NAHR, DOWN TO THE PRESENT DAY.

The Uzbeg Shaibán, in the beginning of the winter of the year 916, had killed Mír Najm and defeated the Turkománs until he himself. In the spring of the same year they came to terms on any side being apprehensive both of Sháh Ismá'íl's vengeance and Kásim Khán's invasion (*wáká*), as I have been explained. But in the winter of 919 (1513), Sháh Ismá'íl returned to Irák to oppose Sultán Salím the Rúmí, while Kásim Khán in order to look to his own kingdom, went to Ulúgh Sultánieh. The affairs of the Shaibán being now set at rest with regard to those two formidable enemies Ubaid Ullah Khán, near the end of the winter, set out for Hisár, delivered it from the tyranny of the Moghuls and made an end of them, as mentioned before. In the spring of 920, the Shaibán marched against Andijan. On mature consideration, the Khán realised that in disputing over Andijan with the Uzbeg, there would result nothing but the diminution of trouble and ruin upon the ruin of his fortune. For those who had power to withstand them, had moved out of the Shaibání territory, and he who had offered them the greatest resistance, namely Bábá Pádisháh, having placed the foot of despair in the stirrup of despondence had gone back to Kábul. He thought the wisest plan for him was to retire from the country, before the enemy arrived. So he Khán set out for Káshghar, by way of Moghulistán. [Thus the province of Farghána was joined to Máverá un-Nahr [under the domination of the Uzbeg].

The dignity of Khán was [according to the old custom, vested

[The name is transliterated as written, and thoroughly pointed, in the Turkí text. It is usually found in Arabic-Sibá but other variants such as *Alta*, *Sibá*, etc. are found in Persian Musulmán writings, while the Chinese in the Yuan dynasty used *T-bu-sh Shi-bi-sh*. The double name was handed down for Sibá but I am unable to locate, in Central Asia, situated on the river Ili, a town of Sibá, in Central Asia, situated on the river Ili, a town of Sibá, in Central Asia, situated on the river Ili, a town of Sibá

as the eldest Sultán who was Kuchúm Sultán, and the heir-apparent [*Kaalfa*] was Suyunjuk Sultán, who however died before Kuchúm Sultán, when Jáni Beg Sultán became the heir-apparent. He likewise Suyunjuk Sultán, and Kuchúm soon afterwards followed along the same road. The Khánship now devolved upon Abú Said, son of Kuchúm Khán, and in his leaving the throne of the Khánate vacant, Ubaid Ullah Khán sat in his place. From the year 911 down to the end of the reign of the last-mentioned Khán [Abú Said], he had, in reality, conducted the entire affairs of the State; and if he had chosen to assume the title of Khán, no one could rightfully have opposed him. Nevertheless [the Uzbeg, although] he did not do so, and elected the Khánship upon the most advanced in years. *After Abú Said, there remained no one older* than [Ubaid Ullah] himself, and he therefore ascended the throne of the Khans, and continued to perfume the world with the sweet breezes of justice and the scent of right-dealing, until the year 940,[1] when he bade this transitory earth adieu, and his pure soul passed to the regions of the blessed.

I have neither seen nor heard speak of such an excellent ruler as he, during the past hundred years. In the first place, he was a true Musulmán, religiously inclined, pious and abstinent; he also regulated all the affairs of religion of the State, of the army, and of his subjects, in conformity with the ordinances of the Holy Law; never deviating, from it one hair's-breadth. He was pre-eminent for his valour and for his generosity. He wrote seven different styles of handwriting, but best of all he wrote the *Nashki*. He made several copies of the Korán and sent them to the two holy cities [Mekka and Medina]. He also wrote *Nash Taalik* well. He possessed the *diwán* of the various Turki, Arabic and Persian poets. *He was versed in the science of music, and several of his compositions are still sung, by musicians.* In short he was a king, endowed with every excellence, and during his reign, Bukhárá became such a centre of the arts and sciences, that one was reminded of Heraut in the days of Mirzá Sultán Husain. Although both the Emperor and the Khán died before Ubaid Ullah Khán, and the account of the end of his days should have been given after their deaths had been recorded, yet since the stories of the Emperor and the Khán employ much space, and since Ubaid Ullah Khán has no further connection with my story, I have summarily completed my account of him here. I shall have no further occasion to refer to the Uzbeg in this history.

[1] The year 940 began 10th May, 1533. See the Habíb-us-Siyar, iii, p. 424, for Ubaid Ullah's death.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

REASONS FOR SULTÁN SAID KHÁN QUITTING IARGHÁNA AND RETURNING TO KÁSHGHAR.

In the summer of the year 920, the Uzbeg Shaibán who were in Táshkand, advanced under the command of Suyunjuk Khán, against Andijún. When the Khán learnt this he convened a meeting of all his Amirs and counsellors, and they discussed what were the wisest steps to take in the matter. They tried to foresee the final issues of things and were plunged in the ocean of meditation. [At last] my uncle said "The neighbouring Sultans are not inclined to sacrifice their reputation, and have gone to look after their own affairs. Our numbers are not sufficient to compete with the Shaibáni, nor are our armaments equal to theirs. If we offer their legions fight, however zealous and loyal we may be, we shall only be as men with broken weapons, and a defeat will not mean the destruction of one particular person, but will result in constant disputes and continual fighting. If, by some strange chance, matters should turn out otherwise, they will have to make reparation for what has gone before, and all their power will be destroyed. Such an advantage we should turn to account. We shall be able to make no reparation for what has passed. Nor will any amount of binding make that breakage whole.[1]

The province of Iarghána is the territory and ancient dwelling-place of the Chaghatái. The Shaibáni have deprived them of it by force and violence. We have become the guardians of the Chaghatái country. Now that all the Sultáns, in general, and the Chaghatái Sultáns in particular, have given up the contest, it would be absurd for us to engage in this dangerous affair on their account. If you wish to be on the safe side and consider the wisest plan, then block up the path of war and follow the road of flight, before the borders of this kingdom have been darkened by the dust of the enemy's army. Let our reins be drawn towards Moghulistán, which is the old home of the Moghuls, this will tend to the consolidation of the State. And yet another fact must be taken into consideration, namely, that Mirzá Alá Beki, in the face of [the Khán's victorious host, is like a wounded quarry, for has he not once before fought a pitched battle at Tutluk and been defeated? If we enter his province, and if he keeps a brave heart, he will probably again offer battle, and fighting with him will be an easy matter in comparison with fighting the Uzbeg. In fact,

[1] Down to this point literally the whole of this speech is clearly meaning and the tense is doubtful.

there will be the less fear and trouble to get it. Another point that ought to count in favour of his plan is that he Mirzá is very sixty years old, and he has reigned eighty years. The Almighty has, during [illegible] tyranny. The time has probably now come for the day of oppression to be changed to the night of annihilation. Moreover, he has set aside all his own Amirs, and has replaced the leaders of his army, setting upon their places a number of mean people of low birth who, by reason of their lack of judgment and small intelligence, stand in great fear of him. Therefore, we ought to direct all our energies, love to all our strength, to the conquest of Káshghar. Haply the opener of all gates will open to us the gate of victory. Finally, Mirzá Abá Bakr's men, who were my companions in the service of my brother, when they see me in your train, will probably return to me. And they will be a substantial assistance to us in conquering Káshghar.

"Although Mirzá Abá Bakr is my own brother. (Verse).... my loyalty and devotion are to the Chán alone and any head that will not bow to him, verily will I bring it down, though it be that of my own brother. In my devotion to the Khán, no such consideration as a tie of brotherhood shall stand in the way. In the Mirzá's downfall, I now recognise the establishment of the Khán's prosperity. If my plan is approved, let it be at once proceeded with."

When my uncle had finished his speech, the Khán, who had been listening with evident satisfaction, began to praise and commend him, saying: "My thoughts have for a long time been occupied with such considerations, but in our discussions all the suggestions made have been either impossible or inexpedient. I find your plan an admirable one, and I am afraid to say other. My opinion is the opinion of Sayyid Muhammad Mirzá. If any one has anything further to say on the matter, let him speak. All the Amirs were unanimous in their agreement, and began to approve my uncle's suggestion.

Being all of one mind, the Khán, in the month of Rabí'ul-awwal, of the aforesaid year,[1] left Yangihisár before Saiyid Khán had entered it, and marched towards Káshghar by way of Mogulistán. At this time Mirzá Abá Bakr executed a very surprising work, the truth of which is attested by all who were in Káshghar at the time, and I myself have seen and measured the building . . . .[2] Now, he had destroyed the ancient citadel of Káshghar a long time before, as well as its suburbs, and had carried the inhabitants off to Yarkand, while he had turned several inhabited places into cultivated fields. When he heard of the Khán's approach, he

[1] Rabí I, 920, or May, 1511.
[2] Here six lines have been much condensed, and a couple omitted.

commanded a fort to be built on the banks of the River Tuman. 'I have taken the dimensions of that fort several times. It may include about fifty *jarib*, more or less, and its height in some places is twenty *matá gaz*.[1] The circumference of the towers at each angle is more than thirty *gaz*. On the ramparts, in most places, four horsemen can ride abreast. Thus huge fort was constructed in seven days, which is, of course, a most extraordinary fact, and confirms what has been said above, of Mirzá Abú Bakr's power and activity. It is now necessary to give some account of Káshghar.

CHAPTER XI.

DESCRIPTION OF KÁSHGHAR.

Káshghar is an old and famous town.[2] In former times the Sultáns of Káshghar were of the family of Afrásiáb the Turk, whom the Moghuls call Bughá Khán. His genealogy was as follows: Afrásiáb son of Pash, son of Dád Nashin, son of Tur, son of Afaridun. It is thus given in the *Tárikh-i-Guzida*, which has copied from the *Mujmu-at-Tawárikh* of Khwája Rashid-ud-Din Tabíb Ullah. In some other histories the descent is traced yet further. But God alone knows the truth.

Among the Sultáns of Káshghar was a certain Sátuk Bughrá Khán, who was converted to Islám in his early years. During his occupation of the throne, he brought over the whole country of Káshghar to the true faith. After his death, several of his descendants ruled in Káshghar, and even in Mávará-un-Nahr, until the conquest of Chingiz Khán.

[1] The ordinary *gaz*, as we have seen (notes, pp. 68 and 264), probably measured about 26 to 28 inches. The *matá gaz*, or *gaz* for measuring goods or effects, may have differed slightly from it or *gaz* in use, but probably one will suit as well as another for Mirza Haidar's loose statements. The *jarib* is a land measure, generally said to be equal to 60 square cubits, or *gaz*; but the value of the *gaz* is very uncertain. At the present day, in Persia it is equal to almost 10 inches. Colonel Jarrett shows that it is taken to mean the same as the *Tanáb* of Persia, and the *Bigah* of India; but that its value differs greatly according to locality and different historical periods. In Akbar's time it was fixed at 3600 *Ilahi gaz*; which is the standard *Bigah* in the north-west provinces of Bengal, and is nowadays 3025 square yards, or ⅝ of an acre. (*Ain-i-Akbari*, ii., p. 61.)

[2] The word used here is *shahr* or *wilayat*. In the following paragraph the author speaks of the 'country of Kashghar,' and it may be remarked that he employs the name Káshghar indiscriminately for the town, for the province, and for the whole of Eastern Turkistan as far east as Charkhlik, or Karashahr. In most instances Elias Ilyás's meaning is obvious; but in many cases it is not so clear, and in these I have usually added either a word in parentheses, or a brief note by way of elucidation.

[3] Usually called the *Jami-ut-Tawárikh*.

[Yú Yúng Khán fled from Ongúr Khán Kushlúk, son of Yú Yúng Khán] to Káshghar from the vassals of Ináljúr Khán of Kará Khití, who had himself taken it from the vassals of the descendants of Ahmad. At that time Sultán Osmán, of that family, was ruling in Sámarkand and in the greater part of Mávará-un-Nahr. What passed between him and Khwárizm Sháh is to be found in every history.[1]

The rebellion of Kushlúk and the conquest of Káshghar by the Moghúls, I have copied from the *Jahán-Kushá*, as it stands there.

[1] Taken as a whole, Mírza Haidar's facts are, in the main, correct, but his account is confusing. He derived his knowledge from books, and has stated it imperfectly. The "family of Afrásiáb, also Turk" may, perhaps, be more properly called the dynasty of the *Ilak Khans*, who were, according to the best authorities, Uighurs. Some writers prefer to call them the *Karákhání*, after the title said to have been adopted by the first Musulman chief among them. Afrásiáb himself (otherwise Bughrá or Bilgá Khán) was probably a mythical personage, but the Uighur dynasty that bears his name was, no doubt, an ancient one, of purely Turki origin. It only takes a low place as a practical factor in history, however, with the reign of Satúk Bughra Khán, who was the first to become a Musulmán. Satúk Bughrá is said to have established his authority (as stated by Weston) as far east as the borders of China while shortly before his death, about the end of the tenth century, he is reported to have captured Sokhaira. His capital was Káshghar (then called Urdukand) but not long after his death, his descendants would seem to have moved the seat of government to Balásághún. His immediate successor appears to have taken the title of *Ilak Khán*, or 'Great King' or 'Sovereign' which seems to have been perpetuated in that of the dynasty (though it is often wrongly written *Il-Khan*). This Ilak Khán (perhaps Nasr by name) conquered Mávará-un-Nahr about 1008, hovered on the Sihún frontiers, and established his authority over the country. The date of his death cannot appear to be recorded, but he is said in some accounts, to have been succeeded by his brother Bughra Khán, who is known to have been at Balásághún in 1018. He, again, was succeeded by Arslán Khán I, the Ilak who followed Kádir Khán I was Arslán I. and to the second Bughra who was in power in the year 470, but there may have been several between them. Whether this second Bughra was immediately succeeded by one Mahmúd Khán, does not appear, but we learn, at any rate, that Khán Mahmúd was ruler of the Uighur-Ilak kingdom about the year 1121, when the Gúr Khán of Kará Khití invaded Transoxiana. Pakistán, Ushrúsana, Farghána, Balásághún, and perhaps the Western Turkistán. About this date, the Uighur kingdom is reported to have undergone a change. But the Karakhitái do not appear to have distributed Mávará-un-Nahr which was put into Uighur dominion was administered by vassal tributary Sultáns. This Sultánate continued to exist till 1213, when the last of them, named Nasr, was killed by Muhammad Khwárizm Sháh, who took possession of the country and built it until he was himself ousted, shortly afterwards by Chingiz Khán, with the Uighurs as his allies.

Thus, finally from Satúk Bughra Khán, the Musulmán Uighur dynasty flourished for nearly a century and a half in Mávará-un-Nahr for over two centuries, but their history, as we have it, is somewhat uncertain and not continuous.

As regards the habitat of this nation, the author of the *Tabakát-i-Násiri* says that the Atrák-i-Turk under the Ilak Khans, the Turkish Maliks occupied the tract about Kayálik and Balásághún until dispossessed by the Karakhitái.

Dr Bretschneider may be consulted on a brief account of the Ilak Khans, which he appears to have derived from the *Kámil-ut-Tawárikh* of Ibn-ul-Athír (1160-1233 A.D.). Dr Bellew has published a full summary of the later history of the same dynasty, extracted from the *Tárikh-i-Salátín Salúr-Bughra*, a work, however, which he evidently misunderstands. Mr S. Lane Poole gives a brief sketch of their history, and a list, as far as it can be authenticated, of the Khans, and

CHAPTER XLI

EXTRACT FROM THE TABAKÁT-I-NÁSIRÍ.

When Changiz Khán carried his victorious arms into the countries of the East, Kushluk, son of Tá Ying Khán, fled by way of Bish Báligh, to the country of the Gur Khán. He wandered about among the hills, in great want, while those tribes who had accompanied him became scattered. Some people say that he was captured by a body of the Gur Khán's soldiers, who led him before their chief; another story is that he went and presented himself of his own accord. He at any rate remained some little time at the court of the Gur Khán. Sultán Muhammad Khwárizm Sháh rose in revolt against the Gur Khán, while other Amirs in the eastern quarters rebelled also, and put themselves under the protection of the Emperor of the world, Changiz Khán, by whose favour they obtained immunity from the evil acts of the Gur Khán. Kushluk then said to the Gur Khán: "My tribes are very numerous and are scattered over all the territory of Imal, Kiyák,[1] and Bish Báligh, where they meet with opposition from every one. If you will allow me, I will cause them to assemble and with their assistance [I will bring the rebels again under your authority]. Thus will I help the Gur Khán, and will not in any way

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lastly, Major Raverty, in his translation of the *Tabakát-i-Násirí*, omitting the list of Dale Khans, together with much comment, but has also, on his authorities. All these lists differ as to names and dates.

The word *Ilí* or *Ilák* Dr. Vámbéry has many identifications, most of *Sovereign*. It was a title first borne by a Prince of the Turkish tribe which ruled vigorously the Uighur Khans of Turkistán, who used it from the middle of the tenth century till the year 1213. Subsequently, it was revived and used by the Mongols in Persia. Hulaku having changed his title to *Khán* which he and his descendants during the reign of Mangu Kaán, a *Ilal Khan* under the reign of Kublai Khan. The form *Il-Khan* often used to mean "Khan of the Eyth tribes" is therefore erroneous. (See Schmidder, *Mel. Asiat.*, I. pp. 262 ff.; Bellew, *Yar. Kept.*, pp. 121-30; S. L. Poole, *Mahom. Dyn.*, pp. 142 and 145; Raverty, pp. 900-10; Jacomb, *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, Dec., 1888, p. 13.)

[1] In the Persian texts this name may be read *Kabák*, *Kabák*, or *Kipák*, but the Turkish is constantly Kiyák, so I have adopted this form. If it is correct, I think there is no doubt that the *Kayálik* of Armenian writers, and the *Cailac* of Rubruk, is the place intended. It was situated, according to the Armenian writers, to the south-west of the Issik Kul, and in the most would accord well with what is known of Kushluk's tribes, the Naimans or properly the Nairún-Ughurs, the *Light-Uighurs* (See Yule *Cathay*, p. 576; F. M. Bernhard in *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde* Berlin, 1888, xxiii. Bd., Heft 3, pp. 201-5; Bretschneider, I., p. 230. Also Schuyler, I., p. 105. Valikhanoff in *Journal as Asia* pp. [illegible] and 527; and D'Ohsson, II., p. 511, who quotes Vásif to the effect that in 1901 Kayálik was to the north-west between the territories of Káshgar and the Kirkán though there is nothing to indicate what the frontier actually was.)

devi ate from his commands" With such flattery and deceit did he throw the Gur Khán into the well of pride. Then having loaded him with gifts, he begged that the title of "Kushluk Khán" might be bestowed upon him. The Gur Khán complied, and gave him the title he desired, whereupon Kushluk let fly an arrow at and from a bow, Kushluk left the territory of the Gur Khán and came to the country of Imil and Kiyik. When he heard of the invasion of Kushluk, got the start of Tukta, who was one of the Makrit Amirs, had fled and joined Kushluk. Thus was before the rumours of the conquests of the Emperor of the world, Chingiz Khán, had been spread abroad. And wherever they went, they were joined by hands of men, with whom they conducted forays - plundering and burning as they came and went.

When they heard of the successes of Muhammad Khwárizm Sháh, they sent numerous ambassadors to persuade him to attack the Gur Khán from the west. Kushluk, at the same time, was to attack him from the east, so as to bring him out of the country, or his dominions}. {The conditions were that} if Sultán Muhammad Khwárizm Sháh should be the first to gain a victory, Almáligh, Khotan and Káshghar, which were in Kushluk's kingdom, should be ceded to him: but if, on the other hand, Kushluk should have the first success, Kará Khitáis as far as Ímákand should be delivered over to him. These conditions having been agreed upon, a treaty was concluded between them. (Ímákand means Shahrukhia.)[1] Thus the two armies set out for Kará Khatái from opposite directions. Kushluk arrived before Sultán Muhammad Khwárizm Sháh [and defeated the Gur Khán], since the army of this Sultán was more distant. Then, having plundered his treasury, which was at Uzkand, he proceeded to Balásághún, where the Gur Khán himself was, and a pitched battle was fought at Jinuj, in which Kushluk was, however, defeated, and most of his men being drawn out *in file*

[1] The texts translated in this section from the *Jahán Kushai* are corrupt and obscure. It is instead of the well-known *Shahr-Khush*, name of *Shash-Kath* and so on. I have no doubt, however, that *Shahr Ihit* is meant for *Shahr-i-Ihrat*, as we find it in the *Zafar-Náma*, was found by Timúr to mean the Capital *Ímál and* Kwárizm. The author of the *Jahán Kushai*, however, died in 687 A.H., or about a hundred years before any such place as *Shahrukhia* existed. The name, therefore, is but a mistake, '*Ímákand* is *Shahrukhia*' instead of the latter, either by Mirza Haidar, or by some copyist, while the latter spelling of the latter name led to the interpolation. See Ibn Batúta, iv. p. 247. As to Bábar, I have by mistake followed the text in *Ímákand Ímálik*, as *Ilmálak* note, without doubt, should be read, as Erskine (p. 78) expressly notes that *Ilmálak* was also called *Shahrukhia*.

[2] By variously supposing the name we have *Jiruj* may be a *Tábuj* or *Shabuj*, it may therefore be identified with the *Shabuje* of D'Ohsson (p. 148) where his guide is said to have been two days from Turkistan according to Bretschneider (i. p. 21), but if near Balásághún, it must evidently be the extensive ruins at Ingirtam that Carey and the other Europeans of the Khán's following thought were those of Balásághún (or perhaps Balásán) were certainly visited.

he retired and set about reorganising his army. He heard that the Gur Khán had returned from his war with Sultán Muhammad Khwárizm Sháh, and had been ill-treating the people of the province, also that the army had returned to its own country. Then like lightning from a cloud he rushed out to meet him, and having seized his followers, brought his kingdom and his army under his own power, he then demanded one of his daughters in marriage. Now the tribe of Númán were mostly Christians [*Tarsá*],[1] and when he took that daughter in marriage, he made her abandon Christianity and become an idol worshipper.

After Kushluk had firmly established himself on the throne of

[1] The word *Tarsa* rendered *Christian* here is the most probable signification when applied to the Naimáns. It was a term, however, that was used for Buddhists, for Nestorians, and for idolaters. Perhaps also among Musulmans, it may have meant any non-Musulman religion. There is much evidence to show that Nestorian Christianity was prevalent among the Naimáns in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as well as among other Uighurs though it cannot perhaps be said for certain, as Juvaini is made to do in the translation at this place, that they were "mostly Christians." It is possible that the meaning may be even that they were mostly Buddhists: but, at any rate cannot have applied the word to idolaters, as the succeeding sentence proves—the woman was made to abandon the religion called *Tarsa* and become an idolater. This sentence stands out clearly as this passage that Fire-worship not being in question with the Naimáns, *Tarsa* cannot stand for any religion except Christianity or Buddhism. But Buddhism and idolatry are frequently regarded as one and the same by Musulmans and called by the same name, so that if it could be regarded as probable that Juvaini took that view, there would remain little else than the statement in *Tarsa* than *Christian*. On all considerations, therefore it is probable that the words *Christian* and *Christianity* render the utmost meaning that these words can bear, and some may be come an important contribution to the evidence (1) that the Naimáns were, indeed mostly Christians and (2) to the fact that the term *Tarsa* was used for *Christianity*.

Dr Bretschneider remarks that the Archimandrite Palladius (in a Russian publication) states that "*Ta-Sé* in the Chinese transcription of the word *Tarsa* used by the Persians not only denotes Christians and signifies Christians, and sometimes also Fire-worshippers." The name of *Tarsa* is applied expressly to the language of the *Yegurs* (Uighurs) by Haithon the Armenian in his account of the kingdoms of Asia (beginning of the fourteenth century). John of Montecorvino, in a letter written at Cambaluc at the same time, speaks of *Tarsa* characters, meaning evidently Uighur letters. Thus the name was applied also to the Uighur nation, but probably only on account of their Christianity or Buddhism—for both Uighurs were probably at one time.

D'Ohsson states that in the *Jahán Kushai* Juvaini explains that Christians (thirteenth century) were called by the Mongols *Arcaun*. Arguing, while Buddhist monks were known as *Burkans*. He then says that Rubruck knew of the Buddhists generally as *Tacutens* and that Pauthier is probably right in the Mongol name for Buddhist ecclesiastics. He quotes, moreover, the Armenian writer Orpelian to the effect that the Uighurs were known as *Yakhdaoun* [Uighur]. These designations appear to a well-understood difference between Christianity and Buddhism among the Mongols but they may not have been the case among Musulmans. Note that *Arghun* is now used in Ladák to denote a half-breed, and it was so used also in the time of Polo in North-Western China. The real meaning of the word is Turki *Ta'ifa* (complex mod), and is said to have come into Mogul as well as Turki, in the Middle Ages: but it was by no means always applied to Christians. A full discussion of the term *Arghun* will be found in Yule's *Marco Polo*, i, pp 279 *sqq*. (See also D'Ohsson, ii, p 261. Rémusat's *Nouv. Mélanges*, ii, p 108.)

As regards the country known as *Tars* or *Tarsa* the mediæval Catalan map in Yule's *Cathay* shows, in large letters, a kingdom called *Tarsia*,

Kara Khitai, he fought several battles with him [the Gur Khán] at Jám Bálighi,[1] and finally he surprised the Gur Khán on his hunting grounds, whom having captured him, he put him to death.

"The chief men of Káshghar and Khotan had also become hostile. The Gur Khán had imprisoned the sons of the Khán of Káshghar. [Kushluk] now set him at liberty and sent him back to Káshghar. But the Arabs declined him, and before he had placed his foot within the city, they put him to death between the gates. At the time when the corn was ripe, Kushluk sent his army to attack it. When the inhabitants had been deprived of three or four quarters of their measures of *dakhl* and corn, a famine broke out. The people of Káshghar suffered great distress, and had therefore to submit. After that, Kushluk marched away with his army. And his soldiers used to lodge in the houses of the people of Káshghar and mix with their families, so that [the Káshgharis had no homes left. His troops] practised every form of violence and wickedness. They did everything to encourage idolatry, and no one was able to prevent them. They now went to Khotan, which they captured, and compelled all the inhabitants of the surrounding districts to abandon the religion of Muhammad, giving them the choice of becoming either Christians or idolaters. [Arabic quotation from Koran . . . Verily God is forgiving and merciful. Having adopted the garments of sin the cry of the Muazzin and the confession of the Unity of the God of Holiness was no longer heard. The mosques were closed and the schools abandoned. One day they conducted the Imáms of Khotan out into the plains and began to argue with them. Among their number was Imám Alí-ud-Dín of Khotan. He was asked questions and gave answers, and at length they hanged Imám Alí-ud-Dín of Khotan. On this matter I shall speak presently. After this, the faith of Islám having lost all its splendour, the darkness of unbelief spread over all the servants of God, and they raised their supplications to heaven. Five couplets in Arabic . . . .] The arrows of their entreaties reached the target, and God heard and answered them.

When Kushluk was setting out to attack the kingdom of

[1] This historical geography of the times, and the exact location of the regions mentioned during the battle, have been elaborately discussed by Mr Wylie in his notes to *Marco Polo* (vol. i. pp. 157, 158), and by myself in the Geography of Tenduc (vol. ii. pp. 411, 412). The latter was the land of the Uighurs and that it adjoined Tangut on the west. It can, however, hardly be said to be so placed on the Catalan map (See *Mandeville*, p. 211, and note 3, p. 120.)

[2] This place stood on the north of the Tian Shan mountains between Bishbalik (the modern Urumtsi) and the Manas river. It is frequently referred to in this position, under the names of *Chang-bu-la* and *Imyl-bu-la* by Chinese travellers and historians, whose narratives have been translated and elucidated by Dr. Bretschneider. It is also mentioned by King Haithon the Little Armenian historian, whose journey to Mongolia (See Bretschneider, pp. 7, 10, note, ii. p. 82)

Chingiz Khán the latter sent a body of Num[1] to check Kushluk's evil progress He [Kushluk was, at that time, in Káshghar. The chief men of Káshghar related that when the Nuin] arrived, and before they had drawn up in line, Kushluk turned his back and fled, while the regiments that arrived one after the other, of the Moghuls [*az Moghulán*, demanded nothing of them but news of Kushluk They said "the call to prayer" [*Takbír*] and the prayers *Uzán*; and they issued a proclamation in the town, that every one might practise his own religion. The advent of those people was held to be an act of mercy and bounty from the Almighty When Kushluk fled, every one who lived in a Musulmán town or house, suddenly disappeared, like quicksilver, and the Moghul army went in pursuit of Kushluk Wherever he halted they came up behind him and drove him on, like a mad dog, until they reached the frontier of Badakhshán, which is called *Dar-izuldán*

When he arrived at Sarigh Chupán, he missed the road, and entered a valley that had no egress There happened to be a party of Badakhshání hunters in those hills, and when they saw [the fugitive party] they went towards them, while the Moghuls advanced from the other side The valley being rough, the Moghuls found walking difficult, and came to an agreement with the hunters saying: 'This band namely Kushluk and his followers, have escaped from us, if you will capture them and give them over to us we will do them no harm." So they went and surrounded [Kushluk] and his party, and having bound him, delivered him up to the Moghuls, who cut off his head and carried it away with them. The Badakhshán, having found endless booty and precious stones, returned

How clear it is that no one can ever be victorious who opposes the religion of Ahmad and the Holy Law of Muhammad; while he who promotes it becomes more successful day by day

[1] This sentence again is without doubt corrupt All the texts have "*jam'i Nuin*,' and some other readings as well And we should represent the well-known Mongol rank or title *Noyan* (ranging generally from 100 to 10000), but there could not have been a body of Noyans, as the word *jam* implies The sentence should probably therefore read *Chehal* or *Tatch Noyan*, was sent, etc The reason doubtless lay in the fact that the Musulmán histories only always give to his own people the Royal family's last at, according to Quatremère, the head of a *tomán*, a division of 10,000 men (*Hist.* 152).

CHAPTER XI

H.H. MAHMUD MOḤAMMAD ALA-D-DIN MUḤAMMAD KHAN AL-GHAZI, KHAN OF KASHGHAR

When Kushluk conquered Kashghar and Khotan, he changed from the religion of Jesus to the religion of Islam, and the men of the people he caused to adopt Muslim and Moorish worship. He changed the light of the true path into the darkness of unbelief, and the service of the all merciful into the service of Satan. . . .[1]

Thus far, I have copied from the *Tárikh-i Jahán-Kushá*.

After Chingiz Khán had subjugated the whole of Káshgharia, he went and set his mind at rest with regard to the affairs of Iran and Turán—[2] and after he who owned[3] He had reduced his capital and divided all His kingdoms among His sons. We learn from the *Rúẓat aṣ-Ṣafá* of Khwándi and from the *Habíbu* (the first entering into detail, the latter giving it in brief), that the whole of the Dasht-i-Kipchak and Dasht-i-Ṣiḥḥák, whose boundaries are Rúm, the ocean *Muḥít* Mu'aẓẓam Nadr, and Moghulistán, was given to his eldest son, Juji Khán. Moghulistán, Kará Khitá, Turkestán and Máwará'n-Nahr to Chaghatái Khán. To Tuli he gave the whole of Khitá, which his original seat of

[1] About a folio and a half of text is here omitted, containing a long eulogy of the Mongol Ilkhán Abáqá, and ending with the statement that the *Jahán Kushá*, by reason of its prolixity, was abridged into the *Tárikh-i-Jahán-Kushá*, which latter is the work of Mír Muḥammad Bádákhshí, surnamed Juwayní, who was born in the year 623 (1226 A.D.), and died in 681 (1282 A.D.). He was a contemporary of Abáqá Khán, and at the time of the latter's accession to the throne was Governor of Baghdad. He is especially famous as the author of the great historical work entitled *Tárikh-i-Jahán-Kushá*, which has been edited and translated into English by Mírzá Muḥammad of Qazwín (Leyden and London, 1912–1916). The passage here omitted, which will be found on pp. 22–31 of the first volume of the Gibb Memorial edition of the *Jahán-Kushá*, is a long and highly rhetorical description of the Mongol conquests, which, as far as Transoxiana is concerned, is largely borrowed from the *Ta'ríkh-i-Guzída* of Ḥamdu'lláh Mustawfí of Qazwín, who completed his work in 730 (1330 A.D.). See also Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, 2nd ed., pp. 426–431. It was not necessary to the plan of Muḥammad Kázim's work that he should enter into any detail regarding the Mongol conquests, which, moreover, had already been described by Juwayní, Rashídu'd-Dín, and Mírkhwánd. Consequently, he has contented himself with a brief account of the Mongol invasion of Transoxiana, which he has evidently derived from the *Jahán-Kushá* (Juwayní) and the *Ta'ríkh-i-Guzída* (Ḥamdu'lláh Mustawfí).

[2] Meaning that he left the whole of Western Asia to his grandson Hulágú.

[3] While at p. 62, line 1, he makes Mangutái coincide with Kara Khitá, he here distinguishes between them. The former, however, who was originally a Tatar of the Qunqurat tribe, may be regarded as a Mongol, since the Mongols absorbed the Tatars.

government, that is to say Karákoram and the Kálmák country] he entrusted to Uktái. In the same manner he distributed his army and his Amirs, and in that division, the Dughlát fell to the lot of Chaghatái, who entitled to them *Mangalái Suyah*, which means "facing the sun" [*Ruí ftáb ra*].[1] This country is bounded by Shásh, Chách, Issigh Kul and Sárigh Uighur; and on the confines of these four limiting provinces are situated Káshghar and Khotan. The particular Dughlát who was established in this kingdom, was Amir Bábdághán,[2] in whose family it remained, from father to son, until the time of Mirzá Abú Bakr. The *Jám i-Gití Numá* says that Káshghar is the most important town of the Turks, and goes on to describe several objects in it, of which now not one remains. Among other things it says is, that people used to carry clothing of ermine [*Kakum*] and squirrel [*Sinjáb*] from Káshghar to all parts [But nowadays there are no such animals] to be found there.

Káshghar is bounded on the north by the mountains of Moghulistán, which stretch from west to the east, and from them rivers flow towards the south. These hills extend from Shásh, on one side, to beyond Turfán [on the other], their extremities reaching into the land of the Kálmák, which quarter none but the Kálmák themselves have seen, or know anything about. I have questioned some of those who have seen so nothing of that country, but I can recall nothing of what they told me which would be worthy of mention in this book. Moghulistán will [afterwards] be described shortly. From Shásh to Turfán is three months' journey. On the west side of Káshghar is another long mountain range, of which the mountains of Moghulistán are an off-shoot [*munshaib*]. This range runs from north to south. I travelled on these mountains for six months without coming to their extremity. They also shall be presently described, in the account of Tibet. From these mountains, rivers run from west to east, and to these rivers Káshghar owes its fertility [*ábádání*]. The whole of the countries of Khotan, Yárkand and Káshghar lie at the base of these mountains.

[1] The same remarks as Mangalai Suyáh, *ante*, p. 7.

[2] The Turki MS. reads *Bábdighán*, as did also one of the Persian texts originally, but a native reader has altered it to *Amir Abú'l Khair* in both places where it occurs. That this is a Musulmán name it, is obvious. The original, however, of the name Dughlát, as for the time of Bulaki is not yet known, and is the only one I have met with in the *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, or elsewhere, except that of Urtabu, who is spoken of by Mirza Haidar in the first chapter of Part I. as grandfather of Bulaji. He has also says avoided all mention of infidels, and the Dughlats previous to Bulaji had not yet become Musulmans. Dr. Bellew makes the name of *Dughlát* into *Amir Báyzid* and has also raised his author's error as to mark his estate that this Amir 'resided in the Sárigh-Uighur region.' Mirza Haidar's statement however, refers to "Mangalai Suyah" and not to the Sárigh-Uighur country (See *Tarikh-i Rash.* p. 16).

[3] The *Jám-i-Gití Numá* is by one Mughíth-ud-Dín Mansúr. The British Museum does not possess a copy, but in the Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, the work is mentioned

To the east and south of Kíshghar and Khotan are deserts, which consist of nothing but heaps of shifting sands, and metal-bearing stones, waste lands and salt-deserts. In ancient times there were large towns in those wastes, and the names of two of them have been preserved, namely Lob and Katak; but of the rest no name or trace remains, all are buried under the sand. Hunters, who go here after wild camels, relate that sometimes the foundations of cities are visible, and that they have recognised noble buildings such as castles, minarets, mosques and colleges, but that when they returned a short time afterwards, no trace of these was to be found; for the sand had again overwhelmed them. On such a scale were these cities of which, nowadays, neither name nor vestige remains! In a word, the habitable districts of Káshghar and Khotan lie along the western skirts of those mountains. On the frontier of Káshghar is the district of Artuj;[1] from there to the confines of Khotan, at Karakásh and Yarkand,[2] is one month's journey. But as for the breadth of fertility of the cultivated region (from the foot of the western range to the eastward) by travelling quickly one can leave all cultivation behind in a day or two. On the banks of every stream that comes down from that range, corn is sown and the land is cultivated.

The first of these is the River Timan,[3] which comes from a mountain standing between Káshghar and Yárkand. This river flows between the ancient citadel of Káshghar, which Mirzá Abá Bakr destroyed, and the new one which he built, on the banks of this river, as has been related. Part of Káshghar is fortified by this same river. The second river is the Kará Tázghun. In the dialect of Kíshghar, Tázghun means a river.[4] It flows about two *farsákhs* to the south of the above-mentioned fort. The greater part of the province of Káshghar is watered by it. At a distance of two *farsákhs* from it, is a third river called Kusan Tázghun, on the banks of which is the town of Yángi-Hisár, and its dependent districts. The town is supplied with water by this river. The distance from Káshghar to Yángi Hisár is six statute [*short*] *farsákhs*. At about six *farsákhs* from Yángi-Hisár is an insignifi-

[1] This place is often mentioned in the *Ta'ríkh-i-Rashídí*. It is now known as Sav-tálá-sin, and is a large village. A sketch of it by Mr. R. B. Shaw appears in the *Journal* (*J. R. G. S.*, 1871, p. 282).

[2] Usually *Khán* and *Chíra* or *Chira*. Both exist to the present day, the former being a town of some size.

[3] Nowadays called *Zandu* or *Tuman*. Mr. Shaw, speaking of the situation of the present Kashgar-ka, or Kona Shahr or old city, tells us Musulmans and the Chinese city are separated by *Tuman*, or *Ara Tuman* (meaning Middle River) which is the eastern boundary of the town. A short distance below, it joins the river Kará Kásh or Kashgar-daryá, and the junction is known as Tuyuk-sháhar (*Journal*, *loc. cit.*, p. 282-3.)

[4] Mr. Shaw says the meaning of *Tazghan* is "a field," but later on in the same work he says *Kara Tázghan* is also known as the *Yangi* (*Ib.*, p. 281.)

cant hamlet called Kará Chanák, in front of which flows the river stream called Shahriz which waters several other places. The valley of the Shahriz lies in the western range, and the [high] road from Káshghar to Badakhshán runs through this valley. On the road from Kará Chanák to Kilpin Rabát is a resting place *manzil* for those coming and going [on the road]. The distance between Kilpin Rabát and Kará Chanák is five statute *farsákhs*. Further on is another halting place, a mud-story *langar* which is called Kush Gumbaz, an excellent stage [*manzil* watered by the Shahriz. It has both cultivated grounds and gardens *bághát* which all form part of the foundation *vakf* of the "langar." Travellers enjoy the advantages which the "langar" offers. The next stage is a village called Kizil. The water there is brackish, and nobody stops there who is not obliged to. It is considered the halfway stage between Yángi-Hisár and Yárkand. It is about ten *farsákhs* from Kizil to Kuk Rabát, and from Kuk Rabát to the edge of the district of Yárkand, which is called Rabátchi, is by measurement seven statute *farsákhs*.[4] Between Rabátchi and Kará Chanák there is but little inhabited country, except for the stages that have been mentioned.

Yárkand was formerly a very important city. The old town was dug out by Mirzá Abú Bakr; it was among the excavations [*kázhha*] which we have spoken of at and much treasure was found [in it]. It is not known whether the old town was called Yárkand or whether it had another name. In the days of my ancestors, Yárkand was a companion city to Yángi Hisár. Mirzá Abú Bakr made Yárkand his capital. He introduced streams [into the town] and laid out gardens, and it is generally reported that these numbered 13,000, most of which were in the city and its environs. But I cannot imagine that this figure is correct. Mirzá Abú Bakr built a citadel which, in most places, is thirty statute *gaz* in height. The inside of the citadel is roughly about a hundred *chub* and in it has been built a very high *aiwán*. The citadel has six gateways which are devised for great strength. The gates themselves are placed about a hundred *gaz* within the walls and on either side are two towers near together, so that should any one wish to enter either the gates, he must first pass between

On *Koa Khanik*. But another name, according to Mr Shaw, is now altogether known as Yangi Bakal (*Ib.*, 281).

[4] Except the last two miles in Kashgar all the names given by Ney are greatly exaggerated.

For a complete analysis of Mirzá Haidar's description of this road, and of his geography of all the regions lying in Turkestan, see Mr Shaw's paper in the *Journal of the R. G. S.* for 1871, entitled *Notes of Kashgar and Geography of Eastern Turkistan*. When in Yarkand and Kashgar in 1871-75 Mr Shaw made a careful, and for the most part, accurate survey of the *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, and was thus able to supplement and correct with the help of other documents

ress wo towers from any attack by enemy, [as well with arrows and stones from front and rear, as well as from right and left. This system is to be met with in very few forts. In the fort of this citadel, magnificent buildings have been constructed. But to describe them would be tedious. In the suburbs are also many gardens, in which are erected lofty edifices, containing about a hundred rooms each. All these rooms are filled with shelves and recesses in the wall *tál* and *tál-e banda*], they have coatings of plaster-work and slabs of glazed tiles *kásha-i-sang*. In these gardens are also avenues of white poplar [*sapidár*], so that one may walk for a statutory *farsákh*] and a half on every side of the city, under the shade of these trees. Streams run by most of the avenues.

The water of Yarkand is the best in the world. Every praise which doctors have bestowed upon any water is true of this. It comes down from the mountains of Tibet (a month's journey distant), which are covered with snow and ice; it flows swiftly over a stony and sandy soil from south to north, and when it reaches Sarigh-Kol which forms the extremity of the hilly country of Káshghar, it rushes on, with like rapidity, from rock to rock, leaping and hissing, for seven days' journey in an easterly direction, until it arrives at the level ground. Here it continues its rapid course over a stony bed for two days more, and when it reaches the old *nahr* of the river of Yarkand, in which there are low stones, becomes in some degree abates its speed. A curious fact concerning this stream is, that in the early part of the spring, before the snow has all melted, one might almost cross it, in some places, by stepping from stone to stone. In the season of [*sic*], *Anad* [*sic*] swells so much that it becomes, in places, nearly a mile [*mil*] in breadth, [while its depth is then nowhere less than ten *gaz*], and for a distance of one *farsakh* it is no less than ten *gaz* in

[illegible] Yarkand [illegible] waters of Yarkand [illegible] would seem to be [illegible] and they [illegible] waters of [illegible] Kashgar very [illegible] it is [illegible] large.

As [illegible] they [illegible] strength [illegible] old [illegible] given [illegible] waters, [illegible] the habit [illegible] praising [illegible] it would [illegible] it [illegible] waters [illegible].

"Although [illegible] in [illegible] spring and [illegible] it [illegible] to the [illegible] common circumstance" [illegible]. What however, is somewhat curious is that he should [illegible] *nadi* [illegible] for it [illegible] previously employed [illegible] Wahab [illegible] While Mirza Haidar [illegible]

Kunh Kash [illegible] Kashgar [illegible] p. 121.

depth. Jade [*Yashb*][1] is found in this stream. Most of the country and districts of Yárkand are irrigated by it. At a distance of about seven *farsákhs*, flows another stream called Tiz Áb,[2] which waters the rest of the country. For about three days' journey, at a medium pace, from Yárkand [in the direction of Khotan] are well populated towns and villages, the farthest of these is called Láhuk.[3] From this place to Khotan is ten days' slow marching, during which time, excepting at the halting places, one meets with no habitations *ábádán*.

In Khotan there are two rivers, called Kará Kásh and Yurung Kásh,[4] in both of which jade is met with, and it is found nowhere else in the world. The waters of these two rivers are preferred [by some] to that of Yárkand, but personally, I could never find the superiority in them. Khotan is amongst the most famous towns in the world, but at the present time its jade is the only thing that remains worth writing about. One curious circumstance concerning Khotan, is that magpies[5] are never seen there; or if, at any time, one happens to appear, it is taken as a bad omen, and the people band together and drive it away.

The Imám Alá-ud-Din Muhammad of Khotan is mentioned in all histories, but no one in Khotan knows which is his tomb, nor even recalls his name. There are many other tombs there, about which nothing is known. According to tradition (the truth of which is contradicted by books on history) there lie buried there, among others, many martyrs, such as Imám Zabiha [or Zabija], Jafar Tayyár, and Imám Jafar Sádik and several others of the Companions [of the Prophet]. But the falsehood of these traditions is evident. It is possible that some of the followers of these companions [*tabi'in*] bearing their names, came here and suffered martyrdom far before the conversion of Káshghar to Islám, some of the followers of the companions came to Káshghar and conducted a holy war [*ghazát*] there [and at Khotan]. But the strange thing there is that the martyrs, whom they have deposited in the tombs, are sometimes exposed to view, from the sand being blown away by the wind, and no change is noticeable in them, they are recognisable, and their wounds may be seen, the very blood which has issued from the wounds, all dried up, is still visible.

Sang-i-Yashb (or *Yashm*) is rendered in the Turki by *Kásh tásh* in Shaw's *Vocabulary*, where there is also an interesting note on the subject.

[2] Now called the *Tuzdf*.

[3] The *Jul Langa* of modern maps and the *Lakhaf* of the *Haft Iklim*. (See Quatremère *Not. et Extr.*, xiv. p. 176.)

[4] The *Yurung Kish* of ordinary maps, and according to more correct pronunciation. On and near its upper waters jade is still quarried. The late Mr. W. H. Johnson, who died at Karánghu-tágh on the Upper Yurung in 1865, wrote, "It is noted for the *Yashm* which is met with in the stream." (See *J. R. G. S.*, 1867, p. 7.)

[5] In the Persian *'Aka*, and in the Turki *Saghizgh*. R

Every one who makes the circuit *tawáf* [illegible] these graves, witnesses these things.

The tombs of Yárkand, however, belong to no one who is mentioned in histories or other books. But the people of Yarkand believe that there lie buried there the Seven Muhammadáns. Their story, as related by the *mujáwir*,[1] and well worth recording here, but Maulánà Khwája Ahmad, who was a disciple of Házrat Ishán, and a good and industrious old man (of whom, God willing, I shall speak in the First Part) has told me that these Seven Muhammadáns were grandsons *awlád*; but I do not remember having read of them in any history. Another tomb is that of Dawí Khán Pádisháh, but concerning him I could learn nothing from the *mujáwir*. Suddenly Házrat Shah'b-ud-Dín Khwája Khiváni Mahmúd passed in front of the tomb, and turning to me said, "This man possesses a wonderfully strong power of attraction *jazaba*, and I never pass by here without being strongly drawn towards [his tomb]." The edifice is a lofty one and is covered on side with plaster, upon which are paintings and inscriptions. In spite of having examined them carefully, my efforts did not enable me to read them, for most of them were in Kufic characters, but not in the Kufic which is employed nowadays. A few are in *Sulsi* writing, but it is not inscribed in such a manner as to be easily read. Near this, is a dome upon the archway of which is some Turki writing which is mostly destroyed. It is there written: "In the year 650 . . . . ," but the rest is obliterated and cannot be read. This date corresponds very nearly with the date of Dawí Khán, better known as Dawí Sahan,[2] and I am convinced that this is his tomb. I hold the proof to be conclusive for several reasons. Firstly, at that date there was no other Dawí Khán reigning; and this name of Dawí Khán does not indicate, in the least that he was a Shaikh or an Imám, nor does the fact of such a magnificent tomb having been raised over him. Again the father of Dawí Khán, Barák Khán, became a Musulmán in Bokhárá, received the title of Ghiyás-ud-Dín, and was succeeded on the throne by his son Dawí Khán.[3] From this it is quite evident that Dawá Khán was a

[1] According to my [illegible] Walking [illegible] to Kamál Mazárát or tombs and saints' [illegible] R.

[2] Firstly the [illegible] Sahan [illegible] It

[3] *Sahan* [illegible] *Nasíhat* [illegible] It

As far as is known, Dawí Khán died in 701 A.H. (or 1301 A.D.); that is before, therefore, by just fifty years [illegible], and can hardly refer to the Chaghatái Khán of that name. (See S. Lane Poole's *Muhammadan Dynasties*, p. 212 and H. E. Oliver in *J. R. A. S.*, xx. N.S., p. 101.)

The second title, given as *Sahan* in the text, is found in this form in the Turk and in one Persian MS. In another Persian MS. it reads *Chichan*.—R.

[4] Barák Khán was a great-grandson of Chaghatái. He reigned in Khorásán down to about the year 670 A.H. (1270 A.D.) and was succeeded, shortly by his son Dawí but very little is known of his reign, which was full well by a [illegible] only after

Musulmán. He is very much lauded in histories, and it is not surprising that God should have raised him to such high rank, considering his "Islám," and his noble qualities. After his death, any man who believed this to be his creed, did it reverence, and as time went on [its identity] became an established fact; but God alone knows the truth.

If, as is indeed the case, this is the tomb of the famous Dawí Khán his story is told in histories. In the Prolegomena to the *Zafar Náma*, Sharaf ud Dín Alí Yazdí says "Dawí Chán was the son of Barák Khán, son of Kurí Isu, son of Buzgín, son of Chaghatái, son of Chingiz Khán. He was a powerful and worthy monarch. [Couplet.] Mamlikaz Nuyán, son of Amír Árlad, son of Nisun, was of the race of Karáchár Nuyín Bahádur. According to the ancient charter [*Ahd Náma*] Dawá Khán was made king, and he duties and privileges of his forefathers devolved upon him. He ruled for thirty years, and through the excellent management of Alaguz Nuyán, the Chaghatái Ulus attained great prosperity. [Couplet.] Finally having drawn a few breaths he perished." Thus far from the *Zafar-Náma*.

Within the citadel of Yárkand and near to the forbidden is a tomb called Alyúft Atá, in which is the bone of a man's thigh in two pieces. I have always noticed this with great wonder. I once pointed it out to Khalfat Maulaná Sháh Sayyid Asl-ik, one of the most profoundly learned and pious Ulama in Mávará-un-Nahr who expressed great astonishment, and said, 'Let us take the measurement." He ordered to be brought the corresponding thigh-bone of a man of the present time. He broke a cloth of the weight of that bone and tied them up in handkerchiefs, till they were exactly the weight of the bone which was in two pieces. Lo! [marvels connected] he cloth and found there were sixty. Then the Maulána said "The owner of this bone must have been sixty times the size of men of our time." This is indeed a most wonderful thing.

As for the tombs of Káshghar, the first is that of Sátuk Bughrá Khán, of the race of Abúsíth, and ancestor of Yusuf Kadr Khán and Sultán Bak Mírzá. He was the first Turk to become a Musulmán, and he is related to have said, 'Satuk was the first of the Turks to become a Musulmán.' I have heard from dervishes that to visit his tomb is a source of great spiritual advantage. There are many other tombs, excellent accounts of which are to be found in books. Among them are those of Hasan Pasil Khwája,

[1] Taken from a Persian MS. in the Royal Asiatic Society's Library, p. 271 (Sir D. Ross). It is published also in E. D. Ross, *Muhammadan Dynasties*, p. 212, and in H. H. Howorth, *J. R. A. S.* xx. N.S., pp. 124-127, &c.

[2] Is found also in Shaikh Ahmad's Persian MS. mentioned in p. 287.

[3] Sayyid Abdallah Sultán Arab.

Kuglo-Alem, sl ailch Ilelil, Pole li ibn Pake and (ibere. Tlo
ske u gesb in tl e e elonsno *hocese* of Ilmuen f'ue
they coll tl e "Ilechamo of the Mule s," or a b
on 'ie pave ojl e to whoc lis ego in No
lleo bim lool e at ll p ofe thy ebn gh, and h
l have bee l the Ilam e of Kaghgher ay l ad whe
luft nl jusste n b de ade, they we uld waite e
t in the ouch, on thon now, when they e uno
t nown will e tl e wi And this hae b on tae l u
esponsibility l ayon thon shonldone.)

All the l ople of Kluelen an l Kiel ge ue e divi
clanses (ino is e llot Tunnin, which mo ns pa
dopendon upon the Klin, and lay thon taxe
Another class is called Kuglin, which mons sold
dopendent upon my relations! A thi l is called I
all of whom reserve a fixel revenno *ealtitte* of
he lik. "Ilese lo ple are also loge d ne upon
fonth close are the controllers of legal jus'iedi
todies e of religione houses and poms founded on
e o f ny family. "Ihey meal ne, however, lo
pl ce.

"Ilere are in thal county one or two things
i. Firstly, the Tele-elom, which is found
Y'ldeal and Klie an, all of which are a tanc
away other l ant of the world." Secondly, the wild
l eken in such a way that Ilecerves an injury,
l ne of cumbe, and will follow exactly like
Ilis animal is bon of all the beasts by ho
Ilis an. "Ihirdly, in Ine l ille of the county

"By [illegible] Aeh
[illegible] ilis, ne
[illegible] Ilis Mens
[illegible] ilis, ne
[illegible] ilis, ne
[illegible] ilis, ne

[*kutás*] of extreme size and nobility, they are the most ferocious of savage beasts. When one of them attacks a human being, its butting with the horns, its kick, and its look are all equally fatal. When on my journey from Tibet to Badakhshán (which country I will speak of presently) we were a party of twenty-one persons, and on the road a *kutás* was killed. It was only with the utmost trouble and difficulty that four men were able to extract the beast's stomach. One man could not lift one of its shoulder blades. After the twenty-one persons had each carried away as much as he was able for a load, two-thirds were still left.[1]

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who obtained for the native hunters a skin and skeleton, which I sent to St Petersburg. Since then I have both found, and shot, by Mr St G. Littledale on the skirts of the mountains on the south-east of Lake Lighten and two specimens have been brought to England. The Chinese Buddhist pilgrims of the fifth to seventh centuries do not appear to have mentioned them. The practical fact that the wild camel nowhere exists, nowadays, to the north of the Kwen Lun.

[1] The Kutás is the *Bos Poëphagus* of Kāshghar, the Tibetan Yak or Dong. Nearly everywhere in Central Asia one is told of the enormous wild yak, and of the dreadful nature, even, of the tame yak. One of the most common assertions or allegations is that its look is fatal. Its tail is a natural fan, specially rough, and this circumstance often leads to the full that it is made of iron. The evidence of intelligent sportsmen and travellers is by no means unanimous as to the ferocity of the wild yak. They are certainly not to be classed with the eastern frontiers of Ladak, but I have never heard of an unprovoked attack by a wounded yak making a charge. Captain Younghusband, in the narrative of his recent journey in Tibet, especially refers to the subject, saying: "They are certainly cleverer stalkers than I ever met with in Ladak, and not greatly inferior in this respect to those of most wild animals. Their powers of scent, however, are very good, and I have never known one charge except when wounded and with little apparent provocation." (*Journey Across Tibet*, p. 286.) General Prejevalski is also witness to the animal qualities of these animals. In 1873 he writes: "Their principal characteristics are silliness and stupidity, which are so conspicuous that, at first sight, they would appear to be devoid of any intelligence. He would be far more disposed to the sports and to the tiger; one can never be sure of killing him with whatever weight of ball." And again: "Domesticated wild yaks we have good evidence for believing to be more dangerous to observers." General Prejevalski's statement is entirely in accord with that of my friend Colonel A. D. Wood, in Western Tibet: "He [the yak] is, on the contrary, a timid thing that will hardly stand still for twenty specimens continuously." The adult male at first sight appears to be almost hairless. The one whose skin now figures in my collection measured 11 feet in length without the tail, which of itself must be at least another foot in length, was 6 *hands* [just 11 feet, English] to the height of the hump, and 6 feet 6 inches [1·981 metre], the circumference of the body in the middle 11 feet, and the weight of the animal from 35 to 40 *poods* [11½ to 12¾ cwt.]. Colonel Wood, who has had many years, writes: "I put down as a monster a full-grown male at 16½ to 16¾ hands. The bull whose horns I saw in 1873 was measured as 17½ hands, and was [in the *Asian* sporting periodical published in Delhi] in 1881 given as 18 hands in height of a bull yak. It is not easy to measure a dead animal of the kind, and I should have supposed that both these measurements, especially the latter, were exaggerated

Again, most of the fruits of that country are very plentiful. Among others the pears are especially good, and I never saw their equal anywhere else; they are, in fact, quite incomparable. Its roses and rose-water are also excellent, and almost as good as those of Ilorá. Moreover, its fruits have an advantage over the fruits of other countries, in that they are less unwholesome. The cold in winter is very severe, and the heat in summer is moderate; but the climate is very healthy. The fruits, which generally are injurious when taken at breakfast or after any food, are there, on account of the excellence of the climate, followed by no evil consequences and do no harm. During the autumn [*tomán*] it is no the custom to sell fruit in the provinces of Káshgiar and Khotan, nor is it usual to hinder any one from plucking it. Nay more, it is planted along the roadsides, so that any one who wishes to do so, may take of it.

But [Káshghar has also many defects. For example although the climate is very healthy, there are continual storms of dust and sand, and violent winds charged with black dust. Although Hindustán is notorious for this phenomenon *sifat*], yet in Káshghar it is still more prevalent.[1] The cultivation of the ground is very laborious and yields but little profit. In Káshghar it is impossible to support an army upon the produce of the country. Compared with the Dasht-i-Kipchák, the Kálmák country and Moghulistán, it has the semblance of a town, but with regard to productiveness and its capacity to support an army, it cannot be compared to those steppes. The inhabitants of towns who go there regard Káshgiar as a wild country *vasht*, while the people of the steppes consider it a refined city. It is a sort of Purgatory between the Paradise of Towns and the Hell of Deserts. "Ask those from Hell of Purgatory, and they will call it Paradise." In a word, it is free from the discomfort and the trampling of feet, and it is therefore rest for the contented and the rich. From blessings accorded to the pious, now, from the blessed saints who lived there in time past. From two persons I know out of many I have seen, I have heard that when people migrate from the country to some other, they cannot find the same peace of mind, and they return to Káshghar with regret. This is the highest praise.

[1] I observe particularly that I have introduced nearly all my writings on that country. It is not of the nature of the Indian dust-storm, as the author seems to imply, but is more like those with which, nearly every spring for a brief interval, after a dull grey day, the sand-storm [*bád-i-sad-rang*] of the plains regarding which see Vol. I, p. 12, and Sec. III. of the Introduction to this volume.

[2] A quotation from Sa'di's *Gulistán*. R.

CHAPTER XLIII.

RETURN TO THE GENERAL NARRATIVE.

I had brought the Khán's history down to the point where he, having left the province of Farghána, set out for Káshghar by way of Moghulistán. As soon as Mirzá Abú Bakr heard of this he built the citadel of Káshghar in seven days, and placed in it one thousand horse and foot, with provisions for several years, giving his own son Yusfán[1] command over them. Then, having settled whatever business he had there as best he could, he started for Yángi-Hisár, which he also supplied with provisions, arms, and siege implements, and finally went on to Yárkand.

In the meanwhile the Khán reached Atu Bum Báshi,[2] which is one of the frontiers of Moghulistán on the side of Káshghar. Leaving his family and baggage there, to follow slowly after, he marched forward with an unencumbered army. On the first night he encamped at a place called Mirzá Turki, on the second day he halted at Tushku, arriving at Artuj on the third day, and there he performed the circuit *tawáf* of the shrine of Shaikh Habíb, an eminent Shaikh. The miracle is recorded of him that in building the monastery, one of the beams (*chúb*) was found too short, and that he pulled it, and extended it to the required length]. This beam [the Khán] saw, and having repeated verses from the Korán and uttered prayers, he begged that he might profit by the spirit of the Shaikh.

On the following day, when the troops of the east put to rout the army of the west, and in one moment seized the rays of the lights of the world [when the sun rose, etc. . . . Two complete days they set out from Artuj and came to Ush Barkhán, a village near which the river Yutun Báshi [or Tuyun B., which flows down from the valley of Kilik Kiyá [or Kabá], must be crossed by travellers. There is some rising ground above it, from the top of which Káshghar which is exactly three statute [*farsákhs*] distant, is visible. On this eminence Mirzá Abú Bakr constructed a wall with battlements, reaching from the highest point of the hill down

Only MS. has "son" the others have "Ilyás Khwája." The name *Yusfán* is probably a contraction, though possibly it may be an abbreviation—after the Anbyan method—of *Yusuf Ján*.

Perhaps the *Gulja Báshi* mentioned may, although the name of *Atu Bum Bashi* would not appear to *At Bashi* a tributary of the Naryn, also mentioned in his history *At Báshi*, however, would be too far off and not in the right direction, while *Gulpa Báshi* would be almost on a parallel above *Mirza Tilal*, as marked on maps and that place, again would still be too far distance from *Tashal Tásh*, or where the *Tashka* of text would seem to be intended.

to the ravine which overhungs the river, and there to placed a gate. Triplicate orders were issued that the commanders *tarápi* should take up their stand in that narrow passage *tang* and count the army. The troops passed through the double *tangi* regiment by regiment, and as they passed, the *tarápi* counted them and the scribes *bitikchi* wrote down the numbers. Besides those who stayed behind with the women and children and the baggage, and those who were sick enough to guard the roads, there were mustered four thousand seven hundred and odd.

Though the number is small, it was composed entirely of famous generals *sarán*, mighty Amirs, wise councillors and brave warriors who were ripe in experience and well tried in adversity. From the date of the devastation of Tashkand in 908, corresponding to the year of the Hog of the Moghul cycle, to the present date 920, corresponding again to the year of the Hog—that is for twelve years they had been persecuted by evil fortune, and had been continually engaged in warfare and contests and disputes. Of the four great tribes, three namely the Uzbeg, the Chaghatái, and the Moghuls—had always been at variance, [Couplet . . . as has been explained above. During these twelve years these people had been subject to many vicissitudes and changes of fortune and had endured immeasurable severities and trials so that each one of them had gained great experience, and was acquainted with all the details of the art of war, such as marches and countermarches and forced marches. Nor was this knowledge peculiar to the Amirs only, rather, in every tribe of the Moghuls many men were to be found in whose judgment and advice every one placed reliance.

The following is a short account of some of those who passed in review that day, as well as can call them to memory. First of all the family of Dughlát, four sons there were noble and the eldest was my uncle, Sayyid Muhammad Mirza. He was at that time forty-one years of age. He was he prop and stay and reason of the whole of that army. His wisdom and foresight were well known, and he was famed for perception and penetration. His story, as all that he did, has been already related. He was conspicuous among his contemporaries and without an equal among the tribesmen. According to the reckoning then drawn up, he had one hundred and eighty men in his following. Next in standing was Kará Kulák Mirzá, who has been mentioned above in connection with the Khán's adventures in Moghulistán. During those events, this Kará Kulák Mirzá held, at one time, the dignity of Amir, and at another, fell into the most abject poverty, until at last, leaving the Khán, he went to Andijan and there making his livelihood in some way or another, exchanging the bitterness of poverty for the

sweets of commerce. At the time the Khán ... Andijá, he again entered his service. In a word, this Kará Kulák Mirzá was renowned both for his courage and sound judgment, and great reliance was placed in him. In the enumeration of the army], one hundred followers were entered in his name. [Another was] his brother, Sháh Nazar Mirzá, who had precedence over his elder brother in all matters. His retainers were entered as sixty in number. Another was Mirzá Ali Taghái, the wiles that man could devise after a moment's reflection, could not have been invented by a cunning Delilah after years of deep thought. The hump-backed old woman [who personifies] deception used to come to learn wiles and tricks from him, and to serve him in order to learn how to stir up sedition. This will be explained, in the account of the end of the Khán's days. Ninety men were entered in the list under his name. Another was his brother, Kutluk Muhk Mirzá, of whom everyone expected great achievements. Seventy persons came under his name. Another was Bahrika Mirzá, who was of the military caste [*ahl-i-kushun*], and he had forty followers.

Another was the compiler of these pages and the chronicler of this history, your humble servant. The dawn of childhood had not yet changed to the morning of youth nor was my intelligence yet fully developed. I was but fifteen years of age. Although the Khán had honoured me with the title of Kurkán, yet on account of my youth, and immaturity, both physical and mental, I was not able to participate fully in that dignity. I however carried out as much as was possible. The retainers and followers of my father, as many as had remained behind, supported and aided me nobly in every way, so that in spite of the general scarcity of attendants upon the Moghuls, one hundred and twenty persons were entered as my name.

There were many nobles [*amzádas*] of the Dughlát family, who were entered as single individuals since by reason of their poverty they had no retinue. All those who were Amirs and had a following and attendants, were mentioned [in the lists].

In this way, I propose to speak of all the families of the Moghul Amirs.

Another family [*tabaka*] was that of the Dukhtan whose chief was Amir Dáim Ali. At that time his brothers, Ahmad Ali and Mahmud Kuli, had not yet come. This Amir Dáim Ali was one of the least worthy of the great Amirs. He will be frequently mentioned hereafter in this book. There was a serious dispute between him and [the family of] Barlás as to precedence, which was at that time still undecided. But Amir Dáim Ali took precedence whenever he could, till on the first occasion of the meeting with Mansur Khán, which shall be spoken of. The question was referred to Amir Jabá Birdi, who was a Dughlát, and of

whom I have spoken above and he decided that the Dukhtú should have precedence. After the flight of Amir Dín Ali over the Bolór was established.

I do not recollect precisely, but I think there were more than two hundred persons reckoned in the list of this family.

Another family was the Bulás, whose leader was Ali Mírák Mírzá, the maternal uncle of my paternal uncle. He had both sons and brothers. One of his sons, named Muhammad, will be mentioned later.

There were many of the Moghul Amirs and notables who were very aged, older indeed than any one else at that time in the Moghul *Ulus*, upon all matters such as the *Tura* and the *Yasak* they were consulted, and reliance was placed in their discretion and judgment in all important consultations and councils. Of these old men was Ali Mírák Mírzá; among others were Káká Beg, Kará Básh Mírzá, Sayyid Ali Ághá, Allah Kuli Kukiltásh, and Abdul Aziz Mírzá. Among the younger of these old men to, was Ali Mírák Mírzá himself. Like the rest of the old men, he was much enfeebled by age, both physically and mentally, but his courage was still firm. In spite of his having both brothers and sons, he conducted all his own affairs, civil as well as military. In the list, the number of his retainers is nearly great the rest of Mir Dín Ali.

Another of them was Hájji Mírzá, who was renowned for his valour. He had in his train one hundred men.

Another family was that of Bárki,[1] of whom the first and oldest was Mir Káká. But his extreme old age prevented him from taking part any longer in the hardships of warfare, so he entrusted his affairs to his son Mir Kambar. Many conspicuous and able men of the Bárki family accompanied the Khán from Kunduz to Andijún, and numbers of them fell in the battles that took place in Andijún. When none of these were left, the management of the affairs of the family devolved upon Mir Kambar. His brothers Mahmud, Hájí, and Tuluk, were in immediate attendance upon the Khán. The following of Mir Kambar was larger than that of Hájí Mírzá; I cannot, however, recall the exact number.

Another family was that of the Dulaghi; their leader was Kará Básh Mírzá, who has been mentioned in the list of old men. His sons and brothers were men of note, such as Ghází Mírzá, Sultán Mírzá, Muhammad Hájí Mírzá and Muhammad Váli Mírzá.

Another family was that of Hájí. Their chief was Bish Ka Mírzá, who had some capable sons and also some brothers. Their retinue numbered about one hundred men.

[1] *Bárlás* or *Yárlás*. The Turki text reads *Yárlás* constantly.—H.

Another family was that of Kunj, whose chief Amir at that time was Mir Jánáka Mir Sharun, Kul Nazar Mirza, Mir Mazid, and Mir Jaka had not yet arrived. His retinue exceeded that of Bish Ka Mirzá in numbers

Another family was the Jarás, at the head of whom was Munka Beg, a man distinguished among his equals for his bravery. His suite numbered more than one hundred men. He had a brother named Bábá Sárik Mirzá who was a man of a similar nature to the above-mentioned Kará Kulák Mirzá and Mirzá Ali Taghái. All that is said of them applies equally to him. His following was not less than that of Munka Beg. He had a brother named Shahbáz Mirzá, who, in the conduct of affairs, was not inferior to his brother.

Another family was the Begjik The chief among them was Mir Ayub, whose history has been related in connection with Bábar Pádisháh and Ubaid Ullah Khán. He is one of the most distinguished of all the famous Moghul Amirs During those twelve years of disturbances, wherever he was, he took the lead Indeed, he was a man admirably qualified in every respect to bear the dignity of Amir. Nearly two hundred men were entered in his name His brother Muhammad Beg was an extremely calm and polite man, of noble birth and breeding. His mother was a Sayyida of Turmiz.

[Of the same family] was Sultán Ali Mirzá, whom I have mentioned above, in speaking of the Khán Also Yádgár Mirzá, who, soon after this event, left the Khán's service, made the Holy Pilgrimage, and then rejoined the Khán, by whom he was highly honoured After this he again made the Pilgrimage, and he is at the present time a recluse, having dealings with no man and disturbed by none. Of these too was Nazar Mirzá Each of them had a following of one hundred men or less. Another was Mirzá Muhammad, who had exercised the authority of Amir among the Begjik and the Tumán of Mir Ayub, before the arrival of this latter. But when Mir Ayub came, being the older brother, all the duties of Amir were passed over to him, he [Mirzá Muhammad] submitted to Mir Ayub and in the administration of business was associated with him His followers were better equipped than those of Amir Ayub. Another was Beg Muhammad, the same young man whose excellent qualities were alluded to in the account of the Khán's doings in Kábul. Among all the young men he had not his equal in courage. He had one hundred well armed retainers.

There were violent disputes between the families of Jarás and Begjik on the question of priority On this account, the elder Amirs assembled and held an inquiry. It was at length obtained that, in the time of each Khán, priority and inferiority had been

decided by the favour *ináyat*] of that Khán. Therefore the Khán now issued the following mandate *yárligh*: "I will not at present determine your precedence. You must decide among yourselves. You must judge it by means, you by your and which your family shows the greatest valour, that one will take precedence." They carried out the order, but the dispute exists to the present day, and has found no settlement.

All the above-mentioned men were Amirs and commanders of regiments and detachments. There was another class of men who, although not Mirs or sons of Amirs had yet each his own tribe and following. They had been at the head of some of the Mughul tribes during these twelve eventful years and having directed their affairs, had thereby gained so much experience that every one placed confidence in their advice and opinions. Among them was Khwája Ali Bahádur, of whose valuable services to the Khán in his early days in Moghulistán, I have spoken above. Another was Boz Kúl, whose name was mentioned in the history of Shihi Beg Khán. At the time when the Emperor was detached at Kul Malik by Walí Ullah Khán, and retired from Samarkand, this Beg Kúl, placing himself at the head of 3000 men, came and joined the Khán. He was a trustworthy man. Another was Ishák Bahádur, renowned for his valour and his sound judgment. Others were, Mank Bahádur, Pírjí Bahádur, Kara-Yohunghúl,[1] Shaikh Sultákán,[2] Tufa Kuli and Uzun Sakil Tufa Kuli [Each of these was head of a tribe] and all were trustworthy and experienced men. Another was Tumán Bahádur, leader *sar-khail* of the Káluchi, and one of the most notable generals of his time. He will be mentioned more at length of the Khán's last days. Another was Malik Ali, commander *aimák* of the tribe of Káluk and a brave soldier. Another, Kulka, head *sar khail* of the Mekrit. Another, Oman Shaikh, chief [*khánán*] of the Shulkáráhi.

All these were chiefs of tribes, and each had a retinue. There was yet another class of men, who had no following, but were quite alone; yet they had distinguished themselves above the rest, by their courage in many battles and engagements, and thus they had acquired the name of heroes [*bahádur*]. Some of their deeds of warlike valour will be mentioned below. A list of the names of a few of them follows: Mudaka [Bahadur] Abdul Wáhid [Bahádur], Khudáí Kuli [Bahádur], Shakiwal, Yusuf Bakiwal, Muhammad Ali Turkán, Keshkul Divána, Kará Dina Kuli, Shaikh Nazar Yasiwal, Baka Yasiwal, Hakk Nazar Divána, Ali Kurchi, Shah Muhib Kalandar, Bibi Kulighán, Tangra Baidu, Bú Tasha, Hakk Nazar Kughanchi Pakna Jabbár, Mir Akhur, Pálcha Mir Akhur, Bai Mazid Mankish, Sukú Kilmchi, Sukúr Ukasi, Bihain

[1] Perhaps Nallákar. R.

Ázuk Mirzá, and others. They were the talk of their time, and all of them heroes like Rustam, Zál, and Afrásiáb the brazen-bodied. *I have mentioned a few of them, but it would be tedious to mention them all; moreover many of them have no place in this history—no connection with the main events*

CHAPTER XLIV.

BATTLE OF SULTÁN SAID KHÁN WITH THE ARMY OF MIRZÁ ABÚ BAKR AT KÁSHGHAR

The army having been mustered, it began to descend from the rising ground of Ush Barkhán . . .[1] The Amirs of Mirzá Abú Bakr's troops saw the masses of soldiers from afar, and estimated their numbers at 50,000 When a nervous person counts the enemy, he mistakes a hundred for a hundred thousand. *On nearing the* Tomb of the Khwája, they drew their bridles to the right and turned towards a village called Samun two *farsákhs* from Káshghar where there is a ford over the Tímán. Crossing the Tímán they passed on to a place called Sughunluk, where Mirzá Abú Bakr had laid out beautiful gardens and meadows, in these they encamped. Some of the Amirs, along their troops, approached the citadel of Káshghar, thinking that the enemy would wish to defend the fortifications and decline to come out. They approached quite close to the citadel and were examining it and admiring how well it had been fortified, when the enemy, sallying forth, drew up in battle order and stood ready [complete].

On arrival of the Amirs the battle began. Some courageous youths to whom the day of battle was as the nuptial night, and the rumbling of the drums of war was as the murmuring of lutes . [three companies] now threw themselves upon the enemy's ranks, wielding their sabres on every side. All around was disorder and confusion: victory and defeat fell sometimes to one and sometimes to the other. The enemy having turned their faces towards Báz-bulák,[2] all the infantry and cavalry poured out of the citadel to their assistance and joined in the fray. The battle lasted till past midday. .[3] Then some of the Amirs sent messengers to the Khán representing, that the enemy had

[1] The sense requires that some lines are omitted here.—L.

[2] *The passage reads: "Bilá-i-báz shí-dar-hí-ft." Báz-i-shíkár* probably stands for the name of a place, but this is not certain.

[3] Some lines omitted here.

left their strong position and had descended into the plain. If the Khán wished to meet them on equal terms, now was the opportunity. Let him come before the sun should set, for then the enemy would return to the citadel and would not come out again. When the Khán received this message, . . . [he completed] he arranged his army in the manner above described, and went forward, but as the ground was rough and broken, the troops were not able to preserve their formation. The Amirs of the left wing were ordered to go in advance, while the centre was to follow them. The Amirs of the right wing had many of them advanced in the early morning. When the Khán drew near he said: "Let the force advance slowly, while I ride forward and see how matters are going." The Khán arrived just as the left wing had come up. The men who had been fighting [all the morning], seeing the Khán arrive, received fresh courage and were overjoyed; for they had been anxiously expecting him. They now made a combined charge . . . [three complete] before the centre had time to come up, had overwhelmed the enemy.

Khwája Sáki Ali was chief minister (*mushrif-i-dárán*), and was sprung from the Uighurs of Khoten.[1] He had always distinguished himself by his extreme valour, but through his impetuosity the thread of his life was cut in two. He had been one of the first to arrive on the scene of action, and was standing with his men in the front of the army, when he saw that the Khán had come. Before all the rest, he threw himself upon the centre of the enemy, and allowed the reins of discretion to be guided by the palm of recklessness. The infantry archers had formed an ambush in a large stream called the Sarman. Khwája Sáki Ali, without hesitating, made his horse leap this stream wishing to use his sabre against the cavalry that were standing on the opposite bank. But one of these foot bowmen who were standing in ambush in the water, shot an arrow into Khwája Sáki Ali's eye, so that it came out at the back of his head, and he immediately fell [lifeless] from his horse.

In the meanwhile the enemy had been put to rout, having been dislodged from their ground by the violence of the onslaught of the Khán's warriors. Before the whole army could come up, the advanced body pushed on, striking and killing, up to the gates of Káshghar. In a short space of time the King of Kings of the universe, and rightful lord of the realm, utterly destroyed the numerous host together with its weapons and material of war. They were only just able to creep crushed and routed, into the citadel and to close the gates. That night the Khán pitched his royal camp in the immediate vicinity [of the town], and on the

[1] Mentioning Uighurs still in Khoten. This allusion, brief though it is, to Uighurs in Khoten is interesting. Cf. p. 11 Abu'l Ghází, pp. 50, 51.

morrow, at break of day, again drew up his troops and approached the citadel. But as there was nobody within, except a few soldiers lightly armed, he retired to Tukuzák where he encamped. On the following day, having crossed the river Kará Tázgharn, his army went and pitched their camp at Tirák, one of the districts depending on Yángi Hisár. Here they were joined by the families [*ilch*] who were following after them; these they left here and marched on to the gates of the citadel of Yángi-Hisár. The men in the citadel did not come out, but there was some infantry stationed below the citadel, and upon these Midaka Bahádur (who has been spoken of already, and will be mentioned again) made a bold attack. As their position was a strong one, he retired, and they, in turn, having stood their ground for awhile, also retreated. The Chín remained several days in that neighbourhood changing his position from place to place, in the expectation that Mirzá Abú Baki, having collected an army, would be coming. He passed nearly two months in these parts, without hearing any news of Abú Baki Mirzá. In the meantime Mirzá Ali Taghái and Ilyás Mirzá, together with a few men from every division, conducted forays round about the hills of Singh Kul, where they became possessed of much booty and countless sheep.

At this time Muhammad Kughúz came to wait on the Khán and was favourably received. He begged to be allowed to go to Yárkand and bring back definite news [of Mirzá Abú Baki]. [The Khán approving of the plan allowed him to do so], sending with him several persons of consequence. They plundered Arslán Bágh, which is two *farsákhs* from Yárkand, and found much booty, which they brought with them, gather with the news that [Mirzá Abú Baki] was doing, his attempt to collect an army, and was giving out horses and arms to the peasantry and villagers. But he had no force on which he could rely. Upon hearing this the Khán set out against Yárkand.

CHAPTER XLV.

MARCH OF SULTÁN SAÍD KHÁN AGAINST YÁRKAND, AND SEVERAL MATTERS IN THE SAME CONNECTION

When Muhammad Kughúz brought the news of Mirzá Abú Baki, all the councillors were for marching against Yárkand. If Mirzá Abú Baki were to come forth and give them battle well and good; if not, there was at any rate, an abundance of corn and other

necessarily round about Yárkand. They must lay siege to the citadel of Yárkand. If it should fall Káshghar and Yangi-Hisár would naturally fall also. With such projects they moved on towards Yárkand, and at the end of Sakiz, a village about *four miles* distance from Yangi-Hisár.

At this place a few of those who had come in flight to Mir Ayub, with no thought of dependents named Kaplan *daghdagha* to desert and go off towards Kashgar and Hisár. But when their scheme was discovered, most of them were unable to get away: a certain number, however, went. While the talk about this continued, Mudaka Bahádur represented the Kitta Beg had a similar idea in him. This Kitta Beg is the same person who was mentioned in the beginning of this book. He was the brother of Mir Ahmad Kásim Kuhban and when Mir Ahmad Kásim left Táshkand, he was in Sairam, which place he kept for himself for a whole year. When he [illegible] retired to Kabul, and no hope was left him of relief from any quarter, the Kitta Beg sent a message to Kásim Khán offering to give up Sairam to him, and thus brought Kásim Khán against Tashkand. This anecdote has been already told. On leaving the service of Kásim Khán, Kitta Beg went over to the Khán in Andijan. All the Amirs approved the words of Mudaka Bahádur, who said "His flight is quite proper because he is Bábur Pádisháh's subject, and he wished to go away. But he must not be put into chains until the matter has been more thoroughly inquired into." When the Amirs had confirmed this plan the Khán said "I will myself stand security for Kitta Beg, and if he goes away I will be responsible. The Khan then sent for Kitta Beg and said to him: "They have been telling such and such stories about you. Now you are a brave man. It is not fitting that you should desert us. I have made myself security for you to the Amirs. If on this occasion you show no attachment, your desires shall be satisfied. But if you disgrace me in the sight of the Amirs by running away, that course is also open to you." To this Kitta Beg replied: "I am not such a coward as to desert just at the time of battle." He said nothing more, but remained in silence in close attendance upon the Khán.

In consequence of those discussions, the proposed march on *Yárkand was abandoned, and at dawn on the following day they* set out in haste for Yangi-Hisár . . . three complete, where they arrived at midday. There was one circumstance which was most propitious for them. When the army that was occupying Kásghar heard that the Khán had marched against Yárkand, they sent a message to the Amirs in Yangi-Hisár, to the effect that the light force in occupation were in many accounts. If a few of the Kashghari were sent back to them, they would be

of material aid to the garrison. The Amírs in Yángi-Hisár thinking this reasonable, sent back a large number of Káshgharís to Káshghar. These men, issuing from the citadel crossed the river of Yángi Hisár and were proceeding homewards, when suddenly the Moghuls[1] fell upon them, and the whole body became a prey to the Khán's army.

At this juncture, the Khán himself came up. The Yángi-Hisárís men, who were all on foot, had come into the midst of ravines and streams, and rough, broken ground, but they made a brave stand. When the Khán came upon the scene Kitta Beg pushed forward and struck Midaka Bahádur, saying "On that day you told me that I was going to run away. Let it be seen to-day, who it is that will run away.' Now Midaka was one of the most eminent warriors, and the bravest of the brave. He replied: "I have been longing for this day for years," and therewith he pressed forward. The two, charged forward upon the enemy [Verses]. The road down which they rode was very narrow; on one side of it flowed the river of Yángi-Hisár, in which the water was surging in waves, while on the other side was a deep ravine. The road was wide enough, perhaps, for three horsemen to ride abreast. In the middle of this had been placed a gate, through which infantry could pass, and in which many soldiers in armour were posted, while outside it, others were engaged in discharging their arrows. When these two horsemen charged, the soldiers put their backs against the gate. The horse of Kitta Beg came up in advance of Midaka's and however much the latter might ply his whip, he was not able to pass in front. When Kitta Beg came near, the archers began to aim their arrows at his horse, so that it fell on the spot, and Kitta Beg was dismounted. As the passage was narrow, the horse fell into the water, while Kitta Beg advanced on foot to attack the soldiers. They, however, placed themselves so that his sword could not reach them, and Midaka, coming close after, drew his horse up and said: "Peace be on you. Let this be a sufficient display of valour, let us now return.' But Kitta Beg replied "I will not retire until you do.' Now as the arrows were pouring down, like rain, from the gate, and from the top of the ravine, Midaka saw that if they advanced, both would perish, he therefore withdrew first, while Kitta Beg followed very slowly behind him. The Khán praised Kitta Beg loudly, while the people blamed Midaka, who replied: "I was not in a position in which we could do the enemy any injury. Kitta Beg, in his excitement, behaved like a madman, if I, too, had made a fool of myself, the only result would have been the death of us both. I yielded to his passion." This excuse was approved by some, but not by others.

[1] Apparently those who were in the pursuit which will be told.

To be brief, every one took up his quarters [*wájib*] in the suburbs of Yángi-Hisár. A few days later, Mír Ayub was carried off by a form of dropsy. Towards the end of his illness the Khán went to visit him, and he said to the Khán, "I have not observed fidelity and loyalty to Bábur Pádsháh but have broken my oath, owing to the instigation of those hogs and bears," alluding to the Moghul generals who had incited him to join in the revolt at Hisár, which has been mentioned. "That broken oath is now lacerating my bowels, and I am being killed by remorse. As for those hogs and bears, may God restrain His wrath from them, for causing me to break solemn vows." [*Inshá*] .... After the death of Mír Ayub, his rank descended to his brother Muhammad Beg.

During these times there were daily engagements and every man was eager to bring into evidence the precious stones of bravery which he had stored up in the treasure-house of his heart. Among those who distinguished themselves, were Mídak, Abdul Báki, Khuddái Kuli Shakiwul, and Muhammad Alí Turkmán. Other individuals displayed their gallantry on one, or two, or three occasions, but as for those four men, there were few battles in which they did not do something remarkable, and scarcely a day passed without a battle taking place. When it was ascertained that Mírzá Abú Bakr did not intend leaving Yárkand, all were agreed that Yángi-Hisár ought to be carried by storm, and this having been determined upon, they sent off Ali Bahádur (who has been alluded to above in the list of eminent Moghuls) to Kizil, which is on the border of the desert of Yárkand, that he might recommence, and watch the movements of Mírzá Abú Bakr. If, during the siege, he should make a sally, he (Khwája was to return immediately with the news, so that [the Khán might be prepared to meet him.

CHAPTER XLVI.

TAKING OF YÁNGI-HISÁR: THE WAY OF THE CONQUEST OF THE KINGDOM OF KÁSHGHAR.

In the beginning of Rajab of the year 942, the Khán disposed his troops round the citadel of Yángi-Hisár, and pitched his camp so close to it, that if *gaz*-long arrows had been aimed at his tent from the top of the citadel, they might have reached the edge of the cliff on which he had camped. The intrenchments [*manchal*] were arranged on the following plan. On the north side there was no need for intrenchments, because the fort was situated on the top

of a cliff, which ended in a sheer precipice. Mines would there take no effect, while to ascend the cliff was impossible. For these reasons trenches were useless on the north side. The first tower on the west, was taken in hand by the Khán himself and the warriors of the centre, who were always in attendance upon him; these belonged to the pattern marked, but the fifth shewn from mentioned above. Another tower on the same side west of the Khán's was entrusted to me, and to my right were Mirzá Ali Taghái, Kutluk Muhammad Mirzá, and Sultán Mirzá who, together, were laying a mine. Beyond them, Bábá Sháik Mirzá and Shah Mirzá, and a body of Bárlás, had charge of another. Further on again were Mirzá Muhammad Beg, and Ibn Muhammad Beg, who had chosen a site for a third. Beyond them was a tower, the gate of which looked due south. To this tower were appointed Jánka Mirzá and Bishka Mirzá; while on the south side Munka Beg had charge of another mine. At his side was yet another, under the supervision of Mir Muhammad Wali, all [according to the position held by Mir Ayub. Near him was Mir Kamber, then came Ali Murák Barlás, next Mir Dúst, next Kará Kul'k Mirzá, then my uncle, and beyond him was the eastern gate of the citadel, which side, like the northern, overlooks a precipice. For five days and nights all were employed in digging and advancing galleries.

The first mine that was ready to be fired was the Khán's. It went off at midnight, and that tower which had raised itself to the skies now fell with a crash, level with the ground, but part of the original wall was left standing. On that day every one exerted himself to the utmost, and the mines were so far advanced, as to be ready to blow up the walls with very little further labour. [The strongest wall however was the one] given to Bábá Mirzá and Bishka Mirzá to undermine, but they made cracks along the wall for a distance of about sixty *gaz*.

While the siege was thus proceeding, one of Khwája Ali Bahádur's men brought in a certain Alika and a few generals. This Alika was the son of the commander of the citadel, who was called Amin Dúngha and who was one of Mirzá Abá Baki's most distinguished Amirs. To him had been committed the entire charge of the citadel of Yángi-Hisár. It came about in this way. Mirzá Abá Baki had collected a force in Yúkand and had amassed a quantity of arms, hoping to come and relieve Yángi-Hisár. He therefore detached a body of picked men and sent them off to a encampment at Kizil, with orders to bring back any news they might learn, so that he might form his plans accordingly. This body was under the command of Pír Ali Beg, the brother of Vali Beg, who has been alluded to already. On reaching Kizil, they found that a party of Moghuls were encamping in the same district. Having

accustomed his ears to [illegible], he fell upon Khwája Ali Bahádur unexpectedly, he sang night [illegible] he found men sleeping soundly, when the din of giving and taking blows, war cries, and [illegible] from their [illegible] Verses [illegible]
It was a pitch dark night—neither moon nor sun were visible nor could friend be distinguished from enemy. Two complete [illegible]. All who awoke were mad with confusion at the dark, and were unable to collect their thoughts sufficiently to realise what was passing, so all fled in dismay, excepting Khwája Ali Bahádur, who did not lose his presence of mind, but stood his ground firmly, and called out to his followers by name. All who heard his voice rallied to his side, till at length a good number were gathered round him, and they too began to call their war-cry loudly. Some of those who had been stupefied by the sudden awakening, now recovered their senses, and on listening attentively, heard the voices call'ng the war-cry. On this their courage was renewed, and they went and joined Khwája Ali Bahádur. They discharged their arrows in the dark, and fought on till the brightness of dawn overcame the shadows of night, when by that light the combatants began to see the real state of things. The enemy became aware of their small numbers, while our men saw their own superiority.

Pir Ali Beg had but a hundred men with him, while Khwája Ali Bahádur had three hundred. Since in the darkness they had become confused and disordered, Pir Ali Beg saw that flight would be a cowardly death, while to hold his ground was to die nobly. Now to that spot was a garden, within his horse tried to defend himself. By the sun had reached the meridian the sum of the lives of those men had set. Out of a hundred, only two managed to leave the rows [illegible] so [illegible] of them may have perished. The above mentioned Alkás Bahádur wounded in the fight. Pir Muhammad giving instructions by letter and token to his friends, had despatched him to the Khán with the hands of the slain hung round his neck the bows running, while. He reached the Khán at midday, and the hands of those gallants were sent into the citadel as a gift. Alika was then asked the news. He replied, "Mirzá Abá Bakr has made all the necessary preparations for an expedition. All the people know that he has good horses, and arms of every kind, such as coats of mail, horse-armour, and so forth; but nothing is wanting, rather there is a superabundance of all such things. But he has no generals renowned for an host of brave warriors, whose strength and judgment are the very foundations of the sovereignty. For all of these, he has himself put to death. And now, in order to complete his army he is obliged to choose men from among the peasantry, artizans and market-people, making one a Vazír, another an Amír, the

first a Mír and the second a counsellor. The man is who has spent his life with his hand on the plough, and has never done any work but ploughing, how can he begin to wield a sword or hold the reins of government? Though he may try ever so hard, I am sure he cannot succeed; such foolish ideas can come to nothing." And he laid much stress upon the improbability of Mírzá Abú Bakr advancing. Our people, however, did not fully trust his words, but suspected that this man, drowning in the whirlpool of misfortune, was employing flattery as a means of reaching the shore of salvation.

About evening prayer time, one of Khwája Ali Bahádur's followers brought in another man who had come to him in flight. This fugitive reported that Mírzá Abú Bakr, having mustered an army had advanced *two farsákhs* out of Yárkand, when he deserted him. Many were loth to believe this also, and imagined it to be a trick on the part of Mirza Abú Bakr, by which he hoped to retard the operations against the citadel of Yángi-Hisár; so they tortured this informant till he died, but he persisted in his story to the end, and then they believed it.

All the Amirs were for raising the siege that same night, and for marching out to meet and engage Mírzá Abú Bakr, before he should be joined by the armies of Káshghar and Yángi-Hisár. But the Khán said "I intend to remain at the foot of this cliff until Mírzá Abú Bakr comes, and to aim my arrows at the citadel and at Mirzá Abú Bakr, until I am killed on this spot. Those who do not [wish to follow my example, let them do what they like.' When the Khán had said this, all knelt down before him, saying: "May your exalted majesty's head be [strowed] with our lives as a thousand sacrifices! Who is there among us who holds his own wretched existence more dear than the precious life of the Khán, or thinks of his own personal safety first, in this undertaking?" Then all again set to work, with contented hearts, at the mines.

At daybreak of the sixth day of the siege, the Khán rode round all the trenches and infused his own enthusiasm into the hearts of his Amirs and soldiers, praising those who had exerted themselves, and ordering to be whipped any who had been remiss. In this manner did he pass round the citadel. As he approached the trench of my uncle, some one called out from the top of the citadel. They listened. He was saying, "Let one of the followers of Sayyid Muhammad Mirzá come forward, I have something to tell him. Thereupon a man was sent forward, who [however] asked whether Kukildásh Mírzá Ali Sayyid Bahádur was there, [and if so] had they not better send him [to parley]? [So they sent him.] After a short time Ali Sayyid returned reporting that Amir Dírugha had spoken as follows: "Sayyid Muhammad Mirzá is Mírzá Abú Bakr's brother. For generations past I and my

sons have been their servants. In our loyalty we have, during three months, been in peril of our lives, in spite of never having enjoyed during forty years, a moment's security from Mirzá Abú Bakr. Those whom he wished to kill he killed, and those who were left alive were all subjected to violent punishments, such as castration that is to say, depriving of virility—cutting off the hands and feet, putting out eyes, and the like. All were sure to be exposed to some calamity. In spite of all this, I felt it still my duty to remain loyal. Now it is come to a question of life and death, the knife has reached the bone. If Sayyid Muḥammad Mirzá will forget our enmity, forgive our sins, and spare our lives and our goods, we will deliver the citadel into his hands and become his vassals.' When the Khán heard this message he was overjoyed, and sent Ali Sayyid back saying that their offer was accepted.

CHAPTER XLVII.

DECLINE OF MIRZÁ ABÚ BAKR, FACTS CONNECTED THEREWITH AND THE END OF HIS DOMINION.

One of the worst of the wicked practices of Mirzá Abú Bakr was that, having laid down the most strenuous and exacting regulations and observances, he would not be satisfied with anything less than the death of any person who should, in the least degree, infringe them. Having put that person to death for a trifling fault, he would become apprehensive of his tribe and relations and would persuade himself that they could never be pacified. He would therefore set about their extermination sparing neither suckling babes nor women with child, but punishing them all, from mother to the child at the breast, so that after he had been satisfied a thousand times with their death, they died with thankfulness (as I have been related before).

In short, towards the end of his life, Mirzá Abú Bakr entrusted his army and all military affairs to Mir Vali, placing the administration of the State and the people in the hands of Shah Dina Kukildásh. These two men fulfilled their duties with the utmost possible diligence.

As has been briefly stated above, Mir Vali succeeded so thoroughly in driving the Moghuls and Kirghiz out of Á[illegible] and Moghulistán, that for a long time none of them dared [illegible] within two or three months' journey of Káshghar.[1] All the Moghuls crept into Ohálish

[1] Here no doubt, the province of Kashghar is meant

and Turfin, but the Kirghiz were allowed to dwell on the side of Issigh Kul. In the same manner, Mir Vali took into possession of certain places in Farghána, such as Uzkend (which is the most important town of that province) Ush, Máda, and Yánák; all of which places lie above Andijín. He also brought under his power much of Karátigín and Badakhshán, and the districts of Balur and Tibet as far as Kashmir. All this was the achievement of Mir Vali.

Before the battle of Tatluk, my uncle endeavoured to bring about a meeting with Mir Vali, in order that they might discuss the terms of a peace. [When Mir Vali heard this] he thought my uncle must be reduced to straits and in despair, thus he might be able to seize him by deception, and send him to Mirzá Abú Bakr as a present. He felt that he could not possibly perform a more worthy or important service. These considerations induced him to assent to the interview. They met at a place appointed, between two lines of men appointed respectively by either side, and they began to confer together in a manner suitable to the occasion. During the conference, my uncle said to the Amirs who had accompanied Mir Vali: 'I have a few words to say to Mir Vali; leave us.' Thereupon the Amirs rose up [and withdrew], Mir Vali alone remained. The few words were merely a repetition of some civilities relating to Mirzá Abú Bakr, which he had already uttered in the presence of the Amirs. They then separated, and each man returned to his own army. After this, occurred the event [at] at Tatluk, which weighed down the scale of Mir Vali in the balance of the regulations of Mirzá Abú Bakr. Mirzá Abú Bakr asked the generals who had been present at the interview what had been said; they told him all that had passed, and added: 'This is what was said in our presence, but afterwards Sayyid Muhammad Mirzá spoke to Mir Vali in private, and we do not know what he said then.' When after the battle at Tatluk, Mir Vali came to Mirzá Abú Bakr's presence, the latter asked what Sayyid Muhammad Mirzá had said to him in private, and Mir Vali told him what my uncle had said. Then Mirzá Abú Bakr replied: "But that is exactly what he said before all the others; one does not demand a private interview merely to repeat such things as those." He said nothing further, but from that moment he began to suspect Mir Vali, thinking: 'What Sayyid Muhammad really said to him in private he will not tell me; perhaps he is in league with him, and is planning my ruin.' So he seized Mir Vali and sent him to the *Kázil*, together with his brothers. Some of them he castrated. And thus did he annihilate all these people for the simple question "why did Sayyid Muhammad demand a private interview?" and subjected them all to hard punishments and bitter suffering. [Verses].

This is an instance of Mirzá Abú Bakr's cruelty. Another example is his treatment of Shah Dána Kukildásh, to whom were entrusted the affairs of the State and the people, and the control of the treasury. He too, had exerted himself to the utmost in the performance of his duties. For example, the flocks of sheep he had collected at the conquest of Káshghar were beyond reckoning, and when by reason of my extreme youth I could not be tied to business, and on this account did not attempt to estimate the profits of the booty [then taken] I only know that more than 15,000 sheep fell to my lot. No one on that occasion got a smaller share than I an myself, of Mirzá Abú Bakr's property. The soldiers who had accompanied the Khán, and the men from the armies of the Mirzá, all received an equally large share; and from this, one can form an estimate of the whole! In the same manner, his cattle and flocks, grain and treasure (which have been mentioned, and will be mentioned again) were so numerous and abundant that the intellect is incapable of conceiving the quantity that fell to each man. All this had been amassed under the superintendence of Shah Dána Kukildásh.

After the fall of Mir Vali, the Mirzá's suspicions extended to Shah Dána Kukildásh, [thinking] that he might say to himself: "Mir Vali was a greater man than I am, yet the Mirzá seized him: perhaps he will seize me too." These thoughts had never entered Shah Dána's mind, nor that of anybody else, he, however, seized Shah Dána upon suspicion, saying [by way of pretext] that Shah Dána had reduced the value of his property; and there, in front of the seat of judgment [*diván-khána*], he ordered people to pluck out the whole of his beard and to castrate him; while, as soon as his wounds were healed, he sent him to work [in the Kázik.]

In the places of those two [officers] he set up men creatures [*adámi*] from among the Amirs, and, though he found himself better off than formerly as regards worldly substance, the affairs of the army ceased to flourish; for such another commander as Mir Vali was not readily to be met with. In the meanwhile, the news of the Khán's march from Andijan to Káshghar received confirmation. [The Mirzá] immediately proceeded to Káshghar, and there, in seven days constructed a citadel, as has been explained above. By the time it was known that the Khán had reached Aksú, which is seven days' journey from Káshghar, the fort of Yángi-Hisár had likewise been filled with stores, arms, and all that was fitting and necessary. It was placed in the charge of a few officers in whom he reposed confidence—namely, Amin Darugha, Ulún Hasan of the tribe of Kirlúk, Kará Itimji, Ajmagí Akhtá and Jáni Beg Akhtá, Mir Vali, Shah Dána, and Muhammad Beg (whom he had lately castrated), together with some of their followers

Although he had just taken many of them from the works,[1] he gave them each horses and arms, saying "If you prove to me your devotion and loyalty, I will again take you into favour."

At this juncture, it was reported that the Khan had reached Tushgn [Mirzá Abú Bakr] thereupon set out for Yárkand, giving his final injunctions to the officers in Yángi-Hisár. He promised the people that he would go and muster an army in Yárkand, and come to their relief. Upon his arrival at Yárkand he at once set about collecting forces. He filled the country with horses and arms. [There was a certain] Ustád Abdál Shikh, who was a perfect master (*ustád*), and unrivalled in all kinds of work with hammer and anvil. After the fall of Mír Valí and Shíh Dána Kukaldásh, Mirzá Abú Bakr had set up this Shaikh Abdál in the place of Shíh Dána, and I have heard [Shaikh Abdál] say that there were in the Mirzá's armoury 60,000 coats of mail (*jiba*) and 12,000 sets of horse armour (*jichám*), besides other arms and accoutrements, the number of which may be judged by these figures. But the army itself was composed of peasants, miners, gardeners, and cultivators of the soil. Upon those he judged the most capable among them, he conferred the rank of Mirzá. A hundred and twenty of them he made his own escort, and the rest all received horses and arms. (Three couplets.)

(1) It takes many a year for the mind ever to become, by fine men's power, a ruby in Badakhshán, or an axe-head in Yemen.

(2) It is many months before a seed for it is ready to become a robe for a *hurí*, or a shroud for a corpse.

(3) It is many days before a handful of wool from the back of a sheep becomes a *zealot's* shirt or a donkey's halter.

. . . .[2] However this may be, Mirzá Abú Bakr having mustered his army, marched with it to a point two *farsákhs* distant from Yárkand; thence he detached, and sent in advance, some picked men, who fell in with Khwája Alí Bahádur at Kizil, as has been told above. [Thus we see] that the man who was brought before the Khán at Yángi-Hisár during the siege operations and who had been tortured to death, spoke the truth. He had deserted at the time when Mirzá Abú Bakr, having led his army two *farsákhs* out of Yárkand, sent forward the advance guard. The man had reported exactly what he had witnessed.

When Mirzá Abú Bakr had pitched his camp at this spot, he wished to pass his forces in review, but his efforts to do so were in vain. For those Amirs, who had been used all their lives to handling the yoke (*yugh*), when they now raised the standard

[1] The word is *Kár* (work) and evidently refers to the *Kárez*, or excavation works.

[2] A rhetorical passage of ten folios is omitted here. It is chiefly in verse, and relates to the impossibility of a ploughman making a good soldier.

[*ligh*.[1] and formed in line, thought they were thrashing corn, and got in each other's way; nor could they distinguish between right and left and centre. When their spirited steeds reared and shied, they held on anyhow to the withers, and when, in fear of their lives, they pulled at the bridle, and the horse would rear, the rider would lose his control, and slip back on the horse's haunches. If the animal started off they would throw up the bridle and fall, like a drop of sweat, to the ground. Their bows got broken, and their arrows fell out [of the quivers]. When Mirzá Abú Bakr saw this kind of horsemanship -such soldiering and such archery—he said, "With such a troop as this, it would be dangerous to spy and rob a kitchen-garden" [*pálíz*]; and he returned, disputed and anxious, to his tent, seriously meditating flight.

Following this, came news that the citadel of Yángi-Hisár had fallen; and when the people of Káshghar heard of that, they too abandoned their citadel and dispersed. On this intelligence reaching the Mirzá, he felt that further delay was useless [and that the hour for flight had come] [Complot] .... Therefore, having packed up the richest of his clothes and his valuables, having divorced his kingdom, and handed Yárkand over to his eldest son, Jahángir Mirzá, he fled. [Verses] ....

Jahángir Mirzá, who had passed all his life in seclusion, was of a timorous disposition. Finding himself suddenly placed upon the throne of a disordered State, he did what he was able in the way of government, and then, at the end of five days (hearing that his father was at a distance, and that the enemy were near at hand), set out in flight. He collected all the treasure he could carry off, and issued a general order that every one might take what he wished. Those who were afraid of the Moghuls, accompanied him in his flight. The rest fell upon whatever treasure remained, plundering the granaries and burning, or destroying, property of all kinds.

Four days after the departure of Mirzá Jahángir, Khwája Ali Bahádur arrived with two or three thousand men, and two days later the Khán followed, all of which shall be related presently. Mirzá Jahángir retired to Sárigh, which is the frontier on the high-road to Tibet, while Mirzá Abú Bakr went to Khoten. But, seeing no possibility of making a stand in the citadel there, he marched on to Kurághurtágh, whither he was followed, in hot pursuit, by a party of Moghuls. As the roads were difficult, it would have been hard—nay, impossible, for him to carry off all the property he had with him; he therefore collected it all together, and set it on fire. I have heard from those who had charge of it, that there were nine hundred mule-loads of embroidered and brocaded garments. Many

[1] A play on the words *Yugh* and *Tugh*.—R

of them were embroidered in gold in the European, Ottoman [*Rumí*], and Chinese fashions, while some of the robes were studded with jewels and all kinds of precious stones. All these were consumed in the fire; while his gold and silver vases, cups, utensils, kinds of ornaments set with jewels, and his saddle-bags filled with gold-dust, he threw from the barge into the River Ak Tásh, which flows through the middle of the valley of Kuinghut[gh]. He killed his riding horses *tupchák* and mules. Then, taking what it was possible to carry on such a road, set out for Tibet.

On reaching Tibet [Ladák], he found that all the forts which he had garrisoned had been abandoned by his men, who had fled in different directions; so that his forts and treasures had again fallen into the hands of the infidels of Tibet. Hence he could do nothing in that country. He could discern no shore of safety from amid the furious waves of hardship and trial, which tossed around him. *Mírzá Abú Bakr had now for a space of forty-eight years*[1] *so filled* the book [of life] with black records, that there was no space left to write anything more. He had devoted all his energies to accumulating earthly goods, and the pen is unable to describe his worldly magnificence. But, although he used ostentatiously to speak of the next world, and to express hopes of attaining it, yet he never performed an action that did not, as it were, open to him a door of hell or shut upon him a gate of paradise. Between himself and paradise was a long road . . . .[2]

In short, in the fulness of time, he reaped the fruits of his past misdeeds, — that finding it impossible to remain in Tibet, he preferred death to life. Leaving his family and children there he departed, saying: "I am going [to give myself up to the Khán]. It is evident that I shall be killed with the poison of oppression. *If this happens, bury my body in the sepulchre of my ancestors.* Although I have not discharged the duties of kinship towards Sayyid Muhammad Mírzá and Mírzá Haidar, I beg you to show them kindness. And if, contrary to my expectations, they should not kill me, I have still a plan [which may be executed]." With such intentions he set out, towards the middle of winter, to visit the Khán. On his way, he met with a party of his own servants, whom my uncle had sent into Tibet to fetch him, threatening them with this and that [penalty] if they did not succeed. When Mírzá Abú Bakr met them, he asked their news; they replied: "We have been sent to find you;" and then they stammered together a few lies to try and reassure him. But he did not believe them, and

[1] This figure evidently has reference to Abú Bakr's reign, and not to his age. If we count from the death of Muhammad Haidar Mírzá in 808, Abú Bakr's reign would be thirty-five years. But he was in power parts, if not the whole of the country, at intervals, for some years during this Mírzá's lifetime. It is not clear from [illegible] event our author dates Abú Bakr's reign of forty-eight years.

[2] Three lines of rhetoric are omitted here concerning Abú Bakr's evil deeds.

said: "All I want you to do is to take me, living, before the Khán and Sayyid Muhammad; after that, you can do what you please." They hammered out mute professions of readiness to comply with his wish. Then, as it was late, having said his night prayers, he went to sleep, and the saying "Sleep is the brother of Death," was verified in his case. When he returned to rest, the men of the party consulted together, resolved to cut off his head and carry it to the Khán, [as this would open an important service] and cause the Khán to place confidence in them.

But as he was, these people [should not have] betrayed their charge, and used perfidy in place of good faith. However, they cut off his head while he slept and then returned, — shall be named shortly. Thus were all his subjects—prince and pauper, high and low—delivered from his wickedness. [Verses, etc.] . . .

CHAPTER XLVIII.

THE CONQUEST OF KÁSHGHAR.

Having taken the citadel of Yangi-Hisár in the manner above described, the Khán turned his attention to [the reduction of] Káshghar. On the third day he learnt that the garrison of Káshghar had climbed out from their citadel and taking their horses, had fled to whatever place each thought best for himself. The Khán's noble mind loathing this, in the most satisfactory manner, set out with regard to Káshghar, he placed the foot of success in the stirrup of victory, and from his reins swells Yárkand, confident of success and triumph. He sent Khwája Ali Bahádur in advance . . . Verses . . . The first stage from Yángi-Hisár is Sílik, and here the Khán pitched his camp. [On the same day] news came that Mirzá Abú Bakr, having given over Yárkand to the charge of his son Jahángir Mirzá, had retired to Khotan. [On hearing this news] the Khán hastened still more, and on reaching Kizil heard that Jahángir Mirzá also had fled, and that Khwája Ali Bahádur had entered Yárkand. At the end of Rajab of the year 920, the Khán made his triumphant entry into the town of Yárkand, and with the splendour of his glittering sword, he allayed the dust of tyranny and enmity [etc.] . . . .

Before [his army] entered the town, he sent — Amín Khán Ali and Beg Muhammad to occupy Khotan, he also despatched an

pursuit of Mirzá Abá Bakr, seven have generals namely, Kará Kulak Mirzá, Hiji Mirzá, Sultán Ali Mirzá, Nazar Mirzá, Mir Kambar, Mirzá Ali Taghái and Beg Kuli Makrit. Those seven generals started in pursuit with the greatest eagerness. This affair having been attended to, the Khán issued a general order that every one might go and plunder wherever he liked. And every man of the army who cared for pillage and booty, immediately hastened out [to take advantage of the permission]. Only a few of the Amirs, who held plundering to be derogatory, remained *in attendance on the Khán.* Having settled this matter also, the victorious Khán mounted the throne of the town. He then went up to the citadel [*ark*], within which were many lofty buildings, containing each of them, rooms and upper apartments and battlements, so numerous as to astound the beholder. And these buildings were filled with cloths, chintzes, carpets, porcelain ornaments, horse-trappings, saddles, bows and other things useful to man. All these things had been seized by Mirzá Abá Bakr, or procured by whatever means he chose to employ, and had been hidden away by him, so that no one might know of their existence. Of such as remained over, Mirzá Jahángir had destroyed and wasted as much as he was able; and on his departure had sanctioned a general pillage, which, until the arrival of Khwája Ali Bahádur, was carried on by the whole population each taking what he could. When Khwája Ali Bahádur entered the town, he, likewise, devoted himself to pillage. Seven days later the Khán arrived, and he too gave his men permission to plunder right and left. Everything in the way of money, as well as the valuable cloths and stuffs, had been carried off, but the houses were still full [of other things]. Two months after the flight of Mirzá Abá Bakr, there were still great quantities of cottons and the like, lying about the houses and passages, but no one had cared to carry away. [*Five complete*]. . . .

Thus, all that Mirzá Abá Bakr had, in the course of forty-eight years, amassed with infinite toil, and guarded with savage watchfulness, he was finally obliged, with a thousand heart-rendings, to abandon, while the Khán, with one stroke of his pen, gave it all over to a general sack, and during two months the dust thereof rose to the sky. Verses . . . .

At the end of two months, every man returned safely laden with plunder from different directions—and presented the Khán *with tribute* [*peshkash*], *according to the quantity of booty he had* taken. But the Khán, in order to win the hearts of his people, divided the property up into shares [*tyaghal*] in accordance with the old Moghul custom, and distributed it among his soldiers. I remember distinctly that some of the Amirs who had come from Kuanghutágh, presented, besides arms [*álát* and vases, an Andijáu

man of gold-dust. Now an Andijan *man* is sixty-four *chárik* and a *chárik* is 400 *mithkál*.[1] From this the extent of the rest of the booty may be conceived.

CHAPTER XLIX.

STORY OF THE AMIRS WHO WENT IN PURSUIT OF MIRZÁ ABÚ BAKR.

Those nine Amirs whom the Khán had sent off to settle affairs in Khotan and to pursue Mirzá Abú Bakr, started off with great eagerness and exerted themselves to the utmost of their powers. On reaching Khotan, the inhabitants came out to receive them, and delivered into their hands all their treasuries and granaries, their flocks and herds, and everything connected with those Mir Dáim Ali and Mir Beg Muhammad, according to [the Khán's] orders, stayed in Khotan, and occupied themselves with the administration of the State and the government of the people. The other seven Mirs, like the seven-headed devils fighting on the top of the mountains of Kif, swept on to Karánghutágh, but when they arrived there, found that Mirzá Abú Bakr had left the mountains of Karánghutágh, and had gone on to Tibet [Ladak], in which direction it was difficult to follow him.

When they came to the bridge over which Mirzá Abú Bakr had thrown his officers, they found the roads blocked with the carcases of the *tupchák* horses [that were spoilt], which he had killed, and of the mules, on which had been loaded the saddle-bags *khurjins* full of money and stuffs. I do not quite recall whether there were 900 mules or 900 strings *katár*[2] of mules. They next came to the spot where he had burnt his brocades, etc., and saw that those valuables were become an ash-heap from which smoke was still rising. The gold and precious stones with which these clothes had been adorned, were still remaining. These they gathered together, the ashes, and found that the jewels and rubies had not been affected [by the fire]. But the turquoises [*firoza*] had turned black, and become brittle. No trace of their

[1] No doubt Abú Bakr plundered the country and accumulated a large amount of property and some [of] these [exaggerations] of Mirza Haidar on this subject, in this chapter and the next, are too apparent to require pointing out. As regards the Andijání *man*, if the data he gives are correct, and if the *mithkál* here cloaked as the exact numismatic value of 71·18 grains, the *chárik* should weigh 50·32 oz. troy, or, roughly speaking 5 lbs.: so that the Andijání *man* of gold would be nearly 320 lbs. troy and its value some £150.

[2] A *katár*, or string of mules or ponies, consists usually, of four in the hills and of five in the plains.

original colour was left. The rubies *lál* too, were broken into little pieces, and had changed to an ugly colour. The pearls were reduced to ashes so that they could no longer be distinguished; also the amber—which had lost all its charm.

The Amins and then men, having gathered what they could from the ashes again set on upon them road, when they suddenly noticed the boxes of gold-dust shining, at the bottom of the river. Indeed the jewelry *kalá* and vessels of silver and gold, shone forth the rays of the sun, as it were, from the depths of the stream. They thereupon proceeded to attempt the recovery of these valuables, from the water. The river was rushing over the rocks in such a torrent that no one could, by any device, have entered it. So each man prepared a long pole, at the end of which a hook was attached. To reach the bottom, it was necessary to join several of these poles together. *Now when Mirzá Abú Bakr had thrown these treasures into the river, he had ordered his men to cut the box cases into pieces, so that the gold-dust might be scattered in the water* But since the cutting up of the cases took a long *time, and the Mirzá was impatient to go forward,* he *[finally]* ordered them to be thrown in just as they were, and thus they had *remained from that time*

When they struck the cases, their hooks broke most of them in *pieces, and [the contents]* were washed away by the current. Sometimes however, if a man took great care, it did not break, and was lifted out of the water. They were found to contain a mule's-load each Such of the vases and vessels as had handles, or something to lay hold of, were hooked up, but nothing was recovered upon which a firm hold with the hooks could not be obtained They only seemed a very small quantity of the gold-dust, about a hundred-thousandth part of the whole. However, they were enriched by what they did secure, and got more than enough to enable them to realise all their desires. A present, as compared with those times, all this wealth and all those Moghuls are as a mere drop in the ocean.

CHAPTER L.

CONCLUSION OF THE STORY OF MIRZÁ ABÁ BAKR'S OFFSPRING.

After the victorious Khán had settled all his important affairs in Yárkand, it was discovered that Mirzá Jahángir had not followed his father into Tibet but that he had settled down in the district

of Sinju. The Khán, thereupon, sent my uncle along back his nephew, by some means or other. When my uncle reached Sáju, Mirzá Jahángir came out to receive him, offering rich gifts, and said to him "It is evident to all, but during my father's reign I lived in retirement and in mortal dread of him. During all that time, I did not enjoy a single moment's security or freedom from anxiety. Fear of violence had always made me seek seclusion, and thus the eye of my nature became closed to the splendours of wealth and rank, and I have always been obliged to drink from the cup of dissatisfaction. When the evil foundations of my father's realm began to give way, and his power to crumble from the earthquakes caused by the Khán's forces, he drew me forth from my corner of seclusion, and set me upon the throne of pomp. And I, who during, for [illegible] years, being in fear and trembling for my life, had never gained any experience of the world, how could I suddenly be expected to [illegible] the whole State? Besides these difficulties, it was my father's constant practice, whenever he stripped one of his children of the garments of life, to lament the unfortunate victim in my presence, saying, 'He was a full grown youth. I dreaded lest he might treat me as Shiruya rooted Khusrau and Abdul Latif Mirzá treated Ulugh Beg Mirzá.'[1] Hearing such things as this, I endeavoured to the utmost, for the sake of my personal safety, to appear very inefficient in my behaviour. How shall I, who have thus spent forty-two years in cultivating helplessness revive, in one moment, the welfare of a State which my father himself has ruined? Moreover, I have no information concerning any of my father's affairs. Nor has any one ever experienced so much [illegible] an inconvenience, at my hands. Whatever the people have suffered is due to my father. They do not blame me, nor hold me responsible for his sins. Let me now go to the Khán, and spend the rest of my days in his service." Words of abject humility, such as these, and many more like them, he continued to pour forth; but my uncle comforted him, and conveyed him, together with much treasure and many horses, before the Khán.

Mirzá Jahángir was born of one of the daughters of Isán Bugha Khán, the youngest brother of Yunus Khán, who was the Khán's grandfather. At the time when Mirzá Abú Bakr captured Aksu, the residence of Alisha Khán (which event has been fully described above), the fourth daughter of Aláchá Khán fell into his hands. And he took care of her and treated her with great honour. When she was of age, he gave her in marriage to his son Jahángir Mirzá. The latter, arriving now in the Khán's presence, was

[1] These allusions are (1) to a fable in the *Shah-námah*, where Khusrau is said to have been killed by his son Shiruya; and (2) to the murder of Mirza Ulugh Beg of Máwará-un-Nahr, by his son Abdul Latif, in the year 1449.

received with respect, and this fourth daughter of Alácha Khán, whose [illegible] Khadija Sultán Khánim, also joined the Khán, whose full-sister she was. The Khán showed favour to Jahángir Mirzá, in accordance with the verse, "I will not ascribe to thee the sins of others"; and ignoring the cruelties and hideous deeds of his father, entered him among the men of trust around his person, and promised that feasts should be celebrated in honour of Khadija out of regard for her noble birth.

One night towards the end of that winter, Jahángir Mirzá was killed in Yángi-Hisár, together with several of his followers. It was never known who committed this deed. Every one had his own suspicions, but God alone knows the truth. Mirzá Abú Bakr had many children. Several of his grown up sons he had put to death, with the most horrible tortures, for totally inadequate reasons. Of those that survived, the eldest and most honourable was *Jahángir Mirzá, whose fate has been related.* There were two other sons, named Tangir Mirza and Bustangir Mirza, the children of the daughter of Mirzá Sultán Mahmud, son of Mirzá Sultán Abu Said.

In the spring following the winter in which Jahángir Mirzá had been murdered, a person was sent to Tibet to bring back the family of Mirzá Abú Bakr, his wife, Khánzáda Begam, and her elder son, Tangir Mirza, were thus brought to Káshghar. In conformity with the custom of the *Yasa*, she was married to my uncle, while Tangir remained in the Khán's service, until he was drowned in the river.

Bustangir Mirza did not accompany his mother and brother. He went from Tibet to Kashmir and thence into Hindustán. (At that time Bábar Pádisháh had not conquered Hindustán.) From Hindustán he returned to Kábul, but although he was [the son of the daughter of the Emperor's uncle], his father's misdeeds made him repulsive to the Emperor, so that he could not stay in Kábul, but fled into Badakhsán, to Mirzá Khán, who was his maternal uncle. Mirzá Khán, however, instead of showing him the affection of an uncle, displayed hostility towards him on account of his father, Mirzá Abú Bakr, so that he was forced to fly from him also, and betake himself to the Uzbeg Sháibání. Sayunjuk Khán received him with the utmost courtesy and honour, saying: "He is a human being, and it is incumbent on us to treat him with kindness."

He is still about Andijan and Táshkand, where he enjoys high distinction, and is famous among the Uzbeg for his honourable conduct.

CHAPTER LI.

HISTORY OF THE KHÁN AFTER THE CONQUEST OF KÁSHGHAR.

As soon as the Khán had reduced the State to order, he bestowed liberal gifts and rewards upon his followers, especially upon those who had distinguished themselves in battle, by their courage and daring, these have been enumerated above. [Verses] . . . He poured down favours, more plentiful than drops of rain, upon his soldiers, and by the splendour of his justice, he dispelled the darkness of tyranny which had settled on the inhabitants of the country. [Verses . . The roads which had before been too dangerous to traverse, were now made so safe and tranquil as to become proverbial, that if an old woman were to travel along them, bearing a jar of gold on her head, she would not be molested At that time there was a popular song which ran, "A solitary person may carry a jar of gold from east to west, for the respect he [the Khán] inspires, ensures all corners of the earth to be safe" But what is yet more remarkable, and more credible, is that if for example a woman should leave a vessel full of gold and proceed on her road, she would, on returning at any time, find it untouched. [Verses] . . . .

Into such a complete state of order did the Khán bring the kingdom, that the doors of pleasure and the gates of security were opened to high and low alike. And now all the people gave themselves up to wine and song and dancing. Verses and rhetoric . . .

The entire population of the country, and the Khán and his courtiers in particular, turned night into day and day into night in draining the wine cups, nor did they care to learn of events that were passing around them Verse . . . . "I came intoxicated to thy street and I left mad. I know not how I came nor how I departed." Revelling became so much the fashion that sobriety was held as a disgrace, and drunkenness ▬ ▪ cardinal virtue. These illicit indulgences *manáhi*] lasted from Rajab of the year 920, to the end of the year 928, after which time the Khán was, by the favour of Heaven, defended from exposing himself to further censure, as shall, God willing, be related in its proper place.

CHAPTER LII.

ARRIVAL ■ AIMAN KHWÁJA SULTÁN FROM KURÁN TO WAIT ON [illegible]

In the middle of this winter, Aiman Khwája Sultán arrived The explanation ■ as follows In the list given of the offspring of *Sultán Ahmad Khán, it was noticed that* Aiman Khwája Sultán was the full brother of the Khán. After the death of Sultán Ahmad Khán, when Aksu, on account of the hostility of Amir Jalá Bádi, fell under the domination of Mirzá Abú Bakr, all Sultán Ahmad's children, together with the tribe [*Ulus*,[1] migrated to Turfán and Chákish, and Mansur Khán reigned in his father's stead

All his brothers were in his service, as was also this Aiman Khwája Sultán, till he attained to adolescence, when, at the instigation of some seditious persons, he laid claim to the throne—an act which resulted in an insurrection [*khurúj*] and much intrigue. At first Mansur Khán acted generously in counselling him to desist and in forgiving him, but finally, since Aiman Khwája Sultán would not cease to urge his claims, Mansur Khán ordered him to be put to death On Yúnika Atíka, the Khán's trusted servant, was imposed the duty of carrying out the order, but he took Aiman Khwája Sultán to [his own] house and hid him in an underground [chamber], spreading the report that he had put him to death. Not long after this, came news of the Khán's victory over Mirzá Abú Bakr, and the conquest of Káshghar. [Thereupon] Mansur Khán repented his deed, and showed strong marks of regret and sorrow. Yúnika Atíka represented that learned men had said: "'It is an easy matter to deprive ■ man of his life's breath, but life cannot be restored to a dead man' I acted in opposition to orders, and have kept him safe.' On hearing this the Khán was overjoyed, and expressed his gratitude to Yúnika Atíka, who brought forth Aiman Khwája Sultán from the house Aiman Khwája Sultán on being set at liberty went to Bábák Sultán, the full brother of Mansur Khán, who had lately settled in Kugan and Bái

Those places Mirzá Abú Bakr had destroyed, and they had remained for some time in ruins, but Bábák Sultán restored them. He lives there to the present day. Thence taking leave, [Aiman Khwája] proceeded to Káshghar, and when the Khán heard

[1] It is not clear what *ulus* or tribe is alluded to. Probably the family of Ahmad Khán, together with his relations and retainers, is all that is meant; but the word *ulus* is more elastic than a mere tribe.

he was coming, his joy know no bounds; ■ now delight sprang up in his hea . In accordance with his frame of mind, he begun to sing: "*Har dam az in bágh bar mi-kand: Láza tár láza tar mi-kand*" (At that time I often heard the Khán sing this song) [Complet] . . . . The Khán did all that was possible to make the reception of Aiman Khwája Sultán a splendid one, and in his affection, honoured him so far as to go out himself and receive him [*istikbál*]. He treated him as a brother in his domestic life [*buyutát*. All that winter was spent in entertainments and banquets, and with the setting in of spring, princely feasts were celebrated in honour of Aiman Khwája Khán The Khán selected men (as retainers) for him from among all the Moghul tribes. Sáink Mirzá, ■ Dughlát and nephew of Mir Jabá Birdi, was appointed to be his *Ulusbeg*. The greatest of his Amirs of the right wing [*bárúnghár*, namely, Munka Beg (who has been mentioned in the battles of Káshghar), Nazar Mirzá, brother to Mir Ayub Begjik, and others, together with a select band chosen from among the various tribes and *Ulus* of the Moghuls, were sent to Aksu [with Aiman Khwája] The inhabitants of Aksu also, whom Mirzá Abá Bakr, after conquering the place, had led away to Káshghar, were now permitted - nay, rather urged—to return, all together. Thus, in the beginning of the year 921, Aiman Khwája Sultán repaired to Aksu.

At the time of his conquest, Mirzá Abá Bakr had laid waste Aksu and all its dependencies, and had carried its inhabitants away to Káshghar. He had also placed a lightly armed [*jarida*] garrison in Uch,[1] which is a strong place This garrison carried on a little cultivation of the soil. When [the Khán] conquered Káshghar, he immediately sent to Uch to fortify it, in the same way that Mirzá Abá Bakr had done. Aiman Khwája Sultán, setting out at once, proceeded to Uch, and there pitched his camp Having restored the cultivation of the town and its districts, he went on, during the second year, to Aksu, where he rebuilt the citadel. The rest of Aiman Khwája Sultán's life will be told in a fitting place.

[1] By *Uch* is meant, no doubt, Uch-Turfan

CHAPTER LIII.

THE KHÁN (IN SPITE OF HIS BRAVERY) GRAVELY AN IN AVIEW WITH MANSUR KHÁN AND SUBMITS TO HIM.

The Almighty Creator, at the beginning of the world, so ordained that nothing but good should proceed from the souls whom He had endowed with laudable qualities and appraiseworthy of praise, so that even when treated badly, they should return good for evil. This truth is instanced by what follows.

It was explained at the beginning of this book, that the Khán was in Moghulistán with his brother,[1] that the Kirghiz were subject to them, and that they lived in comparative comfort and security, till Mansur Khán led an expedition against them. The opposing armies met at Chárun Chálák,[2] and a fierce battle ensued, in which these two brothers were ultimately defeated. On this account they were unable to remain longer in Moghulistán, and all other asylums in the world being closed to them, they were obliged to retreat into the province of Farghana. Sultán Khalíl Sultán, the Khán's brother, was drowned by the Sultans of Sháhi Beg Khán in the river of Akhsi, while the Khán himself was thrown into prison, whence he finally escaped to Kábul in the guise of a kalandar. The details of these events have all been given above. It was at the hands of Mansur Khan that the Khán suffered all these calamities. Verse| .... The enmity of brother to brother is worse than that of other foes. But when the Khán had laid the foundations of a lasting State, had collected a countless host and gathered round him the most distinguished warriors [verses] .... the surrounding rulers began to be sorely afraid of his might and majesty. More especially [was he feared by] Mansur Khán, who, having fled from Mirzá Alí Baki, had retired to Tufán and Ofárish, and now had neither strength to oppose, nor place of refuge to fly to. The saying: "Alas! they have stopped my road on six sides," now became applicable to Mansur Khán. Furthermore, Aman Khwája Sultán had attached himself to the Khán, who recounted to him all he had endured at the hands of Mansur Khán, and opened afresh his old wounds.

All the chiefs of the State, and the nobles, were unanimous in wishing to lead an army against Mansur Khán, and to attack

[1] Khalíl Sultán.

[2] This place has been mentioned before under the same form. I cannot identify it, but [illegible] it may be the same as the *Jarun* mentioned in the account of one of Timur's invasions of Moghulistán. If this is the case, it lay probably not far to the westward of Sairam, perhaps somewhat to the upper waters of the Talás.

'Umrán. They represented that: "When he had the opportunity, Mansur Khán did what has been related, if he is given his own way, he will do such things as cannot be told. It is therefore fitting that we should fall upon him at once, and in such a way that our minds may be set finally at rest with regard to him." To this the Khán replied: "The duty of the young, is obedience; that of adults is favour [*ináyat*]. If the young neglect their duty, it is incumbent upon their elders to correct them. . . .[1] At this time, the elder brother is in the place of the father. To him reparation can be made for disobedience to the father." He then sent several ambassadors [to speak as follows]: "What I have suffered from my elder brother (that is to say Mansur Khán) was all on account of my own shortcomings. Even if this were not the case, the elder brother is the father's successor, and although he has treated his younger brother with the reverse of kindness, how should this younger brother venture (in his position of son) to overstep the prescribed limits? [Verse . . . Forgiveness for past offences is now humbly solicited. May they all be swept from the recesses of your blessed memory. I would, moreover, crave for permission to kiss the carpet at your noble feet. From our [meeting] many advantages will result. One of them being that you will wash away, with the water of good-will, the stains of my offences. Another that (thanks be to God) from this victory our friends will derive strength and elation, while our enemies [will foresee] disaster and despair. If we meet in harmony, our troubles will be at an end, and the backs of all evil-wishers will be broken." Many other advantages were mentioned, which it is needless to set out. Verse] . . . .

When Mansur Khán saw all those ambassadors arrive, one after the other, bearing costly gifts his soul, which had risen to his lips,[2] was refreshed with unbounded joy. After much passing backwards and forwards of envoys, and the discussion of preliminaries, an interview was arranged.

[1] The lines of asterisks, in the absence of other evidence, may indicate that the text has been abridged.—R.

[2] Or, "was about to take flight", as from the Persian.—R.

CHAPTER LIV.

TRANSACTIONS OF MANSUR KHÁN.

The context here demands some further details of the life of Mansur Khán. He was the eldest son of Sultán Ahmad Khán, *son of Yunus Khán.* The *experiences of* Sultán Ahmad Khan's elder brother, Sultán Mahmud Khán (which have been touched upon in their proper place in this book, and will be mentioned, in detail in the First Part, are briefly as follows.

[Sultán Ahmad Khán] dismissed the old Amirs of Yunus Khán, and set up in their places some mean persons [*arázil*] whose flattery suited the Khán's nature. To these men he gave up the management of all important affairs of State, and they, with their narrow-minded views and want of judgment, so worked upon the Khán, that he estranged his old friends—that is to say, the Uzbeg Kazáks and the kings of the Chaghatái—and made new ones of his old enemies, thinking that they would be his true allies; but these [in the end] ruined him.

Thus Shál-i Beg Khán, after he had, with the assistance of Sultán Mahmud Khán, defeated the Chaghatái and conquered Máwará-un Nahr, turned against Sultán Mahmud Khán and took *Táshkand [from him]. [Verses] . . . .* When Sultán Ahmad Khán heard of the helpless condition of Sultán Mahmud Khán, brotherly love began to glow in his heart. Seizing the skirt of fraternal affection with the hand of resolution, he, in the course of the year 907, set out towards Táshkand to the relief of his brother, leaving, in his own place, his eldest son Mansur Khán, with absolute authority and power over the whole of Chálish, Turfán, Bái, Kuna Aksu, and Moghulistán.[1] The events that now followed in Táshkand have been already related. When Ahmad Khán returned, defeated and sick, to his capital Aksu, he was met in state by his son Mansur Khán. After ordering the city, he became anxious about his illness, and sent Mansur Khán away to Turfán, where the latter remained till his father's death, when he returned to Aksu. But Sultán Mahmud Khán, despising the sovereignty of Aksu, left it and went to Moghulistán. [Verses] . . . .

Mansur Khán continued to dwell in Aksu, and Amir Jahán Bardi in Uch. This Amir Jahán Bardi was a Dughlát, and filled the post of *Ulusbegi* under Sultán Ahmad Khán, by whom he had been held in the highest honour and esteem. Indeed, he was a wise

[1] The year 907 fell in 1501-2. At the time it will be remembered, Abú Bakr was in possession of the rest of the Moghul dominions.

man and worthy of his rank he held, for he was without an equal as an administrator. Various . . . . In those turbulent days he was of the greatest value. But Mansur Khán, for he is now explained above namely, that kings are not always able to estimate the value of their inheritance, prepared putting Amir Jalá Birdi to death, saying: "Until I have put him out of the way, I shall never feel safe on the throne." As a fact, the very reverse of this was true. When Amir Jahán Birdi [became aware of this design], though he lamented and bewailed the matter much, he exerted himself in every possible way to avert the impending danger. He continued to carry on the Khán's business and offered explanations [*sulhanán guft*]. But it was of no avail. he saw that nothing but his death would satisfy the Khán. He therefore set about planning his own safety, and sent a messenger to invite Mirzá Abú Bakr to come.

Now this had been the Mirzá's intention, independently of the invitation, so he mustered and equipped, like a flash of lightning, at the head of 30,000 men. Amir Jalá Birdi offered him the best presents he could command] and himself became the guide *yasal* of his army. He went in advance, while Mirzá Abú Bakr followed after. Mansur Khán, being informed of those movements, took away as many men as he could muster and [started off 'Turfán], while the rest, together with some of the Arms, stayed to defend the citadel of Aksu. Mirzá Abú Bakr came up, and took the citadel by storm, then, forming a junction of his troops, with those of Amir Jahán Birdi, he conducted forays against Ilái and Kusan. All the inhabitants of those districts were carried off to Aksu, so that he country became completely depopulated.

Then Amir Jahán Birdi said to Mirzá Abú Bakr. "It must be quite evident to you, that I have now proceeded against the expected protection of the Moghul Khákáns. I had treated them as no one ever treated them before. I have now fallen to the winds of perdition both throne, kingdom, and men, their wives and children. My loyalty now prompts me to go again, and utterly devastate Bái, Kúsán and Aksu [and transport the inhabitants to Káshghar], while I am followed by a light-armed [*yasáki*] force. My household and family shall go with you. You must give me leave to go to Ghúlsh and the mountains around, and I will drive all the inhabitants into your hands, in order that I may make an end of the Moghul Khákáns, and have no longer any cause to fear them.' Mirzá Abú Bakr highly approved of these plans, and having allowed Amir Jalá Birdi to depart, carried off his family, together with all the Moghul people. Thus did Amir Jahán Birdi make his wives and family a sacrifice for his own life; for, with the exception of two sons, he sent them all through with many misgivings *ahtimám* to Kásh-

ghar He displayed so much energy in the whole matter, that he won the entire confidence of Mirzá Abú Bakr, who, leaving his army with him, then returned.

Amir Jahán Birdi drove the [illegible] districts, open country, and uplands. The owls were left in possession of the cities and villages, while the plains were made over to the antelopes. *It would be impossible to give an idea of* the numbers of the flocks and herds, and the quantity of booty that he took in these countries *and cities*, all of which he carried back to Káshghar. Mirzá Abú Bakr entered Káshghar in great pomp. *Mir Jahán Birdi having, conducted countless forays with* Mirzá Abú Bakr's army, at length left it, he himself going into *Moghulistán*, while the army returned to Káshghar, having the flocks before them

Meanwhile, Mansur Khán reported of the designs he had entertained against Amir Jahán Birdi, and saw that prosperity was impossible without such men as he. So he sent a person after him, with apologies and entreaties to return. Mansur Khán was born of Mir Jahán Birdi's sister. Mir Jahán Birdi knew that Mansur Khán was sorry for what he had done; he therefore made an end of the quarrel [*az niza barkhást*], for he saw that if he did not go quickly, the effect of separation would be the entire destruction of Mansur Khán. So having accepted apologies and strengthened matters by concluding a covenant, he set forth [to visit Mansur Khán].

There is a story current at the present time, which is very appropriate, and which I give here. Talkhak died in Tirmiz. Before dying, he expressed a wish that he might be buried at a certain cross-way, that his tomb might be high, and that on it might be inscribed in large letters: "Every one who passes by here and repeats the *Fatiha* for my soul, may he be blessed, and if he do not repeat it, may his father be cursed!" Those who were present laughed, and asked: "But how can one avoid being a thing curses?" [The dying man] replied: "There is one means of escape, and that is to keep away from Tirmiz."[1] This saying applies to the situation of the Moghul Khánáns and Dughlát nobles. For [they reasoned], if they imitated Mir Jahán Birdi [in his behaviour towards Mansur Khán], they would save their own lives, but would be accused of ingratitude and disloyalty if, on the other

[1] *Tirmiz* is sometimes found written *Termedh*. The city was in the early Middle Ages a famous seat of learning and commerce, and stood on the north bank of the Oxus. *It was destroyed during the campaigns of Chingiz*, but was rebuilt in the fourteenth century, almost two miles away from the river bank. During the first half of the [illegible] century, the new town was visited and described by the Moorish traveller Ibn Batúta, who spoke of it as a great city provided with fine markets, numerous gardens and luxuriously built mansions. It has now passed almost out of existence. (See D'Herbelot's *Bibliothèque Orientale*, iii., pp. 56, 57, and Yule in Wood's *Oxus*, p. lxx.)

hand (following the example of my uncle), they remained faithful, and stood round the tomb of the late Khán, wailing and weeping, their hands would be struck off them and there: though it might be said of them that they were in appearance cowardly action. The result of remaining in the service [of the Moghul Khans] will in the end only be to gain the name of cowards or traitors. [Therefore it may be said, the only way to avoid these two bad names, is not to remain in the service of the Moghul Khans, nor to go near them.]

As my maternal uncle Mahmud Khán has said [couplet in Turki . . . .: "No one ever saw with fidelity from the world or its people. Oh, happy that man who has nothing to do with the world!"[1] Verses. . . .

But the pearls of those intentions found no place in the shell of the Moghul Khákán's ears. . . .[2] Thanks be to the Most High God that this servant has at length found the means of avoiding them. I were also probably [illegible] in further words in this matter.

To return to the thread of my narrative. Mansur Khán having given him every possible assurance of safety, took Amir Sabá Bardi back into his service, and after the return [of the Amir] the Khán's affairs began again to improve.

From the year 910, which is the date of [the commencement of] Mansur Khán's disturbed and turbulent reign, to the year 922 the date to which we have now reached in our history, Mansur Khán lived in Chálish and Turfán. During this period many important events occurred. In those years the brothers [of the Khán's family] quarrelled among themselves, and everybody in the Moghul tribes was at open variance. On this account, Mansur Khán dismissed the Amirs — an ancient order of Amirs — and, bringing the Kirghiz into his power by stratagem, put many of them to death. He once went to war with the Kipchák, and won a signal victory over them.

After these events, his government began to assume an orderly shape, which was due to the wisdom and tact of Mir Sabá Bardi. Toward the end of this period, Bábá Sultán separated himself from Mansur Khán, and together with his following, proceeded to Kusan. Mansur Khán pursued him, in person, and besieged him. His object, however, was not to destroy Bábá Sultán, so he sought terms of peace. The answer he received was, "Aiman Khwája Sultán was also [your] brother, and him you killed like a stranger. What reliance can I place on you, that I should make peace?" Now Aiman Khwája Sultán had devised treasonable

[1] The Persian is not clear in the above passages. I have, therefore, followed the Turki.—R.

[2] Here an omitted passage of two lines containing an untranslatable play on words, and some verses.—R.

[3] A.H. 910 to 922 would be 1504 to 1516 A.D.

plots, and on this account Mansur Khán had ordered Yúnáka Atíka to put him to death, but instead of his] Yúnáka Atíka had hidden him in an underground place, as has been already related. When Bibíják Sultán mentioned the affair of Aiman Khwája Khán, Yúnáka Atíka saw the Khán was much distressed, and represented: "I had the presumption to disobey the order, [and did not put him to death]." Thereupon Mansur Khán fell to commending Yúnáka Atíka, and Aiman Khwája Sultán was brought out. After this, Bibíják surrendered, and peace was made. Mansur Khán then returned, while Aiman Khwája Khán went to Kashghar, as has been mentioned already. Bibíják Sultán stayed on in Kusan, where he is to this day.

After this occurrence, negotiations for a peace ensued between the Khán and Mansur Khán. Mansur Khán came forth from Turfán, Kusan, and Bái, and sent Mir Jabár Birdi in advance. The meeting, which shall be described below, took place in the plains of Arbát.[1]

CHAPTER IV.

BIRTH OF ISKANDAR.

In the month of Jumáda II. 921, new fruit was added to the tree of the Khánate . . . .[2] As the Khán was the grandson of Sháh Begum, who was descended from Zulkarnain, he was called Iskandar. I earned from have found chronograms for this child's birth. Among them was Maulánd Muhammad Shirázi, who was one of the great *Ulama*, being not only versed in all the sciences, but also a skilled physician. For a space of thirty years he rendered praiseworthy services to the Moghul Khákáns, and was appointed *Sadr-i-Sudur*. Some details of his life will be given below. He discovered the chronogram "*Shah-i-Iskandar fan*" [a king equal in power to Iskandar]. Khwája Nur-ud-Din Abdul Vahid Tuhmi Kázi, who shall also be mentioned, found the date in "*Nakhl-i-Inam*" [the tree of Inam]. Many discovered "*Tankhaná shikan*" [army breaker]. There were many more, but I have given as many as I can remember.

At that time, the Khán's health was somewhat affected by his excessive wine-drinking. He, therefore, went to Moghulistán hoping to restore his health by a change of air. On his return, he

[1] *Arbát, Arvát* or *Arbat*, is a name borne by many places in the north-east of Aksu and west of Bai. The town (and perhaps still) was also called *Zamdán*, and lies in Eastern Turkistán.

[2] Here follows a historical omitted

said to me "To you, who are like a son to me, I have given my dear sister, who is a pearl in the shell of the Khánate. My hope is that if a child should be born to you, I may be a father to him as well as you. Thus, a child with two loving fathers; two fathers with one happy child. But since you have, up to this time, no offspring, you must look upon this servant mine Iskandar as your child, so that what I hoped of you, you may realise in me. If eventually you should have a son, he will be a brother to this child; if you should have no children, you will have no need of another son." Favours and kind words such as these, did he express to me and his sister; we accepted them with gratitude, and feasts were instituted and presents given. The life of Iskandar shall be presently related.

CHAPTER LVI.

REBUILDING OF AKSU AND NEGOTIATIONS OF THE AMBASSADORS OF MANSUR KHÁN AND THE KHÁN.

Aiman Khwája Sultán, having been sent to Aksu, deputed thither, and in the spring set about rebuilding the town, while amid assiduous backward and forward, between Mansur Khán and the Khán, to arrange a friendly settlement. In the summer the Khán's health became much impaired by excesses in wine-drinking, as was stated above, and he was finally seized with ague [*tap larza*]. Maulaná Shirázi, who was a talented man and a skilled physician, and who had spent all his life in attendance on the Khans, pronounced a change of air to be desirable. So the Khán betook himself to a place in Moghulistán not far from Káshghar. But as he did not yet trust the people of Káshghar, he left me in Yárkand, while he himself went on his way. I did all I could to keep order in the country. At the end of the autumn the Khán returned from Moghulistán, in good health; the pure air of those plains having cured him of the malady which indulgence in wine had produced in him. He alighted in Yárkand.

CHAPTER LVII.

DEATH OF HAZRAT MAULÁNÁ MUHAMMAD KÁZI.

In different parts of this history, the life of Hazrat Maulaná has been told, down to the point where he went to Aksu and its depen-

devotees Wherever he stayed the people received his blessing of his converse. In that province he gained many followers and devotees, all of whom were honoured by witnessing some miracle or wonderful act [Verses . . . .

When the Khán left Akhsi, Hazrat Maulání remained there. When Suyunjuk Khán came to that town, he waited on Hazrat Maulání and entreated him to honour Táshkand with a visit. He went to T'shkand, but a short time afterwards died . . . [Verses and rhetoric] . . . His intimates and followers discovered the date of his death in "*Nad-i-Khwája Ubaid Ulleh*" =922.[1] He was between sixty and seventy years of age, was versed in all sciences, and wrote several interesting and profitable works

His tracts are text books for the pious. Among his compositions is the *Salsalat ul Arifin*, written in excellent style. It is divided into three parts The first of these treats of the rules of Shaikhs and the conditions of discipleship. The second part contains the life of Hazrat 'Arifin, together with his wise sayings delivered in various assemblies, in the language of the country, also some of his miracles and wonders The third part comprises the sayings and miracles of various pious men The tongue is incapable of adequately praising this book There are about fifty parts.

Besides this work, he composed many pamphlets[*risálá*] Among them are answers to certain questions which in the course of different months *majlis*], I had the presumption to put to him. These together with some rules and maxims, he put into book form, but never found an occasion of giving it to me After his death, however, his son and successor, Maulání Kutb-ud Din Ahmad, sent it to me, and I have copied the whole first, as it stood, into this work I know well that, with my lack of literary capacity, this rough copy, written by the pen of carelessness, with the help of ignorance, will have but small merit in the eyes of critics, but I trust that the embellishment of the pamphlet will bring a blessing on my work and that my short comings may be overlooked. I look to the Pardoner of all Sins to forgive me my faults and errors in this Epitome, in consideration of the truths contained in the Hazrat's[pamphlet Verses . . .

[1] The year 922 began 5 Feb. 1516

[2] As the Maulana's pamphlet has no reference whatever to the history of the Moguls, or any historical matter, it is useful. It is a purely religious treatise, but is one, I believe, which is usually known as the *Salsalat ul Arifin*. It occupies about four folios of the Persian texts

CHAPTER LVIII.

MEETING OF MANSUR KHÁN AND SULÁN SA'D KHÁN, AND CONCLUSION OF TRADE BETWEEN THEM.

The winter was passed in Yárkand, in feasting and merry-making. As Turfán was a two months' journey from Káshghar, the negotiations of the ambassadors, the settlement of the place of meeting and other preliminaries lasted a whole year. In the month of Moharram 922, the Khán started for Aksu [Verses . . . . He entered Káshghar in great pomp and splendour. [On the road] I had a fall from my horse and dislocated my right elbow; it was a bad accident, and I was confined for some days in Káshghar before getting well. As soon as he [Sa'íd] began to abate, the Khán set out again, while I remained a few days longer in Káshghar. On my arm becoming sound, I followed the Khán and came up with him at Jái Tula whence we proceeded stage by stage to Uch. [Verses] . . . .

At that time Aiman Khwája Sultán was living in Uch, for Aksu was not yet inhabitable. On the Khán's approach, he came out to meet him with gifts [verses . . . and invited him to come and bless his house by alighting there. He entertained the Khán with royal banquets. Verses] . . . [Departing again the Khán passed Aksu and pitched his royal camp at a place called Jám, while Mansur Khán, coming from the opposite direction, reached Arát, which is seven *farsákhs* from Jám. Mir Jahán Birdi now came and waited on the Khán, and finally settled [under what conditions the two Kháns were to meet]. The two armies were to advance and stand opposite each other in battle array; hostages were then to be exchanged, the two Kháns were to come forward, each attended by thirty men selected from his own army, and were to meet between the two lines [of troops]. As soon as these plans had been agreed upon, was sent to Mansur Khán as a hostage. Aziz Báli was appointed to select the men who were to accompany Mansur Khán. I was received with much affection and friendship by Mansur Khán, who poured down honours upon my head. [Verses . . . .

When the King of the East placed his foot upon the steps of the throne of the firmament, and brought the whole world under the sway of his brightness, repulsing the powers of night, Mansur Khán set his noble foot in the stirrup and having drawn up his troops, rode forth. On reaching the trysting-place, he sent for Bábá Sultán and Shah Shaikh Muhammad, who were his full

brothers, and enjoined them to exercise caution and judgment Aziz Budi Aghá, standing at the head of the passage between the lines], told off exactly thirty persons. From the side of Mansur Khán, Sáhib Dawlat Begum, sister of Mir Jalá'u'd Dín, and Máhum Khánum, sister *hamshira* of Mansur Khán, were given as hostages. The Khán advanced from the other side, accompanied also by thirty persons. At the meeting place between the armies, awnings [*sáya bán* were erected. Couplet . . . . Mansur, advancing first, went and seated himself upon a throne under the shade of the awnings. Couplet . . . . Then the Khán came, and dismounted at a respectful distance. Couplet . . . .

When he had approached within the distance assigned by the Moghul custom, he fell on his knees *zámn-wad*. Although Mansur Khán was the elder brother, he got up, advanced towards the Khán, and embraced him affectionately [couplet] . . . ; then taking him by the hand, he walked towards the throne. When Mansur Khán was seated on the throne, the Khán rose up and returned to the place where he had first made his obeisance. [Two couplets] . . . . He then offered him such presents as became the dignity of both, while Mir Jalá'u'd Dín in presenting the gifts [*pishkash*] to Mansur, made an eloquent speech, as is the custom of those who observe the *Yasa*. Mansur Khán was pleased with his words, and accepted all the gifts. The Khán having knelt again, stood with his arms respectfully crossed on his breast. Mansur Khán then invited him to come and sit at his side, saying: 'Though I am your elder brother, but why should you, with your high rank, be so modest before me, who am in the place of a father to you?' The Khán, having once more made obeisance, expressed his profound respect for Mansur Khán, and returned to his seat. Mansur Khán called him forward again and repeated what he had said before, but with greater emphasis. He, moreover, took the Khán by the hand and drew him towards himself, when the Khán, having knelt again, took a seat beside him. Couplet . . . .

Mansur Khán began by asking, "How did you fare in those disturbed times?" To which the Khán, with every token of respect replied: "Misfortunes that end in success separations that terminate in union—are not remembered. The sweetness of the end causes the bitterness of the beginning to be forgotten. Two couplets . . . . Thanks be to God, that in one moment reparation can be made for what has happened during long years." They went on, then, to discuss policy, military tactics and justice; they also swore a solemn oath to remain at peace, and to strengthen the bonds of friendship. By the time they had finished all their business, the day was also ended. Mansur Khán next gave the Khán rich presents in the shape of horses and silver, brocades and embroidered robes. At the hour of bidding farewell they

embraced once more and exchanged the clothes they were wearing and the horses they were riding. They finally separated in the most friendly manner, and each went back to his own army.

When Mansur Khán returned to his own ranks, he called for me and explained all the particulars of the interview, as I have given them above. Thus conversing, he accompanied me from his troops to the camp. He said, "The thirst of longing and the hunger of absence cannot be satisfied with the small quantity of the wine of union" [Verses] . . . . He continued to speak in such terms until we arrived at the camp, which we did at about the middle of the first watch of the night. At sunrise Mansur Khán sent for me, and loaded me with favours and distinctions becoming his own greatness. He then permitted me to return, and having travelled all night, I reached the Khán [on the following day]. The Khán told me what Mansur Khán had said, and showed marks of regret at separation from him. The result of this peace was that soldiers and civilians — in fact, every individual — enjoyed full repose and freedom from anxiety, and testified their thankfulness to the two Kháns.

Ingenious scholars devised many chronograms to commemorate this happy event. Among others, the date was found to be contained in "*Du lashkar bu nishát*"—"Two armies in gladness"—922 [1516].

CHAPTER LIX

THE KHÁN'S RETURN AFTER THE PEACE.—SUBSEQUENT EVENTS AND VISIT OF MÍRZÁ SULTÁN.

[After the conclusion of this affair] the Khán made for Yárkand. At Sanjísh, which is three days' journey from Aksu, on the road to Káshghar, he separated from his army, and riding long stages (*ilghár*), arrived at Yárkand in six days. Here now displays of festivity and rejoicing were commenced [verses] . . . .; and every one, according to his means, made merry and rejoiced.

At the session of the Khán's return to Yárkand the King of Kings of the Firmament had placed the fourth throne of his sovereignty in the palace of Pamirs, and the Prince of the Flowers had pitched his tent on the plains. [Verses] . . . From the time of his accession to that day, a period of about two years, the Khán had lived in the citadel of Yárkand, both summer and winter. But this year, feeling his mind relieved of all its anxieties, when the season of flowers and foliage came round [verses] . . . he

changed his quarters from the town to the palace of Gul Bágh, [which had been] a favourite residence of Mirzá Abú Bakr. When the temperate days of spring changed to the oppressive heat of summer, the only way to keep in health was to sit under the shade of the trees. On this account the Khán retired to Gul Bágh, and there enjoyed the protection afforded by the shade of his garden. Meanwhile the army and the populace were dwelling in peace, and the nobles and pillars of the State lived in the lap of luxury and magnificence. Every brain had its scheme, and every scheme had a brain [to work it].

All the Amirs came to the palace of the Khán to sit in council, they made the following representation to him: [Most noble Khán] to day, by the favour of God's assistance, the arm of our State is strong enough to lay low its enemies, and annihilate its opponents at one blow. If you do not take vengeance on your enemies now, when will you be able to do so? If you do not destroy them now, when will you have the power to destroy them? [Verses] . . . .

Thus were the Khán's old projects revived, and he issued a mandate [*yárligh*] for the mustering of troops and preparation for an expedition. At the close of summer [922] he marched for Andijan, to make war on Suyunjuk Khán. He gathered all his army together in Kishghar, and set out from there. On reaching Tuyun Báshi, he resolved upon a hunt, and issued a mandate for the preparations. On the second day [the hunters] formed a ring. [The encirclers] . . . . When the hunt was at an end, they left that place and proceeded to encamp on the south side of Chidir Kul. There they learnt the approach of Báyándik Sultán. His reason for coming was, that on the occasion of Mansur Khán's interview with the Khán, Báyándik Sultán, being in the service of the former (whose full brother he was) could not go and wait on the Khán. But when an announcement had been made, he asked permission from Mansur Khán to do so, saying, that if he did not wait on his brother, he would be considered guilty of disrespect. Mansur Khán had given him leave, and he, having set off from his home at Bái and Kusan, was now arriving.

When he reached Káshghar, he learnt that the Khán had [just] left on his way to fight Suyunjuk Khán and was invade Andijan. He immediately moved on after him, and overtook him at Chádir Kul. The Khán, in his brotherly affection, was quite overcome with emotion, and though Báyándik was his junior in years, went out to receive him. He embraced him warmly, and bestowed upon him brotherly attentions and fatherly kindness. [Couplet] . . . . The Khán said: "I was then bent on avenging myself on my foes: to have summoned my brother at that time would have been open to misinterpretation. Thank God that we have both

obtained the fulfilment of our wishes. The arrival of my brother is as the commencement of conquest and victory.' So saying, the two brothers (Conquest and Victory, as it were) rode steadily side towards Andijan.

On reaching Arpa Yázi, they hunted the wild ass[1] the deer [*guzzun*] and other animals. So much game did they kill, that the beasts of the plains and the fowls of the air were able to feast upon the flesh, without fighting for it among themselves. Complete .... The Khán, from his ambush, brought down some game with every arrow he shot. When the hunt was over, a sumptuous banquet was prepared, in a delicious spot where the air was fresh as in the garden of Iram, and where the heavens seemed filled with birds from Paradise. Bábíják Sultán and Aman Khwája Sultán were in attendance on their brother the Khán, surrounded by a distinguished assembly. [Two couplets.]

When the feast was over, Bábíják Sultán represented apologetically as they made: "At the beginning of the spring I was guilty of a neglect of courtesy, I had longed for years to have the happiness of waiting upon you, but my aspiration could not then be realised. After that opportunity had elapsed, I saw that it would be respectful on my part, to come to your court at Yárkand and sprinkle my eyes with the dust of your palace. On receiving Káshghar, I heard of your expedition [against Andijan], whereupon I set out in all haste after you not waiting to collect an army or make ready the necessaries for an expedition. Thus did I come, [thinking] this time the preparations have been delayed; but next time [that I go against Andijan] my arrangements shall be perfect, and I will bring into my service all the Sultáns and soldiers, with their arms, that are to be found in my country. I will collect such a mighty host that it will be over a thousand and fold like, that the Khán has, in his train, subjects who entreat the kings of the earth. [If this proposition is acceptable to you, well and good]; if not, it will do no harm to change my plans. I am ready to devote myself, body and soul, to the Khán."

In reply to those words the Khán said: "For many years I have longed to see his dear brother. The most fitting form of thanksgiving is that we should return now, and spend a few days together. We will devote ourselves, until next spring, to preparations such as those described by our dear brother; we will then go forward. At the present time the occasion is not suitable; the season is too far advanced. While the enemy remains where he is,

[1] The Persian text has *Khar-gura*, the name of the animal until lately called in text the ordinary one of *Kulán*. It is the *Equus hemionus* the *Jigtai* of the Mongols and the *Kiang* of the Tibetans. Pallas, though somewhat different and full, is known by almost the same name as that used here by Mirza Haidar—viz., *Gúr Khar*.

we can advance whenever we choose. [Even though we do not go to Andijín at all, nothing will be lost."] So they turned back from Arpa Yázi, and travelled by a direct route towards Káshghar. Bábájá Sultán accompanied the Khán to Yárkand, and here they gave themselves over to feasting. The Khán lavished countless presents and inestimable favours upon him, while each of the Amirs offered presents according to his rank and means. [Verses] . . When these festivities had been concluded, Bábájá Sultán, having obtained leave to return to his own country, rode away in that direction. These events happened in the autumn of the aforesaid year [922 = 1516].

CHAPTER LX.

THE KHÁN'S HOLY WAR AGAINST SÁRIGH UIGHUR AND THE REASON FOR HIS TURNING BACK

The winter was passed in the festivities and enjoyments, above described . . .[1] The Khán's mind had always been occupied with plans for making a holy war (*ghazát*), and after much thought he finally decided [whom he should attack]. Between Khotan and Khitái there was a race of infidels called Sárigh Uighur, and upon these people he proceeded to make a holy war. It is a twelve days' journey from Yárkand to Khotan, and most of the stages are without cultivation or inhabitants. When the Khán reached Khotan, a change in his health became evident. The holy war is one of the supports of Islám and a plenary duty. The Khán desired to discharge this obligation towards his faith, but now that his health failed him, it was obliged to appoint certain Amirs to perform the duty for him, and having thus relieved himself of this necessity, he returned [to Yárkand]. On the homeward journey, cups of wine were brought every morning, and drinking went on all through the day, so that the *Khán and his companions*] were *generally* unable to distinguish the light from the darkness. At the end of a few days they reached Yárkand. In the autumn of that year, the expedition against the Kirghiz took place.

These Amirs who had been sent against the Sárigh Uighurs, after spending two months in the plains between Khotan and Khitái,

[1] Here occurs a tedious and detailed description, regarding the effects of opium upon nature.

returned in safety, laden with plunder, but without having seen or heard anything of the infidels.[1]

CHAPTER LXI.

THE KIRGHIZ CAMPAIGN AND THE CAPTURE OF MUHAMMAD KIRGHIZ.

In the account of the conquest of Kásh_har, it was mentioned that Muhammad Kirghiz had come from Moghulistán and, in those days of strife and turmoil, had rendered good service. After the conquest he became possessed of much spoil and booty. Moreover, on his departure, the Khán had loaded him with valuable presents, such as sword-belts, vases, and drinking-cups of gold and silver. Verses]. . . . On his return to Moghulistán all the Kirghiz had submitted to him. He combined plundering pursuit Turkistán, Táshkand, and Sairám, and created much alarm. The Shaibání Sultáns in those districts found great difficulty in repulsing him.

On one occasion he made an inroad on Turkistán, and had started to return. At that time Abdullah Sultán, the son of Kuchum Khán, was not yet Khán,[2] but he was Governor of Turkistán. He

[1] The county of the *Sárigh Uighurs*, or Yellow Uighurs (as we have seen it is to note at p. 1) is probably to be sought for to the east or south-east of Ch'ochán or perhaps more truly south of Lake Lob, though to judge from the indications of its position, derived by Dr Bretschneider from the *Ming Shi*, it would seem to have lain somewhat further eastward, at the head of the Yúrdus valley. It appears from Mirza Haidar's narrative of expeditions, as well as from many other notices, that the Sárigh Uighurs were usually included under the term Khatái, or Cathay, but in fact the Yellow Uighurs (*Sarí Uighurán*, while it is possible that the Khatái of Abú-l-Ghází and other writers may also be meant for the Sárigh Uighurs country. Plano Carpini (the Franciscan monk who visited the camp of Mangú Kán, at the very beginning of Innocent IV in 1246–47) also mentions a tribe of *Sari Ilhum*, or "pale-red," Uighurs, apparently identical with the Sárigh Uighurs. Abú-l-Ghází also mentions a tribe of Chinese of the same name in 1081 who appeared between Kuchá and the Lop country (this last would include probably the Yúrdus valley) and settled among the people of the "yellow-haired *Uighurs*" (Ilchi-khatái-jún). But it is a question whether this term implies that these people were of fair complexion like those of Kuchá, Karáshahr, and Turfán, or whether it points to the existence of some admixture of Indo-European blood with light hair, judging from numerous instances in Central Asia, of tribes supplanting or absorbing their neighbours after the latter have settled down for a time. If the yellow tint, or tendency to yellow cast, of hair may have been sufficient to account for the name. It will be remembered in the division of the territory that the Sárigh Uighurs were part of the inhabitants of the old Uighur states which lay south of the Tián Shán, and which have been mentioned in Nos. IV and V of the Introduction to this work. Like the Aryan or mixed Shighnán, Wakhán, and other Pámír tribes, the Uighurs formerly illegitimate mountain tracts, may have preserved their ruddy complexion—the name being also later distinction in the mass of the population from which they sprang (Bretschneider, i. p. 201; Rémusat, *Hist. de la Ville de Khotan*, p. 16).

[2] He became Khán in 1151, but legend only six months (Howorth, i. p. 727).

immediately set off in pursuit of Muhammad Kirghiz and overtook him when he was a some distance from the town. Muhammad Kirghiz turned upon him, and they closed in battle. After a [short] engagement the day was decided in favour of the Kirghiz. Most of their enemies they killed, but Abdullah Sultán was captured, kept by Muhammad Kirghiz for one day, and then sent back to Turkistán with the rest of his survivors. Muhammad Kirghiz sent their Khán a few horses, arms, and other suitable gifts, with the following excuse. "I made a vow that if any of the Shaibáni Sultáns should fall into my hands, would release them. I have been true to my word, and trust that I am forgiven. When the Khán heard this he was amused, and in the autumn of the year 928 marched upon Moghulistán with an army, *to punish Muhammad Kirghiz.* [*Verses*] . . . .

He assembled his forces in Káshghar. Khwája Ali Bahádur was appointed "Yazak" of that army. In the Turki language they called a *Karáoul* picquet or guard "*Yazal.*" On reaching Kásh Yári [they were joined by] Aiman Khwája Sultán, who had come from Aksu by way of Sárigh-at-Akhun. In the night I was decided that the Khán should proceed by way of Bárin Káun, and Aimán Khwája Sultán by way of Jarkan.[1]

On the next day, Aiman Khwája Sultán marched off on the Jarkan road, while the Khán proceeded in the direction of Bárin Káun. As they were descending from the pass of Bárin Káun, Khwája Ali sent two men of the Kirghiz, whom he had captured, with news that [Muhammad Kirghiz] and his followers were lying on the shores of Issigh Kul, at the mouth of the Bárin Káun stream, ignorant [of the approach of the enemy]. Now Issigh Kul is a month's march from Káshghar. That day they hastened their march and reached the mouth [of the pass, which is known as Hapa, at the hour of afternoon prayers. The Khán, attended by a few of his chief officers, went to reconnoitre and from a distance espied the tents and pasture-grounds of the enemy. As for the suns *also had sunk into darkness when Jonas had entered the fish's mouth* the commanders gave orders that of every ten men, four were to be fully armed in the centre of the force, and six were *to be equipped for rapid movements [chápkan]*: also that every man was to make ready his arms and be prepared for an assault. By midnight all were assembled and in order. When the sun rose . . . .[2] the army was drawn up in battle array on the level ground. All stood perfectly still, and the verse of "the dead

[1] Evidently the [illegible] of *Barlik* and *Yanka* (as shown on our maps) which lead across the range bounding the Issigh-Kul valley on the south. *Kásh-Yári* must have been the southern end of those passes, and *Sárigh-At* some distance to the south-east. (See Kostenko's *Turkistan*, vol. II. pp. 60-7.)

[2] The usual metaphor on sunrise is omitted in this passage, and will hereafter usually be omitted or abridged.

and the dumb" was vented. After a short interval, when it was seen that the whole army was in perfect readiness and order, there came a sudden blast from the trumpets and horns, mingled with the sounding of drums and cymbals and a cry of heroes. That portion of the army which had been told off for the attack, suddenly let loose the reins of patience, urged . . . . and rushed down. The whole of the attacking (*chápánchi*) party advanced, while the centre, as pre-arranged remained in one body and supported the assailants. When the sun had fully risen, Taka, the brother of Khwája Ali, who had distinguished himself by former services (which have been mentioned above), brought Muhammad Kirghiz bound before the Khán. The Khán said to him: "Although by the laws of the Turk, you are guilty of death, I will nevertheless, out of benevolence, spare your blood." And he issued a mandate for his imprisonment, under the charge of my uncle. The soldiers were enriched with his droves of horses, his flocks of sheep, and his strings of camels; while all the Kirghiz whom they had made prisoners, were set at liberty. [Verses]. . . . Having remained on the spot a few days, the Khán set out a his case for the capital, Táshghar, which, by the help of God, he reached at the beginning of the winter.

CHAPTER LXII.

DAULAT SULTÁN KHÁNIM, DAUGHTER OF YUNUS KHÁN, COMES FROM BADAKHSHÁN TO KÁSHGHAR.

I have mentioned above, in enumerating the offspring of Yunus Khán, that the young, st of all was Daulat Sultán Khánim. At the devastation of Táshkand, she fell into the hands of Timur Sultán, son of Sháhi Beg Khán, and remained in his haram till Bábar Pádisháh captured Samarkand, when she joined the Pádisháh. With the departure of the latter for Kábul, she separated from her nephew and went to Mirzá Khán, who was also her nephew, and remained [with him] in Badakhsháu. Mirzá Khán treated her as his own mother. On the Khán's return from Aksu, he sent for her; Daulat Sultán Khánim being his paternal aunt. The messengers bore her gifts from the Khán in the shape of horses, vessels of gold and silver and fine cloths. While the Khán was away on his expedition against the Kirghiz, she arrived at Yárkand from Badakhshán. On his return from the campaign he

went to visit his aunt, and thus all her relations of the Khánim — other maternal or paternal aunts had the felicity of meeting her. She remained here to the end of her previous life. An account of her end will be given at the close of the Khán's history.

CHAPTER LXIII.

CELEBRATION OF THE MARRIAGE OF AIMAN KHWÁJA SULTÁN AND SHÁH MUHAMMAD SULTÁN.

When Aiman Khwája Sultán came from Tímúr, he asked my uncle's daughter in marriage. My uncle willingly granted his request, and from that time forward was busy with preparations for the event. This winter the marriage festivities began.

Sháh Muhammad, son of Sultán Muhammad Sultán, son of Sultán Muhammad Khán, was still a child when his father and grandfather, together with many others, were put to death by Shíbi Beg Khán. One of the Uzbeg, Amirs, taking pity on him, saved him. When the Emperor went from Kábul to Kunduz, that Uzbeg sent off Sháh Muhammad Sultán to Kunduz, where he joined the Emperor, and remained in his service until the latter returned to Kábul, when he obtained permission to join the Khán in Káshghar. *This was one year after the conquest of Káshghar.* The Khán treated him as a son and honoured him even above Bábá Sultán, his brother's son, and Rashíd Sultán, his own son. While the festivities in honour of Aiman Khwája Sultán's marriage with my uncle's daughter were proceeding, it seemed to the Khán to give in marriage to Sháh Muhammad Sultán, his sister Khadija Sultán Khánim, whose story has been already related. After Jahángír Mirzá, son of Mirzá Alí Sháh, had been assassinated by some unknown hand, this Khadija Sultán Khánim, having survived him, had remained, respected and honoured, in the Khán's harem.

Thus these two important marriages were celebrated at one time . . . .[1]

When — time had been passed in feasting and rejoicing, an assembly of all the nobles, great men and pillars of the State, was convened, who, in the first place, fastened the marriage knot of the daughter of the Khán with Aiman Khwája Sultán, and after that, of Khadija Sultán Khánim (my maternal uncle's daughter,

[1] About sixteen lines of short verse, interspersed with verses descriptive of the banquets and festivities are left out here. R

and the Khán's full sister) with Shah Muhammad Sultán. . . [1] At the same time I built myself a house, and by way of compliment, some learned men invented hemistichs to commemorate the date of the event 21=1517 [2]

CHAPTER LXIV.

BEGINNING OF THE QUARRELS BETWEEN THE KHÁN AND MIRZÁ KHÁN. THE KHÁN'S FIRST INVASION OF BADAKHSHÁN.

During the summer which followed this winter, the Khán invaded Badakhshán. It came about in this way. In the story of Mirzá Abú Bakr, it was stated that after the reign of Khusrau Shah, the Mirzá had subdued several of the upper *Hazára* [districts] of Badakhshán, such as Sárigh Chupán, Ghund, Parvíz Yarkh, Past and Shiva-i-Shighnán.[4] Before Khusrau Shah was able to adopt any plan for avenging himself, he sustained a defeat at the hands of Sháh Beg Khán. But when Sháh Beg Khán established himself in the kingdom of Khusrau Shah, the Mir of the Hazára refused to yield to him, and after a few engagements, the Uzbeg were repulsed. In those days, all the upper districts *tang-i-bálá* of Badakhshán were held by Mirzá Abú Bakr.

After Mirzá Khán had established his power in Badakhshán, he was still trammelled [*dasmánda*] by the hostility of the Uzbeg. Nor was he able to restrain the ambitions of Mirzá Abú Bakr. [The country extending] from the upper defiles [*tang-i-bálá*] as far as Sárigh Chupán, had fallen under the possession of Kásh-ghar. "When your enemies are seated with each other, sit down at ease you on one side with your friends." [3] is a saying applicable to

[1] Here the text becomes illegible.—R.

[2] This is given in a verse of five lines, meaning the words: *ba dast-i-Mirza Haidar* = 921—R.

[3] Viz., the summer of 921 or 1515 A.D.

[4] All these names are readily recognised except *Parvíz*. At first sight it would appear to stand for *Darwáz*, and I believe that to be the right name, although the initial letter resembles a *P* more than a *D* in any of the MSS. The Turki MS., which is usually the most perfect and trustworthy in such matters, specially points the letter to make it a *P*. Nevertheless I suspect that it is only a misreading of a little known name. The other names all point to the situation of *Darwáz*, and there is very probability that, up till quite recent times, it was a grand division (a hill district) of Badakhshán, equally with the various divisions of Wakhán, Shighnán, Ghund and Shiwa are marked on all maps. Past is the upper division of Roshán, in which stands the village of Past-Kurghán, on Sarhad on the Panj; while Yarkh, or Yárokh, is a small village and district at the junction of Rostán, near to borders of Darwáz. *Parván*, near Farah in Badakhshán, might possibly be a misreading of *Parvíz*, but it does not lie in the direction towards which the author is obviously pointing.

state of affairs [at that time]. During twelve years the districts above the upper gorges were outside of Badakhshán, and formed a part of Káshghar. The Khán, therefore, after his conquest of Káshghar, ordered these districts to be divided into administrative] sections — *if they formed part of the province of Káshghar.* Thither he sent Mír Beg Muhammad, whose story has been told above and during his government, Wakhán was a *Hazára* of the *Hazáraját* of Badakhshán.

The people of Badakhshán call the frontier [between Badakhshán and Wakhán] *Darázukhán.* The Káshghari call it *Sárigh Chupán.* The people of Darázukhán took violent possession of it and appealed to Mirzá Khán for protection.[1] [They said: "Let us become the subjects of Mirzá Khán."] So Mirzá Khán took possession of the country without hesitation, his claim being that it belonged originally to Badakhshán. By more, that Badakhshán was but another name for those *Hazáraját.* Mirza Abú Bakr had taken it by force. With the extinction of Mirzá Abú Bakr's power, the region should again fall within its original kingdom of Badakhshán]. Everything returns to its primo origin. [Mirzá] Khán also contended as follows: "In consequence of Mirzá Abú Bakr's conquests, this country was cut off from its ancient attachment and was, for twelve years, under the jurisdiction of Káshghar. The Emperor, with the help of his brave troops, delivered it to my power. The regions usurped by Mirzá Abú Bakr. If you desire to have this kingdom it will be necessary, in the first place (on account of my relationship to the Emperor) that I should send him a salutation and beg him to despatch an army to assist me, as I am too weak [to act independently . . . When so requested he may answer 'that country which I have marked with the key of conquest, you may take possession of without fear.'"[2] After

[1] The three last sentences are rendered somewhat differently in the different texts; but I believe the translation to express the meaning. The name of *Darázukhán* is now forgotten. I know it neither locally, nor in any book or document modern or ancient. It evidently originates with a Persian or Chaghatá (not Turki) speaking people. Most probably it was peculiar to the locality itself, and is now dis used. It may be remembered also, that the first two syllables of those names have no connection with the word *darra*, meaning valley or gorge, that word is differently spelled. I suspect that the term intended is *Darázu-i-Vakhán* or *Daráz-Wakhán*, and that it applies to the long narrow valley of the upper Panjáb, sometimes known in modern days as *Sarigh Chupán* or *Sarhad*. The word *tang* for 'narrow' or 'straight' is often used, and *bálá* is heard occasionally for "height" or "small table-land." It appears to be quite possible, therefore, that in the colloquial language of people who have to name briefly, and for practical purposes the various features of a mountainous country, such a term as *darázi* may easily have grown up out of the adjective *dráz*, or *long*. Parallel instances to this kind of adjectival nomenclature are to be found in English, in such terms as the "narrows" of the Hugli, the "Broads" of Norfolk, the "Lake" in New South Wales, etc.

[2] This speech is of some length and involved that it is only possible to give a brief and freely translated abridgment of it. When fully and literally translated, it makes no sense, and even in the few sentences standing in the text, I am

informal manner, and as there was [illegible] to two Khán's the title was finally [illegible] mandating petitions had obtained.

At the time when [illegible] of Mírzá Abú Bakr's sons, whom by my uncle [illegible] child of his own, was away, who [illegible] gone to Shyrnúk Khán to inform him of the and to induce him to aid ok Káshghar. On [illegible] left in Táshkand, who [illegible] all the wealth was lying on and in the adjoins [illegible] Bakr's son was over taken on the road, and put persons who had been sent in pursuit [illegible].

The Khán advanced into Badakhshán and [illegible]. Mírzá Khán, helpless and in despair, [illegible] Zafar, and [illegible] and in the south of [illegible] and who had been later [illegible] Khán saw that [illegible] and [illegible] who was moved to pity and with him, Mírzá [illegible] roadsong his own weakness did not make [illegible] to overstay his boundaries. Down to the [illegible] military [illegible] Káshghar.

There was the [illegible] of dissension among [illegible] be on account of a few acts of inhumanity. [illegible] I was they carried on official intercourse, but [illegible] of friendship were usually limited with [illegible] [illegible] to off the country itself, were [illegible] the boyars [illegible] Khán afterwards. [illegible] withdrew from Badakhshán with [illegible] [illegible] rolling Yúrkand, his only [illegible] rejoicing and [illegible].

[illegible] [illegible] Mírzá Khán [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

CHAPTER LXV

[illegible] MANSUR KHÁN.

In the following year, Mansur Khán [repeated visiting] his beloved paternal aunt, Sultán Khánum, in order that, by looking on her kind face, his grief at the loss of his father might be mitigated.[1] The Khán having agreed to this [Mansur Khán] set out for Aksu in the summer of that year, and in the same manner, on the same spot and with similar formalities, as on the occasion of their first interview, they met, and the bonds of affection were drawn tighter. After this each returned to his own seat of government. From this date—926 to 928 [1520-22] the Khán and his people enjoyed perfect repose and freedom from care, nothing occurring which would be worthy of record.

CHAPTER LXVI.

CONCLUSION OF THE AFFAIRS OF [illegible] SULTÁN ALIBURN [illegible] ÁBUL [illegible] ALI OF HIS BROTHER SULTÁN NÁSIR MIRZÁ. CAUSE OF [illegible] INSURRECTIONATION OF [illegible] AMIRS.

[illegible] that position Bábur Pádishah's history had [illegible] reached, at which he returned from Kunduz to Kábul. He committed Kábul to the care of his brother Sultán Násir Mirzá, who [illegible] given himself excessive indulgence in wine in the course of the year 921. [Complet] . . . . Ghazna had belonged to Sultán Násir Mirzá, and after his death a dispute arose among the Amirs of that town, which took the form of a mutiny, in which all the Moghuls and the rest of the people in the Emperor's service joined. As for example, Mir Shihám, the uncle of the Emperor's mother, who had spent all his life in the Emperor's service, his brother, Mir Mazíd, Jaki, Kul Nazar, and others, also of the Chaghatái and Wájib Amirs, Maulánd Bábá Bashághiri and his brother Bábá Shaikh. Thus Maulánd Bábá was one of the associates [sharík] of the village of Bashágha in Samarkand. He won such favour with the Emperor that, when the latter took Máwará-un-Nahr, he gave Maulánd Bábá the government of Samarkand, Urátipa, and part of Kuhistán. Others who also [illegible] were] Mir Ahmad, who so

[1] The Elphinstone MS substitutes for this passage: 'I appointed to it solely the extraordinary wish of his affectionate heart.' R

story has been given above, and his brother Kitta Beg (the one being Governor of Táshkand, and the other of Samárkand) Maksud Kásak, Sultán Kuli, Cásak, and others. These were all distinguished Amirs and great chiefs. But Satan took possession of their brains, and put there, in the place of sound reason vainglory and wickedness, which are the outcome of cursed natures.

They rose in rebellion, putting round their necks the accursed collars left behind by Mir Ayub. In short, after a few intrigues and skirmishes a pitched battle was fought between themselves and the Emperor. As soon as the opposing troops had been drawn up facing each other, the son of Amir Kásim Kuhbur, named Amir Kambar Ali, arrived from Kunduz with a powerful force, and the rebels were defeated. A proverb . . . . Several of them were captured [and met with their due reward, others fled in shame to Káshghar.] Among these were Mir Shuja and his brothers, who [on the occasion of the Khán's first interview, and conclusion of peace, with Mansur Khán] had gone to wait on the Khán, and had remained for some time in his service. They were ashamed and dejected. Mir Mazid, on account of insufficient means of livelihood, went to Tibet in hopes of plunder. But at Gauzwár[1] a stone fell on his head, and he was killed.

Mir Shuja, likewise, finding it impossible to stay near the Khán, returned to the Emperor, who with his usual benevolence, received him kindly, and closing the eye of wrath over his wrongdoings, opened the eye of favour upon past services. He, however, soon afterwards, left this faithless world. The Emperor, having become thoroughly established in Kábul, marched upon Kandahár, which was then in the hands of Shah Beg, son of Zulnun[2] Arghun, as mentioned above. He besieged it for five years. At length Shah Beg, having received information that Sháh Ismáil was coming to Sivi, and thence to Tatta, which he took, together with Dehanah Bakar, as will be mentioned in the proper place. The Emperor, having captured Kandahár, proceeded to Hindustán. He made several journeys but retired after each one. At last, he set out, in a pitched battle at Pánipat, the Ughán Sultán, Ibráhim,[4] the son of Sultán Iskandar, who was king at that time.[5] Ibráhim's army numbered more

[1] The word appears rather as *Ghaz* in the text but the ethnic notation is here-unto [illegible] answer to Ghazní in India, on the road to it.

[2] This name, here as below, is spelled *Zulnun* for convenience of pronunciation [illegible] but the spelling should be *Zu'n Nún* as in the original text.

[3] This would mean that he ruled all round the whole of Sindh from the Delta of the Indus up to and Multan [illegible] of the many places in upper India bearing the name of *Uch*, i *Uchh* here [illegible] is the ancient town situated [illegible] Panjnad, 70 miles SSW of Multan. See note 2, p. 98.) All these names are easily recognised.

[4] In Afghán Sálár, I am told *Ughlu* in the Hindi *Aughán*.

[5] He died during April 21, 1526.

than 100,000 men, but the Emperor utterly defeated him with 10,000 men. He and his army became possessed of so much treasure, that all the world, from there to Rúm and to Khitái, benefitted by it. Thousands of dirams and gold and satins of Khitái which are seen in the bazaars, were found in ass-loads. All this will be explained presently.

CHAPTER LXVII.

SETTLEMENT OF MOGHULISTÁN AND THE EARLY BEGINNINGS OF RASHID SULTÁN'S CAREER

In the year 828 (1422) the Khán gave the placid people of Moghulistan, and all hungthe Kirghiz. He was prompted here to by several considerations, the first of which was as follows. It has been mentioned that in the year 821 he had made Muhammad Kirghiz prisoner, because he, after having taken Al Dillah, son of Kuhum Khán, in battle, had let him go free again, and had sent some poor excuses for his action to the Khán. For this he was detained in prison for five years and the Kirghiz who at this time were without a chief, carried plunder and rapine into the territories of Turkistán, Sairám, Andijan, and Akhsi, and became guilty of many excesses, carrying off into bondage many Musulmán women and children. Although these provinces were under the government of Sháh Malik and those people were his old enemies, the Khán, being a pious and God-fearing man, was offended. He determined to avert his mind from the Musulmáns, and thereby to secure a high place in the next world and a good name in the present one. Besides this, Khwájah Ali Bahádur, whose valiant and worthy services have been spoken of above, had, according to his natural instinct, a great longing for Moghulistán. He always complained of townlife, and pined for the plains of Moghulistán. He had been appointed *Atábeg* to Bibí Sultán, son of Khalil Sultán (and a nephew of the Khán), and had had the care of his education from the age of seven till he was fifteen.

He represented to the Khán, "By the grace of God, the Moghul *Ulus* both mankind and beasts have so greatly increased in numbers, that the wide grazing grounds of Káshghar have become too confined for them, and frequent quarrels arise concerning pasture. If you will issue orders for me in this my doing so, I will take Bibí Sultán into Moghulistan, and the whole of that

country, and reduce the affairs of the Empire to order, so that our people may have ample pasture and quiet minds." The Khán quite approved of this proposal, and held a consultation with his Amirs who were unanimous in their concurrence, with the exception of my uncle, who said, "The first part of this plan is most reasonable, but it is not advisable to send Bibí Sultán. The Moghuls, being originally from Moghulistán, have a natural attachment to that country, and as soon as [illegible] conquered they will all wish to return thither. If Bibí Sultán is here, he will be offended should we forbid [the Moghuls going there], and should we not forbid them the whole mass of them will rush in, the inevitable result of which will be confusion and discord. Instead of Bibí] let us send Rashíd Sultán, your son, let him become ever so powerful he cannot injure you, and if it is seen fit to hinder the people from migrating into Moghulistán, he, at any rate, will not object if they should do so [there is nothing, after all, at stake in your son]."

In the meantime, Khwája Alí behaved disrespectfully and drunkenly. Thus the conduct of the expedition devolved upon Rashíd Sultán. Now it happened that at this time my sister (by the daughter of Sayyid-as-Sádát Kiwámu'l-Mulk Sultán Muhammad Arghúnjí) had been wedded to Bibí Sultán. Nevertheless my uncle did not allow this family tie to stand in the way, but caused Rashíd Sultán to be appointed for the enterprise. Bibí Sultán was much offended, but my uncle feared nothing; he persisted in pushing forward Rashíd Sultán, and proposed a plan which shall be mentioned later on.

It is now necessary to give some account of the country of Moghulistán. No book contains an exact description of its localities. Though incidentally, in some histories, I have met with a few towns are given, and in the *Suwar-i-Aklím* and the *Tawárikh-i-Buldán* may be found some notices. For the most part these accounts are inaccurate; but all that can be verified from them, I will state here in abridgment.

CHAPTER LXVIII.

EXTRACTS FROM THE JAHÁN KUSHÁI OF ALÁ UD-DÍN MUHAMMAD JUVAINÍ.[1]

(I have copied exactly what the author has written descriptive of Moghulistán). Thus it is written in the *Jahán-Kushái*, that the dwelling, original seat, and birthplace of the Tátár was a valley devoid of cultivation,[2] the length and breadth of which was seven or eight months journey. It is bounded on the east by the country of Khitái on the west by the province of Uighur, on the north by Kará Kiz and Sálmkáu,[3] and on the south by a side (*pás*) of Tangut. Of these four limiting countries (*hudud*) mentioned in the *Jahán-Kushái* Khitái is definitely known, and can be specified. But what [the author] calls 'Uighur' is quite unknown at the present time, it is not understood which country is meant.[4] Nor is anything now known of Kará Kiz and Sálmkáu, nor have any places been discovered with such names. The name of Tangut is frequently mentioned in Moghul histories. At the outset of Chingiz Khán's conquests, he sent an army thither. Ugtái Kaán also when settling his dominions, sent some persons to Tangut, among other places; and from the way it is spoken of in histories, it was evidently a very important province. At that time the king of this country bore the name of Shidurku. Most historians state that his army numbered 800,000 men. However, at the present time it is not even known where it was. Thus it is impossible to say anything about those limiting countries which are specified in books.[5]

[1] The heading is somewhat misleading, for the chapter is not an extract from the *Jahán-Kushái*, but rather an account by the author's own hand of that book.

[2] From the Koran S. XIV., v. 40–42.

[3] *Kará Kiz* would be Lake Zaisan or the plain that runs on its banks; *Sálmkáu* the Solonga tribes mentioned among Mongolia.

[4] The author of the *Jahán Kushái* (writing about 1257 A.D.) has [illegible] better reason for making the Uighur country the western and Moghulistán than Mirza Haidar gives him credit for. He is all along, no doubt, to the kingdom of the Ilak Khans in Turkistán and to Mawará-un-Nahr which was under the rule of an Uighur dynasty down to about the year 1211 and consequently almost to what was within (Stein, I. 287).

[5] It was towards the end of Ogiz Ilák's *Shidurku* [illegible] of Tangut made the [illegible] against Kará Khitái country, the close of [illegible] 1222 was also Juvaini says, a powerful kingdom at that time. They dug a great path [illegible] about a hundred years, and Jingut [illegible] from the Chinese and the Uighurs. It may be said to have included, in its best days, all the [illegible] between Turfán and the Chinese province of Shensi, together with [illegible] Tibet. The name of the king [illegible] Shidurku

In the same way, some of the towns in Moghulistán are mentioned by name and described, in standard works Among them is Balá-Sákun, which in the *Sama-i-Atáiri* is reckoned among the cities of Khitá, and called 'Kí in Baligh'; while in Moghulistán and Karáí Khitá they have written he sán o' Bal i Sákun. They have applied the name to no other city.[1] In books of route and

Shadaghe, Shalanta, etc. while, according to the *Tabdlat-i-Násiri*, stylized himself the *Yangu Khan* (called only Ong), always known to the Chinese as *Ta-Hien* The country is found mentioned under many names and corrupt names *Tangut, Tanyut, Kashi Kashi*, etc, as the most common name west in Asia it was *Hsia* and *Hea* among the Chinese Indeed it is this last name meaning 'west' (of the river" (*i.e.* the Yellow River) that has become corrupted into *Kashi*, etc. There seems to have been written *Mupng* By Mirza Haidar it is long written always with slight variations, and it is now only a graphical expression for the no longer existing name

In my History of Shilúka and Chingiz's last war with Tangut will be found in S. H. II. with the *Northern Languages of China* (J. R. A. S., xv, (NS.) pp. 172 *sqq.*) the *Habib us Siyar* (Pers. *Mohl Hist.*, ii, pp. 507-6), Major Raverty's *Tabakat-i-Nasiri* pp. 1081 *sqq.*, etc.

It may be well that, according to Mr. W. W. Rockhill, *Tangut* is only another form for the Chinese word *Tangut*,' he writes, 'is nothing else but Ta-Hsia, a Prince, although some of Prejevalsky's travels it has even been supposed to be originally Tangut, designating the Si-Hsia with Kokonor region known to the Chinese as *Amdowa* and *Tan-la*" In saying this Mr. Rockhill is, I presume, right the Chinese or Mongol name, as is often the when more than one name, he often writes Chinese words to the first that 'The name Tangut was originally applied to the Hsi-hsia living in the Altai Although the name Tang was in the regions of Zaidan Kokonor, etc., many continues in Col. Prejevalsky's time, and although the Tangut tribes can never have taken (from the name) applied not the word, as just lately Mr. Rockhill, in interesting and instructive (See Mr. Rockhill's valuable paper on *Tibet* J. R. A. S. 1891, pp. 21, 181, etc.)

It is quite possible that the only historical statement may, indeed, have some fault in it. The work the author, may very likely call Kan-daligh—the Canalized Mine Pond by Mongolian fitted out Peking by the Turkish *Bila Sághun* or *Bila-Sákun*, as Mirza Haidar spells it. It is known that Karakorum was, and is to the present day, known as *Bala Sákun*, while it is not unlikely that the word, in a general way, to denote a large town or capital as in Indian Sikri is not Mirza Haidar's translating it by capital with inclination Mongol, but to those staff. It makes pretty Western Turkestan it is all the more strong that he also by a word used to call a town apart consisting of the outer enclosure by law, and that *Bila-Sákun* by Rashid-ul-Din, who used what was until getting quite by Kanbaligh II. had, moreover *Ordu Kaalat* by it which is by similar description at *Bala-Sákun* is given to that in Rashid-ul-Din who apparently applied first to *Sáin-Kaalat*

The only way to believe that the *Bala-Sákun* spoken in the passage was situated near to the head-waters of the Kerulen branch of the Orkhon in Moghulistán, and that it was up to the first part of the twelfth century, the capital of the Turkish Naimans, or those still Christian Turks will later it became the of Kara-Kátai (See note I p. 287).

As the last mentioned name of Karakorum throughout the identity or position of *Bala-Sákun* it may be worthwhile to expend in this note, it probably to have existed contemporaneously, in the subject matter contributed by Ata-l-Din Ata Malik Juvaini in his *Tarikh-i-Kusha*, a work that was completed about the year 1256 He himself travelled through the country in question, when it was the Mongol Karakorum

histories, Balá-Sákun is said to have been one of the cities built by Afrásiáb, and [the authors] have praised it very highly. In the *Mujmú-ut-Tawáríkh* it is written: 'Balá Sákun, until the time of Karakorum, and had made several other journeys in Turkistan and the neighbouring regions. He may be assumed, therefore, to have had the rights of history which [illegible] his day, not particularly ancient. His work is one of the few original [illegible] of the period which it treats. Unfortunately it has never been translated into any European language, but some extracts from it have been published by D'Ohsson, and thus have been utilised by many subsequent writers. On the subject of the city itself D'Ohsson's extract (I. pt. i. p. 6) merely shows that the building of *Bálá-Sákun* was attributed by Afrásiáb, whereas Bulak-Khan believed (according to tradition) to have been the first of the line of so-called Afrásiáb kings of Turkistan that it stood among fine pastures in a well-watered plain; and that after the time of the Gur-Khán invasion, in the twelfth century, it was called by the Mongols 'Gud-balik'. No geographical indication of its position is given, and all that can be inferred is that it stood within the very uncertain limits of what was then called Turkistan. From another extract, however, (I., p. 167) it may be inferred to have been a little more precisely towards the southern part of Turkistan—for in the northern limit of Farghána Abul Ghází is equally unsatisfactory in his reference to the situation of *Bálá-Sákun*—but some of the Arabic geographers of an earlier epoch are more explicit, and they point to the city having stood at a great distance from Káshgar. Thus Abul-feda (II. pt. 2, p. 227), quoting from a work called the *Lobáb*, says that it was on the frontiers of Turkistan, near Káshgar. Makaldasi (as cited by Sprenger, p. 19) places it within the province of Isfijáb (which was the ancient representative of the present Ohshkent), and very near Merke on one of the upper affluents of the Jaxartes. On the authority of Ibn Khordádbih and Kudáma, given (p. 22–3) the distance from Isfijáb to 'the capital of the Turkish Khan' as 7 farsangs, which Ibn Asstrates (p. xxvi.) that a farsang was equal to three Arabian miles, while each of the latter he calculates at a fraction over three English geographical miles. Thus one farsang might be about 9¾ English statute miles, making the total distance from Isfijáb about 281 statute miles. When by "the capital of the Turkish Khan *Bálá-Sákun* is intended to be understood, but taking the nomenclature of the period into consideration, it may, I think, be concluded that this and no other town must be meant. More lately Mr. E. S. Taylor, who studied the subject of *Bálá-Sákun* and other old sites in Turkistan, pursued the inquiry (*Geo. Mag.*, 1871, p. 186) and his opinion is worthy of attention. The 28 miles so assigned as the distance between the great range of mountains now called the "Alexandrovsk," and which may be fifth for windings of the road, is not will be found within the mark system of the Chu, about 7 miles west of Constantinowski, and about 83 miles east-north-eastward of Merke—or approximately in Lat. 43 and Long. 73 10 from Greenwich.

I [illegible] however, another way of arriving, or an approximation, at the position of *Bálá-Sákun*. Mr. Schuyler (*loc. cit.*) has given in translation a valuable extract on the subject from the 'Chronicle of the Chief Astrologer to the Court of the Osmanli Sultan, Muhammad IV.' This author was an Arab who lived from 1630 to 1701, and is usually known as the 'Munajjim Bashi.' Two passages from this extract are: (1) 'Balasagun [illegible], situated at the beginning of the 7th climate in 102° of Long. and 48° of Lat., near to Kashghar and considered from of old the boundary city of Turkistan.' (2) "Kashgar, the capital of Turan, in the 6th climate, in 100 of Long., and 45 of Lat.' Thus the difference of longitude between the two towns would be 1° and the difference of Lat. 3°. Now the latitude and longitude of Kashgar [illegible] correctly fixed by Col. H. Trotter, R.E., in 1873–4. If we take his values (for Immanuel Kant Observatory) as 39° 28′ N. and 75° 59′ E., and apply these differences in the Munajjim Bashi's figures we obtain for *Bálá-Sákun* Lat. 42½ N., and Long. 72 E., approximately. If we will [illegible] along the west of the Ouzbuns, on the hypothesis of the Talás, about 180 miles S.S.E. of Táráz, (or Aulié-Ata) and a little Buruns (all wrong, of the same plain section of the

the Kará Khitái, was under the rule of the offspring, [and lieutenants] of Afrásiáb. The Gur Khán of Karí Chitái took it from one of those descendants, Ilak Khán, and made it his own capital. For road, or sixth from Atwál (see) from which the geographical tables of Nikbí Isphizárí, *Bilá-Sákún* is placed (p. 70) in Lat. 46, and Long. 117 while to Kashgharia is assigned (p. 24) Lat. 41, and Long. 106. Applying to these figures the adopted Ptolemaic value, in the same way to obtain, with *Bilá-Sákún* = Lat. 43½ and Long. 77, the position just on the Lake of Issik Kúl, nearly fifty miles due East from Nárín, and applying the Arab geographer Abulfedá's two corrections of the position of *Bilá-Sákún* with reference to Kashgharia. One of these, on the authority of Awálí, is a simple one, and results (which is noted above) in Lat. 41 0, and Long. 71; while the other, on the authority of Kímám, fails in the latitude, and fixes the longitude nearly as 72½.

The true position taken from the Arab writers stands thus:

Mangú Bishí	Lat. 230 and Long. 72	0 from Atwál	
Nikbí Isphizárí	„ 1	„ „ 77	0 „ „
Atwál	„ 1	„ „ 71	00 „ „
Kímám	„	„ „ 7	„

The mean of these gives, with a slight degree, would place 12½ and long. 73 as the position assigned to Bilá-Sákún with Kashgharia and the Oxus in eighty-two latitude and 88 of Aulú-Ata and the west 88 W. (Marks. Other statements of the latitude and longitude of *Bilá-Sákún* may be found in the writings of Asiatic geographers, but as no value is given for any as scientifically fixed point in the neighbourhood, to which digressions may be traced, they are not utilised.

The only mechanical test of value is that the positions assigned by Arab authorities will have a tendency to approximate. All the longitudes will be somewhat less than 77, while all the latitudes will be somewhat greater than 43. Of course, in the Arab systems, by which the distance between two places is calculated, the difference between the position which Sákún would assign to the town at the junction of the Narín and Chu rivers, 118 Long. and 42½ Lat., and that of Issik Kúl, appears to be nearly the same as that between Issik Kúl and Tarāz, and with a range of snowy mountains for taking the road to the north, the latter being placed 110 longitude and 42 latitude. Among the sketches of the Sí-Yú-Kí will be found a rough outline of the Issik Kúl lake, with the Tarāz (Aulú-Ata) on the south-east corner, and the west of Mank. This is not also Mr. Stein's opinion. (See Howorth, *the Mog.*, 875 pp. 217–17, and the Chinese Travels, Beal's *Buddhist Records*, I. p. 23.)

As regards the orthography of the name Mí-ra-Hai-la the gate with *Bilá-Sákún*, and for this reason I have an illustration. We, however, comes to the passage in the *Ahsan-Kasas*, which has not said to have given rise to the Mongol word *Gilá-bilá*, which in Dozy and other examples of the *Tahdib-Kashá* it has published, the true has always been *Gu-bilá*, and not a translation "gratuity." Dealing to clear up this discrepancy, I learned, with Mr. Rose, the Indian Museum, that

ninety-five years Balá-Sákun remained the capital of Kará Khitái, and all the countries on this side of the Jihun—that is to the east of it—owned tribute to Balá Sákun. The Moghuls call Balá-Sakun, Ghar bilegh. The author of the *Sharáh-i-Lughat*, in his Supplement says that his father was one of the traditionists *hájis* of Balá Sákun. He gives, in his Supplement, the names of one hundred men (*afázil* of every town. In Samarkand he reckons fewer than ten. But in Balá Sákun he mentions the names of a great number of learned and notable persons and questionings concerning some of them. The mind is incapable of conceiving how there could have been, at one time and in one city, so many men of eminence and that now neither name nor trace is to be found of Balá Sákun. Nor have I ever heard of a place called Ghar-bálígh.

Another town mentioned in books is Yánigh. It is said that the Moghuls call Yánigh, 'Yingi', and thus Yángi is placed in Moghulistán. There are many more Yángis in Mávará-n-Nahr who are called 'Yangilígh. Now in those deserts *mejáz*, which they call Yingi there are remains of many cities, in the form of dome minarets and traces of schools and monasteries, but it is not evident which of those ruined cities was Yingi, or what were the names of the others.

Another famous town was Almálígh,[1] which is known at the present day. The tomb of Tughluk Timur Khán is there, together with [other] traces of the city's prosperity. The dome of the Khán's tomb is remarkable, being lofty and decorated: while on the plaster, inscriptions are written. I recall one-half of a line, from one of the books, namely, "This same *bárgáh* was the work of a master-weaver *shan-báf*" words which show that there was written, as in Turkí they call a weaver, [*párcha-báf*] '*shan-báf*.' As far as I can recollect, the date inscribed on the dome was seven hundred and sixty and odd.[2]

There are many other cities in Moghulistán, in which there remain very fine buildings. In some places they still stand intact.[3] In [the district of Jud[4] there are traces of an important town, and remains of minarets, domes, and schools. Since the

Almálígh the *Armalec* of the medieval European travellers was the capital of Ogedai Khán and his immediate successors. It was situated near the modern town of Kulja (Ining) the Mongol period was a Latin bishopric, and almost probably, most likely [one] of Nestorian Christians. (See *Cathay* pp. cxvii, 240, etc.)

[2] The death of Ilgildekí Timur was about 760 H., or 1303 A.D.

[3] The Persian texts are corrupt here. The Turki MS. reads "In some places, where . . . large walls and buildings, [are] . . . they have erected, which are already decayed."

[4] The word may be read *Juda* or *Jud* or the *Ji* which is usually replaced by *Ch*. The Turki MS. has "a village called *Ju*." It seems possible that the region, district, or river *Churmáy* is intended. See text, immediately below.

name of that town is not known, the Moghuls call 'Umári.' In the same place is also a dome made of stone, into which the following inscription has been cut in Naskhi writing, "This is the tomb of (titles omitted) Imám Muhammad Pákir Bahádur Sákini [Arabic invocation], who died in the year 711." Written by Khwája Omar Hadawi." And is a district (*mauza*) of Moghulistán, of a month's journey in length. In it there are many (ruins) like this one.

In Moghulistán there is a place (*mauza*) called Yumghál[1] which is well known. There a dome is to be found, half fallen into ruin. The inscription on it reads, "Shah Jalil, son of Kasim, son of Abbás. . ." The rest has broken away, so it is not clear whether this was his tomb, or whether the inscription refers to someone else. God alone knows. Such remains as these are to be found all over Moghulistán, but the names of the towns are never known. The tomb of Maulaná Sakkáki, author of "The Key" [*Miftáh*], has a lofty dome. It is situated on the banks of the River Tiki, which flows from the foot of the lake.[2] With the exception of this dome, there are no remains in that place. It was either a town of which nothing is left, or else it was there that Chughá Kh'n slew [the Maulaná], the building being afterwards raised [over the spot]. God knows best. The story of Maulaná Sakkáki is told in histories.

Beyond this, nothing is recorded of the districts (*hudud*) of Moghulistán in the histories and books of former writers, nor does any one know the [above] names nowadays. What is now known as Moghulistán has a length and breadth of seven or eight months' journey. Its western frontier adjoins the Káshghar country, that is to say, Bishbálik and Turfán. It is bounded on the north by Kukolun-Tangiz, Bunjásh, and Kuráttál, on the west by Turkistán and Táshkand, and on the south by the provinces of Tughluna, Káshghar, Aksu, Chighil, and Turfán.

Of these four boundaries I have seen the southern. From Tásh-

[1] The name *Yumghál* and *Yanghál* which occurs also in the text of the region that we Moghulistán, is very important. The *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* of the text. It is the name of the hundred that is of Náráni and has all the cities and villages on its banks.

[2] Which lake is supposed, but it is, it is the Issigh-Kul. The river may [illegible] 'white lower' Ak-Kul,' but 'Ala-Kul' make the original 'ice' or 'ice' Tarik.' Thus *Tal-i-Kul* would be read in the Persian *Tal* river probably stands for 'Lake,' which takes the element the east name of, or the Issigh-Kul and flows westward.

[3] There is no lake called *Bitik Kul* (sometimes *Bakal*, and in Chinese *Pe-hi-Kun*), *Jmal* and *Irtish* *Kulchi Tingiz* or *Tengiz* is like *Balkash*, and *Kaidál* the name of a river which flows into it from the south. *Bunjash* I cannot identify. As regards lake Balkash, Mr. J. Sch[illegible] (in *Petermann* for 1868 p. 71) says, *Tengis* is the Kirgiz name of all that *Balkash* is usually with the Zungars [wrongly Kalmiks]. But further on (p. 81) he tells us "*Balkhází Nor*,' meaning "great lake," the Kirgiz name is "*Ak Dengiz*,' or 'white lake.'" The word *dengiz* is more usually

kand to Andijan is ten days' journey, from Andijan to Káshghar, twenty days, from there to Aksu, fifteen days, from Aksu to Chálish, twenty days; from Chálish to Turfan, ten days; from Turfan to Bárin Kul, [illegible] days and Bárin Kul is the eastern boundary of Moghulistán. [The whole of the southern boundary is about three months' march at a medium pace, for it is ninety stages. I have never visited the other three boundaries, but have learned [something about them from the descriptions of persons who have travelled in those quarters. The greater part of this country which is seven or eight months' journey in extent, is mountain or desert,[2] and is very beautiful and pleasant so much so that I am incapable of describing it in words. On the mountains and in the plains, grow numberless flowers, whose names no one knows, they are not to be met with outside Moghulistán, nor can they possibly be described. The summer is, in most parts, quite temperate, so that if a single lined *khalata* be worn, no other covering is required, though even if more be worn, the heat does not make one uncomfortable. However, in some parts of the country, the temperature inclines to be cold.

There are many large rivers in Moghulistán as large, or nearly so, as the Jihun; for example, the Ila, the Ili, the Irtish, and the Nárin, not one of which is in force to the Jihun or the Sihun. Most of them flow into the lake of Kukcha Tangiz, which separates Moghulistán from Uzbegistán. Its length is eight months' journey,[3] and its breadth, in some parts, thirty *farsakhs*, by estimation. In winter, when it is frozen over, the Uzbeg cross Kukcha Tangiz on the ice, and thus enter Moghulistán. By using all possible speed, they can cross in two nights and a day into Moghulistán and can return in the same time. At the end of winter they cross with the same rapidity; but at that time of the year it [illegible] dangerous, and it often happens that the ice gives way. On one occasion a hundred and twenty families more or less, perished under the ice. The water of this lake is sweet. The same quantity of water that flows into the lake is not discharged from it. What does flow out is about equivalent to one of the rivers which enters it. It flows down through Uzbegistán, under the name of Atal, and empties itself into the Kulzum [Caspian].

Another item of interest in Moghulistán is Issigh Kul, [a lake] into which nearly as much water flows as into Kukcha Tangiz. It

[1] These stages are about correct, according to a man's usual [illegible]

[2] The word in the texts is *sahra*, and has been literally translated "desert"; but *sahra* is often used to designate plains, open country, or "steppes," and is employed in this sense here.

[3] This [illegible] is either a mistake in this estimate of the length of the lake, or else it is a reckless exaggeration. The estimate of 240 farsakhs (720 miles) for the breadth is also far too high, as it is to be understood that [illegible]

is twenty days' journey,[1] and no water issues from it on any side. It is surrounded by hills. All the water that flows in to it is sweet and agreeable, but once it enters the lake it becomes so bitter and salt that one cannot even use it for washing; for if any of it enters the eyes or mouth, severe inflammation is produced; it has also a most unpleasant taste in the mouth. It is remarkably pure and clean, so that if, for example, some is poured into a china cup, no sediment appears at the bottom. The water of the rivers around is delicious. Aromatic herbs, flowers and fruit-bearing trees are plentiful, while the surrounding hills and plains abound in antelopes [*áhu*] and birds. There are few localities in Moghulistán more remarkable for their climate.

From the year 916 the Kirghiz, for the reasons mentioned above, have rendered it impossible for any Moghul to live in Moghulistán. In the year 928 the Khán resolved to subdue Moghulistán, as shall be explained.

CHAPTER LXIX

RETURN TO THE THREAD OF THE HISTORY.

* * * * *

The flocks and herds had so greatly increased, that the plains and hills of Kishghar could no longer prove sufficient pasturage, and therefore, in order to satisfy the wants and demands of his people, the Khán determined to attempt [conquering Moghulistán]. Moreover, the Kirghiz, who were for the most part devoid of faith and given over to evil deeds, had thoroughly intimidated the Musulmáns of Turkistán, Shásh and Farghána, by their constant invasions and forays. Although that province was under the rule of the Uzbeg Shaibání, who were his old enemies, the Khán, on account of his devotion to the faith and out of pity for the Musulmáns, took the matter to heart and determined that no Musulmán should be molested and no infidel should prosper; in other words that the Musulmáns should thrive and the infidels should be subdued. For these two actions he expected to gain great reputa-

[1] "Twenty days' journey in *caraván* is an exaggerated statement, which might be true of a far larger area." For some remarks on the Kul, see note pp. 78 f.

[2] "This chapter opens with five lines of metre (which are omitted) showing how the Khán desired to gain fame in this world and 'a high place' in the next."

[3] Apparently Bangi'na Imám. Only three words are *in a digit*" or illegible

tion in this world and merit in the world to come. May God reward him well [Three couplets . . .

Mirzá Ali Taghái, Khwája Ali Bábá, and most of the Amirs, supporting the claim of Báber Sultán desired that he should be sent in command of the expedition against Moghulistán and the Kirghiz. His father, Sultán Khalil Sultán, had been leader of the Kirghiz, as has been explained; and he therefore had some right in the matter. My uncle alone supported Rashid Sultán, who was the Khán's son, and upon him the conduct of the expedition finally devolved. Active preparations were set on foot [verses]. . . . and in the course of the year 928, Rashid Sultán set out loaded with favours. Mirzá Ali Taghái was appointed *Ulus-beg*, and Muhammad Kirghiz being released from confinement, was made Amir of the Kirghiz; while brave warriors and distinguished Amirs were chosen out of all the Moghul tribes. [Couplet . . .

Everything becoming the prince's rank and dignity was made ready, such as banners (*tugh*), trumpets, and *naubat-khána* and all kinds of furniture. Posts were given to the Amirs and soldiers, who made merry; and favours were showered on all [The Khán gave his son much good advice. [Verses . . . Indeed he lavished *sermons and wise counsels on the young prince*, who did not heed them, for is it not said: Sermons and advice are as wind to the profligates of this world? Finally, however, the army was despatched.

At the hour of his taking leave of Rashid Sultán, the Khán said to me: "You accoutre him, fasten on his quiver and sword, and mount him on his horse; it may bring good fortune. In respect of what I have told him, let him be your pupil; you shall hold his master. . . .[1]

In short the Khán sent them off in the handsomest manner, and himself returned to Káshghar. [Two couplets] . . . .

With their entrance into Moghulistán, Muhammad Kirghiz marched on in advance. He brought in most of the Kirghiz, though a few fled to the farthest confines of Moghulistán. When winter set in, quarters were taken up at Kuchkár

[1] A couplet from Sádi and five lines of the original are omitted here. M

CHAPTER LXX.

THE KHÁN'S REPENTANCE.

* * * * *

It has been already explained to how great an extent the Khán was addicted to wine-drinking. If, for example, he heard of sobriety, he interpreted it to mean that he ought to get drunk; his is [the system of] interpretation by contraries [Turki complet] . . . *

No one would ever have imagined that the Khán could give up this habit, but by the intervention of Providence he repented him of his intemperance . . . .[1]

In short, at the end of the winter following that spring which saw Rashíd Sultán set out for Mughulistán, the Khán happened to be in Yángi-Hisár. My uncle was in attendance on him, while I was in Yárkand. I have frequently heard the Khán relate that, one night when drinking, bowl was coming round, the following verse came into his head: 'At night he is drunk, at dawn he is drunk, and all day he is crop-sick, see how he passes his noble life. It is time that I should return to My God [and abandon these unseemly practices]' When this quatrain had been fixed in my heart, I again became resolute and said to myself: 'these ideas are merely the outcome of excessive inebriety. For otherwise, who could continue life without this form of enjoyment?' Thinking, thus I fell asleep; when I awoke I writhed like a snake with crop-sickness, and to dispel this I called for a draught. When it was brought, the inclinations of the night before again took possession of my brain, and I sent for Sayyid Muhammad Mirzá, and said to him, 'I am tired of this wine-drinking, and wish to reform.'" Now my uncle had for a long while been a disciple of the order of Yasawi Shaikhs,[2] and practised austerity and abstinence; thus he had been greatly distressed at the Khán's shortcomings, but when the Khán now announced

[1] The five lines with which the chapter opens are entirely rhetorical flights concerning "Repentance." R.

[2] Four more lines until "virtue" of Requiescat omitted here.—R.

The Yasawi Shaikhs were the followers of Sayyid Ahmad, otherwise Hazrat Khwája Ahmad, of Yasi, who was the founder of the sect of Sufiism and died about 1120 A.D. He is said by Mr. H. Schuyler, who visited Bishkam in Turkistan, to be one of the most influential saints of Central Asia, and the apostle of the Khirghiz. The town of Turkistan, near the right bank of the Jaxartes, is the most picturesque native town of Yasi. Here the mosque of 'Hazrat' is still to be seen, which was erected over the tomb of Shaikh Ahmad, by Timur at the end of the fourteenth century, and was restored in the latter half of the sixteenth by Abdullah Khan II., the famous Uzbeg chief. It is considered one of the most magnificent in Central Asia (*See* Schuyler i, pp. 71–72.)

to him his desire to mend his ways, my uncle burst into tears and urged him strongly to carry out his intention. Having repented, the Khán went into the assembly; [verses] .... the wine-bibbers and profligates were dejected and distressed, but all the pious and the learned rejoiced, while the zealots and devotees began to thank God, and the townsfolk and peasantry stretched their hands in praise to heaven. Thus the Khán repented of his past deeds, and night and day begged the forgiveness of God on his offences. . . .[1]

CHAPTER LXXI.

HOW THE KHÁN, WISHING TO BECOME A DARVISH, INTENDED TO ABDICATE THE THRONE, AND HOW HE WAS DISSUADED.

After the Khán had been distinguished with the honour of repentance, and had entered the circle of those of whom it is said, "God loves the penitent," he passed into Moghulistán, and joined Rashid Sultán at Kuchkár.[2] Remaining himself in Kuchkár, he sent forward Rashid Sultán, with his Amirs and Muhammad Kinghiz, to the farthest limits of Moghulistán. They collected and brought back the scattered Kinghiz, thus setting [the Khán's mind at rest with regard to this affair. In the spring the Khán went back to Kashghar. After this, he used to return every year to Moghulistán with his family, to see that the country was in order, and to confirm the authority of Rashid Sultán. In the second spring that he took his family there, most of the Moghul *Ulus* who were able to do so, went with him of their own accord and desire. That winter the Khán and Rashid Sultán took up their quarters in Kuchkár, and at the end of the winter the Khán, leaving his family there, went back to Yárkand.

The reason for this was that, since his repentance, he had devoted himself much to the study of Sufi books; and having pondered deeply on their sayings, was greatly influenced by them. . .[3] The Khán entered fully into the tenets of the sect, and was profoundly impressed by them. From their books and pamphlets, he learnt that the blessing [of Sufistic knowledge] was only to be attained by devoting himself to the service of a perfect

[1] Two couplets and four lines of rhetoric are omitted here. They contain much the same matter as the preceding passages.—R.

[2] The Kuchkar. Kashkan, or Quail gallery, is one of the head streams of the Ohu. Its valley lies to the south-west of Issigh-Kul, and appears to have been a favourite camping and grazing ground of the Moghuls. See the Map.

[3] An irrelevant anecdote concerning some saint is left untranslated.

Sultán, on this account he withdrew his mind from his earthly kingdom, while his heart became entirely detached from the world. He spent most of his time in seclusion, engaged in discussions on Sufism. Never was any one else allowed to intrude on his privacy. One of his companions was my uncle who had been a disciple of the Yasavvi Shaikhs and who under the guidance of that sect practised abstinence. Most of the conferences took place in his presence. Another was Shah Muhammad Sultán, who was a cousin of the Khán and a son-in-law of his sister, and who has been mentioned briefly above: at times I was also admitted. No one else was allowed to enter, and the people used to wonder what kind of discussions those could be, to which only those four persons were admitted. [Complot].

It was finally decided that the Khán should go to Yárkand, and that his brother, Amin Khwája Sultán, should be brought from Aksu and set up as king in his stead. To him should be confided the whole *Ulus*, while the Khán, divesting himself of everything, should set out on his journey, haply he might thus render the Most High God perfect service. My uncle then suggested that before taking this step, preparations should be made for the journey to Mekka, and all necessaries got ready; that he would accompany [the Khán]; that wherever he was he would spend his whole life in attendance on him and that Shah Muhammad Sultán and myself should also be in waiting.

No sooner had these plans been determined on, than Khwája Muhammad Yusuf, son of Khwája Muhammad Abdullah son of Khwája Násir-ud-Din Ubaid Ullah, arrived in Káshghar from Samarkand and the news of his arrival] reached Moghulistán. The Khwája was an exceedingly pious and austere man, and the Khán longed to wait upon him, in the hope that [in his service] his desire might be realised. So he journeyed from Kuchkár to Yárkand, where he arrived at the end of the winter and waited on the Khwája. [But when he explained to him his resolve, the Khwája remarked: "Much has been said by wise men on this subject, such as: Remain on the throne of your kingdom and be like an austere dervish in your ways. And again: set the crown on your head, and sometimes on your back. Use cloth in your work, and wear what you will. In reality sovereignty is one of the closest walks [with God], but kings have abused its rights. A king is able, with one word, to give a higher reward than can a darvish (however intent upon his purpose) during the whole of a long life. In this respect sovereignty is a real and practical state . . .[1] But I will show you one line that my father,

[1] Ten lines omitted, containing a quotation from Najm-ul-Din, which points out what a faithful disciple may attain to, and what an unfaithful one must forego.—R

Khwája Muhammad Abdullah, writing to him, wrote: 'And he gave the writing to the Khán. It was written: 'The most important conditions, for a seeker of union with God, are little food, few words, and few associates.' This brief statement sufficed to compose the Khán, and he resolved to pursue the road of justice and good deeds. He began to occupy himself, at once, with what he was able, until the words of Shaikh Najm-ud-Dín should be realised. A short time after this, Khwája Násir came, and the Khán's desire was fulfilled. In the meanwhile Khwája Táj-ud-Dín arrived from Turfán.

CHAPTER LXXII

KHWÁJA TÁJ UD-DÍN.

Khwája Táj ud-Dín was of the race of Maulaná Arshad-ud-Dín, who was of the race of Khwája Shu'a-ud-Dín Muhammad, brother of Khwája Hájy-ud-Dín of Bokhárá, the last of the Mujtahids. During the interregnum *fatrat* of Chingiz Khán, this Shuja-ud-Dín was brought [into this country], and of his race is Maulaná Arshad-ud-Dín, who brought about the conversion of the Moghuls to Islám. All this, God willing, will be fully described in the First Part. This Khwája Táj-ud-Dín is of the race of Maulaná Arshad-ud-Dín. His father's name was Khwája Ubaid Ulláh. He was a disciple of Mír Abdullah of Bashkárá. [illegible] Having remained for some time in the service of Hazrat Islám, the latter gave the Khwája leave to go to Turfán, where he was cordially received by Sultán Ahmad Khán. [illegible]

The contents consist of a number of [illegible] anecdotes [illegible] and of a brief reference to an anecdote relating to [illegible]

CHAPTER LXXIII

KHWÁJA TÁJ-UD-DÍN IS ALLOWED TO RETURN TO HIS ÁN. [illegible] IN MARCH [illegible] WITH THE KAZÁK-UZBEG. OTHER CONTEMPORARY EVENTS

When Khwája Táj-ud-Dín came from Turfán, the Khán received him with due honour. He stayed one year in Yárkand, and then returned [to Turfán]. Next winter Rashid Sultán went and plundered the Kilmák, slew one of their Amirs named Háján Tálish,[1] and acquired the honourable name of Ghází. He had his winter quarters at Kuchkár, whither the Khán went with a small attendance (*peida*) and joined him. With the middle of the winter arrived Tahir Khán who has been briefly mentioned above among the Kazák Khans. After a long intercourse by means of ambassadors, it was ascertained that he had come to wait on the Khán, and to deliver over to his Sultán Nigár Khánim, the Khán's aunt.

This Sultán Nigár Khánim has been already spoken of above. She was the fourth daughter of Yunas Khán and after the death of Sultán Mahmúd Mirzá, son of Abú Said Mirzá she was given to Adik Sultán, son of Jání Beg Khán, the Kazák. By Mirzá Sultán Mahmúd she had one child, Mirzá Khán, who became king of Badakhshán, and in the year 917[2] died a natural death. His son, Sulaimán Shah Mirzá, is now ruling in Badakhshán. By Adik Sultán she had two daughters, the elder of whom was married to Abdulláh Sultán, son of Kuchum Khán, but died soon after. The younger was given, at this time, to Rashid Sultán, as shall be mentioned. After the death of Adik Sultán, this Sultán Nigár Khánim married her brother Kásim Khán. When his last died, the Khánship devolved upon Tahir Khán, who was the son of Adik Sultán. He was very much attached to the Khánim and even preferred her to his mother but had given him little. She showed him long gratitude, but entreated him, saying: "Although you are my child, and I brother, at the same time of your decease any child but

Tálish should properly be called *Tísh*, a name title among Kalmak leaders.

[2] This date is undoubtedly a mistake for 927. It is given in the texts of Abú'l-Fazl, but in such a way that it may be only a numerical (*abjad*) error. Mirzá Kamr (properly Yádgár Mirzá) was only son of Sultán Mahmúd Mirzá by a daughter of Bábar. In 914 (1507) he was governor of Badakhshán. He is elevated to royal rank about 922 (1516), and succeeds his father about 927, although he would perhaps not be Mirzá Khán's eldest son, Sulaimán Mirzá, who Bábar's chronicle at Akbar's request, Bábar appointed to Badakhshán himself. He may have been a refugee there in 932 (1526). (See Erskine, *Hist.* i. pp. 219, 286, 511, etc.)

you, nevertheless I am grown old, and have no longer the strength to bear this migratory life in the deserts of Uzbegistán. I wish you now to take [illegible] to my nephew, Sultán Said Khán, that I may pass my last days in a city and enjoy some quiet and repose. Moreover, *in consequence of the hostility of the Mangits*, your affairs in Uzbegistán are no thriving. On account of the opposition [of the Moghuls][1] your army has decreased from 1,000,000 men to 400,000, and you have no longer strength to oppress them. I will be a mediator for you, and will bring about a reconciliation between you and the Mogul Khákáns. *In this way the Mangits may be kept in check.*[2]

Tahir Khán fell in with this plan and came to the borders of Moghulistán, where negotiations for peace were entered upon. He came in person to Kashkár and waited on the Khán. The latter, from love of his aunt, rose [to receive him], saying: "Although my rising [to receive you] is contrary to the Yasa, yet my great gratitude to you for having brought my aunt, makes it possible for me to rise. Thus saying the Khán rose, but [Tahir Khán], observing all the formalities, bowed his head to the ground, and then advanced towards the Khán, who having embraced him, showed him great honour and showered royal favours upon him. After this, his sister, the Khánim's daughter, was given in marriage to Rashid Sultán, in whose harem she is at the present time. She has children each of whom will be mentioned in the proper place.

At the time of Tálish Khán's departure, Muhammad Kirghiz was captured a second time, and brought home to Kashghar. The reason for this was that he had shown signs of insubordination, and a desire to escape to the Uzbegs. He was therefore detained in custody, but after the Khán's death he was released. The Khán now returned to Káshghar, and I was left in Moghulistán to keep the people quiet. But in spite of my efforts, I was unable to pacify the Kirghiz, who fled and again betook themselves to the remotest parts of Moghulistán, where they joined Tahir Sultán. Some of them, however, remained. In this year a son was born to the Khán.

[1] The texts do not mention which opposition is referred to, but I assume the Moguls are indicated (if this translation is correct), and that the reference is alluding to the defeats which Sultán Said had recently inflicted on the Kirghiz Kazák. The next sentence bears out this presumption. But see next note.

[2] The uncertainty regarding this name was all cleared up [illegible]. It occurred on this occasion once, in the form of *Manfalat* and *Mafalat*; there it is twice named, but is spelled differently, and in such a way that it may be read *Mafaqit*, *Mifaqt*, etc., etc. Dr. Rieu, however, who has done me the courtesy to examine the passages in the original text, is of opinion that in both cases the incomprehensible words may at first be tribal names of *Mangit* or *Mangut* erroneously reproduced by the copyist. It is significant that, as we said, in both cases, which only [illegible] in reference to the people of Kázák with the rest of the Uzbegs. It is found in which [illegible] the book

CHAPTER LXXIV.

BIRTH OF SULṬÁN IBRÁHÍM, SON OF SULṬÁN SAID KHÁN

In the month of Shawwál of the year 930 . . .[1] [a son was born to the Khán], and he was given the name of Sultán Ibráhím. Khwája Muhammad Yúsuf received him as a son, and Bábá Sárik Mirzá whose name was mentioned in the review [of the army] of Káshghar, was appointed his *Atábeg*. Magnificent banquets were held in honour of his birth—more splendid, in fact, than any that had been held on previous occasions. The Khán loved him above all his other children . . .[2] His life will be recounted in its proper place.

CHAPTER LXXV.

THE KHÁN'S SECOND INVASION OF ANDIJÁN.

On return of the spring . . .[1] the Khán saw fit to go again into Moghulistán to confirm Rashíd Sultán's authority. He set forth from Yárkand, and on reaching Káshghar met Hazrat Khwája Núr, who was coming from the direction of Andijan. Having had the felicity of kissing the Khwája's feet, the Khán proceeded on his journey to Moghulistán while the Khwája went on to Yárkand. Towards the end of summer the Chán reached Issigh Kul, where he learnt that the Kálmák had approached the frontiers of Moghulistán. The Khán, putting his trust in God, hastened on with all speed to Káshkálán, which is ten marches from Issigh Kul. Here a messenger from my uncle in Káshghar brought the news that Sayunjuk Khán was dead, that the Uzbeg Sultáns were without a leader, and that a better opportunity than the present

[1] The dates of years are omitted.

[2] It follows chronologically from what is here said, containing the words *Zilḥijja sanat* 930 [1524], that Ibráhím was born in 925 [1519]. The author has not followed out his intention in this matter. Ibráhím was only once thereafter, as having been taken to Kabul by his mother Zainab Sultán Khánum, on being united in marriage, by Abdu'r Rashíd (see p. 407). At that time, this third son of Said Khán would have been about thirteen years of age, and even when the author wrote his history, he must have been young to have accomplished anything worthy of record.

[1] Some lines of verse here omitted, apparently

one for revenge, was never likely to occur; for how long had such a day been awaited?

The reason for my uncle's remaining in Káshghar was that in the last-mentioned spring [*Jamádi-l-ákhir*], on account of the extreme heat of the weather, he had caused fresh green grass to be spread on the ground and iced water to be sprinkled over it; he had then lain down naked on it and had gone to sleep. On awaking he found that he had become paralytic *(falaj)* and retained an impediment in his speech. In the meanwhile, the Khán arrived at Káshghar on his way to *Moghulistán, and Khwája Nurá*[1] from Andijan. [Two couplets . . . There is a proverb which runs "When a sick man is destined to recover, the doctor comes uncalled"—a saying which illustrates the good luck of my uncle. Khwája Nurá applied himself to his treatment, and that is why he had stayed behind in Káshghar. On learning the death of Suyunjuk Khán, he had sent off a messenger to the Khán, and when this messenger arrived in Kúlkeel,[2] the Khán, quickly summoned His family from Issigh Kul, thither he went, and, taking them with him, he proceeded to Kunghár Uleng, and thence towards Andijan. [Verses . . . .

The fort of *Uzkand, which was a very strong one, was taken*. [From Uzkand he marched on to Nárin, where the fort is the strongest in all the province of Farghana. It, too, fell an easy prey to his army. Thence they advanced on Usk. All the nobles, learned men, artisans, and peasantry in this neighbourhood were agreed that since Suyunjuk Khán was dead, it would be best to come to some agreement. "Until they have decided upon some definite plan of action," said they, "let us, by negotiation and prayer on the part of Andijan, hem in the enemy's advance. As the Khán [cannot penetrate into the Uzbeg mountains] he will not be able to touch us, nor will he succeed in laying siege to the fort." [So saying, they set out for Andijan.] But when the Uzbeg-Shaibán heard of the Khán's advance towards Andijan, without further ordering or planning, all poured into Andijan, like locusts or ants, from every quarter. There was no time for making the necessary preparations for siege, and the Khán was obliged to send many of his people back. In that expedition the Khán's army was composed of 25,000 men all told, while the Uzbeg had more than 100,000 [Couplet . . .

[1] Nur as stands for Nur-ul-Din.—R.

[2] This is evidently a mistake for Kurama, the spelling of which in the form *Kábildán* The Turki MS. has Kapilik. For *Kúlkeel* the name now is *Kunghár Uleng*, i.e., following a low ridge. Kúlkeel, which is most likely, more simply gives an accurate description of the place, for the Uzbeg in question must have come to the eastward of Issigh-Kul, except that it was against the Kurlát that the Khán was marching.

The men who had fallen turned away, were sent to Káshghar. The Khán himself went back to Moghulistán and joined his family, which was in Utluk—a well-known place [*manzil*] in Moghulistán. Then, leaving Rashid Sultán in Moghulistán, he returned to Kashghar, where he again waited on Khwája Núr. These events took place in the year 931 [1524–5].

CHAPTER LXXVI.

LAST VISIT OF THE KHÁN TO MOGHULISTÁN. THE MOGHULS ARE BROUGHT TO KÁSHGHAR FROM MOGHULISTÁN, AND SOME THEIR CONTEMPORARY EVENTS.

As Rashid Sultán remained in Moghulistán, he made Kuchkár his winter quarters. Now Táhir Khán was in Uzbegistán, but some events occurred there which obliged him to return to Moghulistán. He therefore came [and settled down] near Kuchkár, where he was joined by all the Kirghiz, to whom he gave protection in his own territories. On this account Rashid Sultán became alarmed, and without waiting for winter fled from Kuchkár to Ak-Bishi. On learning this, the Khán, towards the end of that same winter, repaired to Ak-Bishi, and joined his son at [the] Kitilash[1] of Ak-Bishi. [Rashid's] followers were [thus] reassured.

In the following spring, the Uzbeg penetrated to the eastern quarter of Moghulistán, which is called Khiáss and Kunkás[2].

All the Kirghiz who had remained with Rashid Sultán, were anxious to unite with those Kirghiz who had joined the Uzbeg. The Khán ordered me to accompany Rashid Sultán, and [we] having driven the Kirghiz out of Bunghál and Kuchkár, brought them to Ak-Bishi. The Khán himself went to Káshgar, in order to gather all the people together, and to see if any agreement could be brought about between them and the Uzbeg. He left me in Moghulistán to ensure law and order among the inhabitants. I accompanied Rashid Sultán, until the Khán returned from Káshgar with his family and rejoined our people; then he sent me off to the Kashghar [province] to bring Sultán Nigár Khánum into Moghulistán, that she might meet with Táhir Khán for the

[1] *Kitilish* means the confluence of two streams; in this case probably of some stream with Ak-Bishi, or of the Ak-Bishi with the Nárin. The Ak-Bishi valley, situated somewhat halfway between Kashgar and Issigh-Kul, is said to have been one of the most ancient and populous of Mogul Khán's. Most likely there were several towns or villages there.

[2] The rivers *Kúnes* and *Kunges*, as usually written by the Russians

settlement of ■ peace [with ourselves] So I went to Yárkand, and conveyed the Khánum back to Moghulistán. The Khán was at Aksú [1]

Before I arrived, he learnt that the Kirghiz had separated from the Uzbeg. On hearing this, he thought it advisable to go and subdue the Kirghiz, and started from Aksú [for that purpose When they had gone one stage, Rashid Sultán fell ill. Bandagí Hazrat Khwája [2] happened to be there, on an excursion. When he arrived, he was able in three days, by means of his Christ-like *healing power, to change sickness into health.*

Having delivered the Khánim into the hands of the people, I hastened on to join the army, and came up with them the same day that they left that stage I had the felicity of kissing the stirrup of Khwája Nuná, who then turned back The Khán at *the same time] pushed forward, and in twelve days accomplished* forty days' journey. The details of the matter are as follows.

When we reached Ak Kumás, the Khán sent me with 500 men to accompany Rashid Sultán against the Kirghiz, who were then in Arish Lár.[1] On arriving at this place, we found their camp and their tents left standing. *It was clear that they had fled* and got away Some of their arms and luggage *pastál]* were lying tumbled about We concluded that they got news of [our approach]. As we proceeded, we came across some dead bodies, and several horses, wounded or killed by arrows, besides many broken arrows After careful search, we discovered a man who was half-dead, from whom we learnt that Bábájak Sultán had come from Kusan, and attacked the Kirghiz; that three days previous to our arrival a fierce battle had been fought resulting in the defeat of Bábájak Sultán. The Kirghiz, having despatched their families towards the Uzbeg, had themselves gone in pursuit of Bábájak Sultán

Advancing yet further, we lighted upon some 100 000 sheep of

[1] No doubt a camping ground on the Aksú river, between Kashghar and Ak-Báshi

[2] Otherwise Khwája Nuna, or Nur-ul-Dín

[1] Meaning, apparently one stage from the *Aksu* river

Ak Kumás may perhaps be identified with *Ak Kum* between the two *Yulduz and the Chu, and Arish Lar* with *Lake Aru* which lies to the west of the Sari river and nearly north from Ak Masjid on the *Sir Daria* This is a long distance from Moghulistan, and one can scarcely imagine the Moghuls following the Kirghiz so far Still, it is evident from the text that the chase was along ■■■, and it was in a north-westerly direction, for it is stated below that the Kirghiz took refuge with the Uzbegs who compelled them to flee north-west There is not a, and small, *el-Kum* on the south bank of the River, a short distance ■ on the bottom font of Hijak, but this would not lie in the right direction, and would not be distant enough as the narrative runs there any *Arish* ■ the vicinity that I am aware The only other possible *Arish* (or *Aris*) suggested by modern maps would be on the river of that name. which falls into the Sir, a good deal below Khokand This would lie within the country to which the Kirghiz would likely flee on refuge, the Moghuls to enter, in pursuit This would [illegible] not to be.

the Kirghiz, which we drove along with us. As the Kirghiz had united with the Uzbeg, we were unable to offer them further opposition, so we turned back and rejoined the Khán, for the original object of this expedition was to punish the Kirghiz, and not to attack the Uzbeg. This campaign got the name of *Kui Jandi*, or the "sheep-army."

Now at this time Táhir Khán had a force of 20,000 men, but his fortune was on the decline; for his army had formerly counted a million. He began to increase his violence and severity, and on this account he was abhorred of the surrounding Sultáns and men of note. He had a brother named Abul Kásim Sultán. The people were able to judge of him by the violent treatment he meted out to this brother, whom he suddenly put to death, they therefore all at once fled from him, so that none remained but he and his son. These two hurried forward and joined the Kirghiz. This news reached the Khán when he had arrived in Káshghar.

The reason for his going there, was that the Moghuls had represented to him that the Kirghiz had united with the Uzbegs, and those latter intended to settle down in Moghulistán, while he knew that he had not strength sufficient to cope with the numbers of the Uzbeg. It would therefore be dangerous for them [the Moghuls] to remain in Moghulistán that winter. For these reasons, the Khán brought Rashíd Sultán, and all the Moghuls of Moghulistán, to Káshghar. There they learned the news of the rout of the Uzbeg. At the end of the spring, it being difficult to return to Moghulistán, they remained in Káshghar. It was about the beginning of spring that Táhir Khán joined the Kirghiz. He carried off all the Kirghiz who had been left in Ak-Bési, together with the droves of horses which the Moghuls had left in Moghulistán.

CHAPTER LXXVII.

REASONS FOR BÁBA SULTÁN'S FLIGHT, AND THE CONQUEST OF HIS REALM.

BÁBA SULTÁN has been already mentioned above, as the son of the Khán's brother, Sultán Khalíl Sultán. He was a mere child when his father was drowned in the river, at Akhsu, by Ismá'íl Beg Sultán,

* Mention is made in the Kará'ganlyk of a battle fought on the hills in front of Kashghar. Nothing is said of the Moghuls, and neither more strongly than this epitaph. They had now to defend their own country to their enemies, and though they afterwards obtained intervals, this nothing of their real

in the year 914. After the Khán took Andiján, Bábá Sultán remained in the Khán's service and was treated with such consideration that he became an object of envy to the Khan's own] children. Khwája Ak Bulák, who has already been frequently mentioned, was appointed his governor (*Atáliq*). This son, as has been explained, had a plan for seizing Moghulistán, and taking Bibi Sultán with him. But my uncle opposed him, and arranged that Rashid Sultán should go instead. *On this account*, Bábá Sultán was offended. Despite the attentions the Khán showed him, his resentment increased daily, and in proportion as Rashid Sultán rose in power, his jealousy became the more bitter. Moreover, some devils of companions (who are to be found everywhere, and who sow the seeds of hypocrisy in the soul of firm hearts) did their best to incite him to sedition and revolt, so that at length he came to the conclusion that there was nothing left but flight.

One of these men was named Mazíd, a person who always whom the Khán had at first favoured, but finding that he did not perform his duties in the posts to which he was appointed, the Khán deprived him of his rank. This person found it inconvenient to remain in Káshghar, *so he approached Bábá Sultán, and filled his* ears with many idle tales which Bábá Sultán, from the severity of youth, or rather from sheer ignorance, took for truth. Among other deceitful statements, he said: 'Such a ruler as capability such as you, that Kashghar stands in need [and everybody is seeking, for actually good]. Whatever you urge, if people accept you as Bibi Sultán. Look, for example, at Sultán Ahmad in Khatlán-Hisár. Failing [that king, the king, he set himself up on his own account and now his head is one on. If you present yourself before him, he will make you kneel, while he himself will advance and take the whole of Badakhshán, and accomplish much that cannot now explain. The truth of the matter is, that the sovereignty of Khorásán and Máwará-un-Nahr is far more important than that of Káshghar and Moghulistán [and you may attain it.' Such idle tales as these did he string together and by persistence, made them appear reasonable. Thus was Bibi Sultán duped by this man and one or two others of the same sort.

In the summer of the above-mentioned year, they fled from Yárkand. The Khán did not send in pursuit of them, but said: "If they find some one better than Sa'ad, well and good, if not, they will return." Bibi Sultán fled to Sultán Ahmad, and thence to Badakhshán. Here he saw that he had been deceived, and that those cowardly men had misled him for their own private ends. Repenting he returned to Káshghar. But the Khán was unwilling [that he should remain], as shall be shortly explained.

So long delighted to quit the country, he withdrew to Hindustân, where he remained himself idly. Bâbur Pâdishâh gave him Rustak, an important town in Husn-Thurza, where he allowed him [an income not] liable to [state] charges, but he speedily died. He was visited with dysentery, and died in the course of the year 937, at the age of twenty-four. In his youth he had been so spoiled by the Khân, that his masters could do nothing with him, and his studies came to naught. [Two couplets . . .] Yet he was not devoid of natural talents, for he was a skilled archer and conversed well. At an early period he was fond of me, and we were such warm friends that we always used the same tent in journeys, and the same dwelling at court. His aunt was with me and my sister with him, on which account we were always able to associate without ceremony. Then occurred the affair of my uncle; a bitterness arose between them, and he plotted against the Khân. All my warnings and reproofs were in vain, and after this our friendship began to cool. When he came back [from Badakhshân] the Khân sent me to order him away again. [On our meeting, Bâbâ Sultân] began to make profuse excuses and apologies and to profess regret that he had turned a deaf ear to my counsels. [Verses . . .] Seeing him thus sad and repentant I hoped he might persist in reforming his conduct, but on reaching India a change for the worse came over him, and on account of his former evil associations, he never again mended his ways. [Verse . . .] His body was carried from Rustak to Badakhshân, and was buried in the tomb of Shâh Sultân Muhammad Badakhshi—his grandfather on his grandmother's side.

CHAPTER LXXVIII

SHÂH MUHAMMAD SULTÂN AND CONCLUSION OF HIS STORY.

SHÂH MUHAMMAD SULTÂN was the son of Sultân Mahmud Sultân, son of Sultân Mahmud Khân, son of Yunus Khân. He was only a child when Sultân Mahmud Khân, with his [other] children, was put to death by Shâhi Beg Khân, as has been explained. One of Shâhi Beg Khân's Amirs taking pity on this child, instead of putting him to death, kept him safe in hiding. After Shâhi Beg Khân had been killed, and Bâbur Pâdishâh conquered Mâvarâ-un-Nahr, this Uzbeg Amir sent the child to the Emperor, in whose service he remained [for some time]. When the Emperor, on account of the successes of the Uzbegs, was obliged to return to

Kábul, Shâh Muhammad Sultán stayed in Badakhshán with Mirzá Khán. On hearing of the conquest of Káshghar, he went to join the Khán, who loved and treated him as his own son. He was brought up in the special apartments of the Khan's children, and when he was grown up, the Khán gave him his full sister, Khadija Sultán Khánim, as a proof of his love and a token of his good regard for him. [Compleat.

We spent most of our time in each other's society. During nine years Shâh Muhammad Sultán, Bábí Sultán and I had remained continually in the Khán's service. Like the three dots under the letter *Sin* in Said,[1] we were never separated, nor did we leave his service for a moment on any pretext. Our worldly goods we shared in common, and were participators in each other's praise and blame. . .[2]

For nine years this unanimity of feeling and action continued. But at length the crooked wheel of fortune worked a change. . . . In the spring following the winter in which Bábá Sultán died, a strange circumstance happened to Shâh Muhammad Sultán. The details are as follows. There was, at this time, a certain Bábá Sayyid son of the sister of Mirzá Muhammad Begjik for whom Shâh Muhammad Sultán conceived a great friendship. But Bábí Sayyid was a young man who, from the first, passed the limits of decency and moderation. [Verses concerning impiety and immorality. . . The remonstrances reproofs and advice of the Khán and myself were in vain; his immoral conduct could not be checked, and he went so far as to prompt the young Sultán to aspire to sovereignty. The matter was rumoured everywhere and discussed by every one, till at last the Khán saw no remedy, but to banish the young Sultán from the country. [Complot. . . . He therefore sent Shâh Muhammad Sultán, together with Bábí Sayyid and some attendants, to Karátigin. Two of the Amirs, Muhammadi Barlás and Amir Jánaka, attended them as an escort. But on the road Amir Jánaka showed some hostility and wished to convey the Sultán to some place [other than their destination], on which account Muhammadi Barlás seized him. Thereupon Bábí Sayyid incited Shâh Muhammad Sultán to attempt the release of Amir Jánaka, saying: "It is his fidelity to you that has exposed him to this misfortune. You must save him from the hands of Muhammadi Barlás, by main force. What can Muhammadi do to you?" Shâh Muhammad Sultán, deceived by those words, turned back and at midnight approached the party,

[1] This refers to the custom, in very careful writing, of placing three dots under the letter *Sin* to distinguish it, with certainty, from the *Shín* with three dots above.—R

[2] This passage is slightly abridged and a quatrain omitted.—R

[3] Six lines and [illegible] verses on leaving the world's things, are left out here.—R

who being apprehensive [of some such danger] were standing, fully armed. [As he approached] he called out 'Release Amír Jánka' to which they replied "Whosoever you may be, to no otherwise we will smother you in arrows." The Sultán heard this threat, but paid no attention to it. (Has it not been said, a night the king is unjust?) The party then let fly their arrows and, by chance, the Sultán was struck [in the breast], he retired a short distance and then expired. Muhammadi captured Amír Jánka.

Having acted thus violently without orders, the party were thrown into the utmost consternation and knew not what to do next. A strange discussion took place among the *Uhs*. Some who had advised the Sultán, fled. Others, the Khán reassured with promises and agreements.

In the meanwhile Bábá Sultán, who had fled the previous winter to Khatlán and Kunduz, having discovered that what Mazíd and the rest of them had told him was false and groundless, returned ashamed and penitent. The Khán sent me to meet him, and I turned him back; but I supplied him with all necessaries for the journey, before bidding him farewell, as has been related. The wife of Shâh Muhammad Sultán (the Khán's sister) and Sultán Nigár Khánim and Dawlat Sultán Khánim (the Khán's aunt) and also the aunt of Shâh Muhammad Sultán's father, and the Khán's wife, Zamal Sultán Khánim (Shâh Muhammad Sultán's aunt) all came and demanded of the Khán why he had ordered the death of Shâh Muhammad Sultán. Whereupon the Khán swore a solemn oath, saying "I did not give the order." They then said: "Deliver Muhammadi over to us! that we may avenge on him the death [of the Sultán]." To this the Khán agreed.

Muhammadi appealed to me and I by means to rescue him. He was in the service of Rashíd Sultán. He begged me to use my endeavours for his security, so I took his part, and privately, but with great emphasis, represented to the Khán as follows "The Sultáns who were brothers are all gone, this Sultán, who is your son, and still remains, will also be offended, and too should be much afflicted [if you put Muhammadi to death] for he is a blood relation of mine." The Khán hearkened the whole matter in my hands [saying: "You can act as you choose, if you wish to retaliate, do so: if you wish to let him go, the choice lies with you."] But the above-mentioned Khánums, who were all either my maternal aunts or their daughters, began with one accord to blame and reproach me, saying: "What in the world will your blood connection with the Barlás lead you to, if it make you neglect such an important duty as this? Shâh Muhammad Sultán was a closer connection by many degrees than he. If [Muhammadi] is your father's uncle, this man [Shâh Muhammad Sultán] was your

own uncle, and besides this, your friend and companion. Your cousin[1] Khadi'a is his wife, and I'sa-wi'o's sister (the daughter of his paternal uncle) is of your household[2]. How can you, in consideration of all these, attack your friend Muhammadi?" [Such were the taunts and reproaches lavished down on me]; nevertheless Fate willed that I should pay no attention to the true words of my relations; I returned false for truth and would not hear of retaliation. I put Muhammadi under the care of my uncle, who carried him off into the mountain tracts of Káshghar.

This incident led to a certain degree of ill-feeling between myself and my relations, [which was, however, dispelled a short time after]. But I was caused much trouble and exposed to great annoyance ere I was able to deliver Muhammadi Balán out of the hands of the Khánims, and [in doing so] I caused an execution for my uncle and his children. I brought calamity upon myself—God forgive me! and again I say God forgive me! Since I did this unjust action, God sent this same to Muhammadi [to avenge us]. Verily injustice can only bring pain in its train. This same Muhammadi, whom I and my uncle had saved from so great a danger, neglected nothing in his endeavours to murder my uncle and his children, and to bring about the extinction of myself and my house—a house upon which for hundred years had worked no change. The Prophet said: "Whoso helpeth a tyrant, God will give the tyrant power over him".

CHAPTER LXXIX.

RASHID SULTÁN AND THE AUTHOR LEAD A HOLY WAR INTO BALUR.

After the reign of Sháh Muhammad Sultán, mismanagings arose among my relations. In the winter of the same year, Isa Khán commanded Rashid Sultán and myself to make a holy war on Balur. Though we had been at variance with our relations, we made it up and set out in all haste for Balur.

Balur is an infidel country [*Káfiristán*], and most of its inhabitants are mountaineers. Not one of them has a religion or a creed. Nor is there anything which they consider it right to abstain from or to avoid as impure, but they do whatever they list, and follow their

[1] His daughter (maternal uncle's).—R.

[2] By "his own household" is meant (as the Turki version explains) "your wife."—R.

[3] Some [redacted] from the Koran and prayers of about seven lines, are left out here.—R.

desirous without shocking compunction. Baltistán is bounded on the east by the provinces of Kíshghar and Yárkand; on the north by Badakhshán, on the west by Kábul and Jamghán, and on the south by the dependencies of Káshmír.[1] It is four months journey in circumference. Its whole extent consists of mountains, valleys, and defiles in such that one might almost say that in the whole of Baltistán not one *furakh* of level ground is to be met with. The population is immense. No village is at peace with another, but there seems on the whole to be plenty, and fighting is rarely occurring among them.

[1] The author gives no explanation of the region but was to only alluded by Western Asiatics *Bolor*, *Balor*, *Baltistan*, *Molor*, etc., and by the Chinese *Po-lo-lo*, but further details are wanted. In one form or other the name is found in writings later than the seventeenth century down to the eighteenth. Even at the present day it may not be entirely extinct, for as late as twenty years ago, Mr. H. W. Bellew found that the Khghiz of the Pamirs called Chitrál by the name of *Palor*. By all other inhabitants of the surrounding regions, however, the word appears to be unknown.

I would only remark that when our author gives the provinces of Kashghar and Yárkand as the eastern boundary of Balti, he appears to be somewhat at fault in his orientation. The province of Kashghar, at any rate, can hardly have formed part of the eastern boundary, if Kábul and Lagh-man (Le Lungh of the text) formed the western, and Badakhshán the northern limits, as he endeavours them to be. It appears to have been going about north-west, when he brought himself to be looking to the north and thus to have displaced his bearings by about 45 degrees, all round the horizon. If Kashghar was to the east in place of *Balor*, Badakhshán must have been the western and the northern also. Again Sarigh-Kul and the Pamirs must have formed part of Balor; but this, from Mirza Haidar's own statements does not appear to have been the case. His description of the country, products, and people applies obviously to the region south of the Indus water-parting range (the Hindu Kush) and not to the open Pamirs while his return from Balor to Sarigh-Kul, as I apprehend from the neighbourhood of mountains.

Yárkand may, in a sense, have formed part of the eastern boundary, for it is possible to reckon all the way from Badakhshán across lying between the southern plateau of Yárkand, on the one hand, and Baltistán on the little Tibet on the other, as included Hindu Kush. Possibly some of these particularly low-lying portions of Pamir-Kangdil (the portion of Wakhán), may also have been included in Balor; but I would, perhaps, be more correct to say that the province of Yárkand and Baltistán formed the two boundary following regions respectively.

The Balor country would include Hunza Nagar, possibly Yásin-Kuigal in Gilgit, Punyal, Yasin, Chitral, and probably the tract now known as Kafiristan: while, as much of it as still standing to Gilgit Yasin, etc., may have been regarded as part of Baltistan.

The identification of Balor, Bolor, was long a subject of uncertainty in geographers and commentators, but as the matter has now been cleared up, the old confusion need not be discussed. The latest up to dissertation on the entire subject with which I know is that contained in Sir H. Yule's notes in the *J. R. G. S.* for 1873 (pp. 173 *seq.*) and in his *Marco Polo*, i. pp. 187, 188, with the conclusions arrived at, are very fully borne out by Mirza Haidar's description. The only difference was (1) that was unknown to our author, Baltistán cannot have been included in Balor, and he always speaks of that country, later in his work, as a separate province with the name of *Balti*, and says that it bordered on *Balor*: and (2) that *Balor* was confined almost entirely, as far as I am able to judge from his description in this passage, to Ingilab, (see Further Notes, statements pp. 105 and 117) to the southern slopes of the eastern Hindu Kush on Indus water-parting range, while Sir H. Yule may make it embrace Sarigh-Kul and the greater part of the eastern Pamirs.

Most of their battles are conducted in the following manner. Their women are employed in the management of the horses and the labour of the fields, the men in war. While their wives are in their houses preparing the food the men will be engaged in fighting. Then the wives will come out to them and make signs to desist, saying it is time for a meal, and they must eat their food. So they separate and go back to their homes and eat their food, after which they return to the fight until afternoon prayer-time, when the women will again come on the scene and make signs to their own which ends as till sunrise, every one having returned to his house. Sometimes it happens that no pacification is brought about in which case they fortify and watch their houses all through the night with the utmost vigilance. In this way do they spend the whole of their lives.

As plains and pasturages are scarce, the people can keep but few cattle. They own a small number of sheep and goats from whose wool they make clothes, and cows which furnish them with milk and butter; beyond these they have nothing in the way of flocks. The tribe of each separate valley speaks a different language to that of its neighbours, and no one tribe knows the language of another. On account of language continually changing, few of them have seen any other village than their own. In Baku there are beautiful gardens and an abundance of fruits especially of pomegranates, which are excellent and most plentiful. There is one kind of pomegranate which is peculiar to Baku-istán. Its seeds are white and very transparent; it is also sweet, pure and full-flavoured. Honey is also abundant.

To resume: we passed that winter in Shirwán and fought many bloody *sabíl* battles, in which victory was on our side. In the spring we returned in safety, laden with spoil, and came to Sárigh Ohmpin, where a fifth of the booty was set apart, and a fifth amounted to more than a thousand loads.

In the early part of the spring of [illegible] we rejoined the Khán. In the summer following, Sultán Nigár Khánum, whom I have had occasion to mention so frequently in this book, died of a hemorrhage. I discovered the date in [the word "*Shuldash*

CHAPTER LXXX.

SECOND EXPEDITION OF THE KHÁN INTO BADAKHSHÁN, AND THE CAUSES OF CERTAIN CONTEMPORARY EVENTS

In the year 935 [1528-9] Bábur Pádsháh recalled Humáyun Mírzá to Hindustán. The reason for this was that Mírzá Khán (the son of Sultán Mahmúd Mírzá son of Abú Said Mírzá) had died in Badakhshán, where he has been related, and left behind him a child named Sulaimán. Bábur Pádsháh took this boy and kept him near himself, placing his own distinguished son, Humáyun, on the throne of Badakhshán, where he reigned from 926 to 935.

At the time when Bábur Pádsháh had subdued Hindustán and overthrown his enemies, two of his sons had become youths—Humáyun Mírzá and Kámrán Mírzá. Leaving the latter in Kandahár, he sent for Humáyun in order that he might have one of his sons [constantly] by him, so that if he were to die suddenly, there would be a successor near at hand. For these reasons he recalled Humáyun Mírzá into Hindustán. But the people of Badakhshán made the following representation to Humáyun Mírzá: 'Badakhshán is [territory of the] Uzbeg, who always in their hearts entertain a hostile intention against Badakhshán. [If they attack Badakhshán] our Amirs will be unable to check them.' To this Humáyun Mírzá made reply: "All that you say is true, still I am unable to deviate from my father's commands. But I will do my best to send one of my brothers to you as soon as possible.' Having thus reassured the people, he started for Hindustán.

[No sooner was he gone than] the inhabitants of [Badakhshán] began to despair; and all the Amirs with Sultán Ávais at their head, despatched express messengers to the Khán, representing: "Humáyun Mírzá has gone to Hindustán, leaving this province in the hands of Fákir Alí, who is quite unequal to coping with the Uzbeg, [and therefore] if stabilishing tranquillity in Badakhshán by submission should be delayed, this Khán were to come, all would be well; otherwise we must succumb to the Uzbeg. But if the Uzbeg, coming to attack us before the arrival of the Khán, they will not be able by the determined to obtain immediate help. We implore his help. Perhaps he may be the cause of our salvation. Moreover, Badakhshán belongs to the Khán by right of inheritance from his grandmother, Sháh Begum; nor is there a more rightful heir than he.' So persistent were they in their appeals, that the Khán became convinced that if he did not go to their aid Badakhshán would fall into the hands of the Uzbeg. Therefore at the begin-

ning of Moharram of the year '36, he set out for Badakhshán, leaving Rashid Sultán in Yárkand.

It has been mentioned above, that Tálim Khán had been left alone, and in the winter had been deserted by the Kirghiz and all his following. On this account the Khánish-wand Begs [were] unfriendly and did nothing. After he had been a short time among the Kirghiz, about twenty or thirty thousand Uzbeg horsemen gathered round him; and he prepared himself to every way [for war]. [The Khán on his departure therefore left Rashid Sultán to guard and protect the province of Káshghar. On reaching Shighi Chupán, the Khán sent me forward with an advance guard [*manghalái*], while he followed *after*. *I arrived in Badakhshán* and learnt that Hindál Mirzá, the youngest of the Emperor's sons, had been sent from Kábul by Humáyun Mirzá; also that twelve[1] days previous [to my arrival] he had reached and entered Kala Zafar. As it was the season of Capricorn and the middle of winter, to turn back would have been difficult. So [we were obliged to] go on to Kala Zafar, where we tried to enter into some negotiations, *suggesting that some of the districts of Badakhshán* should be given up to us, and at the close of the winter the Khán would again return. But they did not trust us; nay, more, they suspected us of deceit. So we finally resolved upon pillage, and, until the Khán arrived, I seemed the whole country round Kala Zafar, I brought together both man and beast, and in fact all to which the word "thing" could be applied. At the end of *a few days* the Khán himself arrived, and during *three months* laid siege to Kala Zafar, while his men carried off, from the surrounding country, the little that I had left. Near the end of winter, many of the Amirs who had sent for the Khán, came and waited on him, representing, with profuse apologies, that if Hindál Mirzá had not come, they would have hastened to meet and receive the Khán. To this the Khán replied "It is out of the question that I should oppose Bábar Pádsháh. You sent me entreating letters, saying that you would be swallowed up by the Uzbeg, and that the presence of the Uzbeg in Badakhshán would be equally hurtful to both sides;[2] for this reason I came. As matters stand, every man ought now to return to his own home." [Thereupon] the Khán left Kala Zafar, and set out again for Kâshghar.

When [illegible] of the Khán's entry into Badakhshán reached the Emperor, he was greatly displeased, and after due consideration and reflection, he despatched Sulaimán Sháh Mirzá [to Badakhshán] and recalled Hindál Mirzá [into Hindustán]. At the same time

[1] The Turki version has fifteen days. R.

[2] Here the Turki MS. has: "equally hurtful to us and to the Emperor," which is obviously the sense intended.

I wrote to the Khán "Considering my numerous [private] reasons [and the factions that exist between us] this is not a convenient time. I have recalled Hindál Mirzá, and have sent Sulaimán. If you have any regard for hereditary rights, you will be kind to Sulaimán Sháh, and leave him in possession of Badakhshán, for he is a son to us both. This would be well. Otherwise, having given up my responsibility, will place the inheritance in the hands of the heir. The rest you know."

When Sulaimán Sháh Mirzá reached Kábul,[1] [he found that the Khán] had retreated some time before. Hindál Mirzá, in obedience to the orders he had received, gave up Badakhshán to Sulaimán Sháh Mirzá, and proceeded to India. From that time to the present Sulaimán has reigned in Badakhshán.

The Khán [returning from Badakhshán] reached Yárkand at the beginning of spring. On the road my uncle fell ill, and when he arrived at Káshghar, his complaint took the forms of intermittent fever, dropsy, asthma and ague, so that all the doctors who were attending him, such as Khwája Nur-ud-Dín, Abdul Wáhid Tabari, Kázi Shiráz-ud-Dín Ali and others, were at a loss, the symptoms at last became so grave that his life was despaired of. In the meanwhile Khwája Nurí arrived from Turfán, whither he had gone on the invitation of Mansur Khán, who had said that if [the Hazrat] would honour him with a visit, he and his friends would obtain great blessing. [Complet] . . . . On hearing this invitation, Khwája Nurá went to Turfán, and having quenched the thirst of those parched wanderers in the desert of longing, with the wine of his presence, he returned to Kishghar. [Two couplets] . . .

My uncle's state was now such that he fainted every few minutes, and became unconscious.[2] Soon after his Holiness began to attend to my uncle, the gravity of the disease showed signs of abatement. All his remedies had a beneficial effect, yet in fact, this was not medical treatment, but miraculous power and holy influence: for the patient had become so weak and emaciated that he could not take medicines, and in such circumstances what can a doctor do? Thereto all this was a miracle.

During the time of affliction most between Khwája Nur and his younger brother, Khwája Muhammad Yusuf on account of the neglect of any sort of etiquette. The latter withdrew [from day to day]. One day I went to wait upon Khwája Nurí, and found Khwája Muhammad Yusuf sitting in his presence. Khwája Nurá had worked himself into a passion, and as soon as I had taken my seat, said, "Muhammad Yusuf, why do you not thus? If you are the disciple of our father, I am the disciple of his Holiness—that is,

[1] All the texts read *Kábul*, but apparently the name is a slip for *Badakhshán*.
[2] *Some details of the symptoms of the disease are omitted.*

of Khwája Ihrár Khwája Ubaidullah; and besides this I have many points of superiority over you. You are foster-brother to my eldest son. Apart from all this, I am supported by God and His Prophet; what strength have you to oppose me?" Khwája Muhammad Yusuf replied. "I also am hopeful of the help of the Prophet." Then, asked Khwája Nurí "Are you willing that the Prophet should be mediator between us?" Khwája Muhammad Yusuf answered "I am quite willing" and Khwája Nurí hereupon intimated that he also was willing, not another word was said. Thus the meeting terminated.

Shortly after this, Khwája Nurí set out for Badakhshán. One day somebody came and told him that Khwája Muhammad Yusuf had fallen ill, and was asking for him. I went to visit him and found he had a fever. The Khwája said to me, "I know well that Khwája Khávand Mahmud has taken an interest in me for some time past, he is kindly disposed towards me and gives me comfort from the Prophet. But now I do not know what has become of this comfort, for not a trace of it is apparent, and I am quite convinced that I shall not recover from my present illness. Khwája Khávand who is my brother and my more, stands in the place of a father to me, ought not to have treated me thus, he has put aside all his brotherly love and fatherly affection." These and a thousand such lamentations did he pour into my ears. He also told me a few anecdotes, and entrusted some of his household to my care. He gave me a garment of camel's-hair and a turban, as souvenirs. In vain did I attempt to dispel his ideas [of impending death]; he only replied, "I am convinced; there is not a shadow of doubt." He died on the sixth night of his illness, on the 14th of the month Safar of the year 937. I discovered this date in "*Ján-i-Bihisht*" [land of paradise].

After this, he Khán sent me to Khwája Nurá to entreat him to return, which he did, and the Khán came out to receive him; he placed his head at the Khwája's foot and offered him profuse apologies. The funeral rites of Khwája Muhammad Yusuf were then performed including the giving of alms, distribution of food and reading the Korán through.

But Khwája Nurá chose to dwell in Yingi-Hisár, and the Khán, in order to wait on him, left Yárkand and went thither likewise. There, they and the friends and disciples of the Khwája spent that winter. The Khwája performed wondrous things in their sight. The Khán was continually in his service.

CHAPTER LXXXI.

ACCOUNT OF THE RUPTURE BETWEEN THE KHÁN AND AIMAN KHWÁJA SULTÁN.

The details of this affair would be tedious and irrelevant; but it was briefly as follows. Mirzá Ali Taghái, whose name appears in the lists made at Káshghar,[1] was exceedingly jealous of my uncle, but this did not show itself outwardly. Although he tried hard [to injure him], slander and detraction could gain no hearing in the service of the Khán. As was mentioned above, the Khán gave my uncle's daughter to Aiman Khwája Sultán in marriage and from this connection had come many fine children; thus a bond of union [which should have lasted till the day of judgment] was formed between my uncle and the Sultán.

But seditious thoughts suggested themselves to Mirzá Ali Taghái. Since the spirit of jealousy had no effect on the Khán's relations with the Mirzá, he tried to bring Aiman Khwája Sultán, and stir up the dust of dissension between the brothers. He would thus, he thought, gain his end. For if Sayyid Muhammad Mirzá took the part of his son-in-law and the latter's children he would have, of necessity, to break with his maternal uncle, which would suit his Mirzá Ali Taghái's] purposes well. If, on the other hand [the Mirzá sided with the Khán, he would be closing the eye of fatherly affection on Aiman Khwája Sultán, and his children. In this event likewise the Mirzá] would suffer for the cause of Aiman Khwája Sultán would be ruined, and the power of the Mirzá, as it were, broken. Acting upon these mischievous calculations, he, by a series of misrepresentations and suggestions, made the Khán and Aiman Khwája Sultán mutually apprehensive of one another.

The details are briefly these: At the time when the Khan marched against Aksu, Mirzá Ali Taghái] said privately to Aiman Khwája Sultán "I perceive that the Khán has changed [in his conduct] towards you, on account of my loyalty. He wishes to set up his son Rashid Sultán in your place, and give him the province of Aksu. You must now look well to your own interests, and trusting my words, act upon them." While to the Khán, he was for ever saying: "Aiman Khwája Sultán is afraid of you without right or reason. It is very probable that he will appeal to your

[1] The author frequently refers in his narrative to the analysis or review of the Khán's army, which took place at the time of invading Kashghar in the spring of 1208 H. (See pp. 305 *et seq.*)

onomies for aid [and stir up a revolt]. But the Khán does not credit my words, and says they are the inventions of mere delusion. His evidence is that this year Aiman Khwája Sultán is coming here and such acts.' [Then Mirzá Ali Taghái] sends secretly to the Sultán, saying "The right time is now come for you to do so and so." In his artlessness and stupidity [the Sultán] does what has been suggested. Then Mirzá Ali Taghái represents to the Khán: "I told you that Aiman Khwája Sultán would do such and such a thing this year. My words have come true."

From the time of the Khán's revolt against Andigán until his death, a period of some six years this sort of intrigue was continually going on. And finally the Khán became altogether estranged from Aiman Khwája Sultán. It was in vain that my uncle and I reproved Aiman Khwája Sultán; when we asked him why he acted in this way, he could give no satisfactory reply, but persisted in his course, his motives were unknown to us.

At last we discovered that it was all the work of Mirzá Ali Taghái. When Mirzá Ali Taghái remarked the great change in the Khán's feelings towards Aiman Khwája Sultán he took advantage of the opportunity, and represented as follows to the Khán. "Since Aiman Khwája Sultán's presence in Aksu may lead to a revolt, it will be better to set up Rashid Sultán in his place, and send him to govern some district of Badakhshán. This would be greatly to your advantage. But I am fearful lest the Mirzás become angry with me. If they consent [to the arrangement] you will find it most advantageous, but it will be a difficult thing to mention to the Mirzás." (By the Mirzás he meant my uncle and myself.)

The Khán told me of this, I replied. "In what way is Aiman Khwája Sultán preferable to your Highness' other servants, that this change should be necessary for the good of the State? I do not consent to it. His relationship to your Highness is only equal to ours. If my uncle's daughter is of his household and has children [by him], the daughter of my paternal uncle is in your harem, and these two amount to precisely the same [degree of relationship]. Rather there is the advantage [on our side] that I have been in your service for twenty-three years, and you have always singled me out for your fatherly care and his kindly love. How then shall I exchange the Khán's cause for that of the Sultán? I will forward any measure that may be for the benefit of your State, by all the [illegible] in my power."

The Khán spoke also of this matter to my uncle, who said. "[Your Highness's] opinion is always enlightened; I am ready to do your bidding [illegible] every occasion. . . ." Although I did not know that [the Sultán] could harm you, yet I trust you hitherto

[1] One line, containing a passage of which a sense cannot be made, is omitted.—R.

infallible judgment, and will do what is most fitting in the matter.

These discussions long terminated, the Khán explained to us his proposals. He ordered me to take Rashíd Sultán [to Aksu], and after sending Aiman Khwája Sultán away from there, to place Rashid Sultán upon the throne. Aiman Khwája Sultán was to come to the Khán's aurt, and to remain there until the country should be reduced to order. All must be done to advance the claims of Rashíd Sultán. To my uncle he said, "Let all be carried out as I have ordered." I said, "With all willingness I undertake the task."

Two days later I started for Aksu. On reaching Uch I was received by Shíh Biz Muz', who was also mentioned in the lists at Káshghar. After having left, I was met *istikbál*] by all the men of Aiman Khwája Sultán, who sent a message to me asking, "What has happened? How would it be for us having set aside all considerations of relationship, to meet in consultation?" But I would not consent [to an interview] and said: "As there is nothing to be gained by an interview, it is not worth while to have one." I then sent a person to [the Sultán] with all the necessary provisions for a journey, and also some trusty men to accompany him. [After that I set myself to encourage the soldiers and population [of Aksu] and to settle their affairs in the most profitable manner. I passed the necessary orders to the old servants of Rashid Sultán, and arranged the government of the province by dividing it equally into villages and districts. Thus all the people were reassured. I stayed there six months.

Rashid Sultán was satisfied with all that was done and there grew up between us the strongest attachment. During my sojourn we were never apart for a moment. There was not the slightest disagreement between us. All that he did was pleasing in my sight, and all that I performed met with his approval.

Whatever I had suffered in being separated from my old friends, that is to say, Shíh Muhammad Sultán and Bibi Sultán, was atoned for in my friendship with Rashid Sultán. One day Rashid Sultán said to me: "Although formerly in Moghulistán, in accordance with the Moghul usage, and by the Khán's express command, there existed between us close friendship, and we used to give each other horses, nevertheless this fellowship was not confirmed by any vow. I am now desirous of renewing the old friendship and of ratifying it by solemn oaths." I answered my willingness and the conditions of our covenant were that, as my side as long as the Khán should live, I would remain in his service; but if the Khán were to die I would serve no one but him [Rashid Sultán]—and serve him in the Khán's place, as he had served the Khán. Rashid Sultán said: "After the Khán, I look upon you as my eldest

brother. If, in public, you reverence me in the place of the Khán, I in private will honour you as your liege, and I will show you even greater kindness and favour than did the Khán. I will give such offices to your uncle and relations as you may judge best." And all this we confirmed with binding oaths. [Two couplets]. . . .

This matter being concluded, he bade me farewell, and I returned to the Khán who was in Yángi-Hisár. He received me in a most flattering manner, and would not hear of my going back to my home in Yárkand, but instead, took me with him on a hunting expedition to Tayun Bishi—one of the frontiers of Moghulistán. On reaching the hunting ground, we were joined by the Sultán, who came from Aksu. Soon after this the Khán had a return of his old chronic illness, which took the form of flatulence, or wind in the belly and stomach, fits of shivering, and partial paralysis. Often, after hunting, he got a chill on the stomach, and his malady returned. But on this occasion the symptoms were worse than they had ever been before. My uncle was immediately sent for from Káshghar, but by the time he arrived the doctors of the royal camp had succeeded in curing the disease, by means of effective remedies.

Still, this time the Khán was much concerned about his illness. He sent for my uncle and Rashid Sultán, and said to them: "This illness has made me very anxious. I have frequently had such attacks before, for several years they have happened annually, but this year I have been seized twice, and the second time more severely than the first. My wish now is that there should be a covenant between you (meaning my uncle) and Rashid Sultán. In Mirzá Haidar's case there is no need of renewal, for not only did I establish them on a friendly footing in Moghulistán, but they have lately again, in Aksu, concluded a satisfactory agreement.' Then, addressing them both in the Turki language, the Khán continued "Oh, Sayyid Muhammad Mirzá, if anything should happen to me, look upon Rashid Sultán as standing in my place. And you, Rashid, look upon the Mirzá as in my place also." He said many kind things besides, all of which it would be tedious to repeat here.

The Khán took up his winter quarters in Yángi-Hisár, while I went to Yárkand. Previously, when I had come from Aksu I had found the Khán busily engaged in reading with, and learning under [*tálat*], Hazrat Makhdumi Nurá

CHAPTER LXXXI.

THE KHÁN BECOMES A DISCIPLE OF KHWÁJA KHÁVAND MAHMÚD.

After the Khwája's Muhammad Yusuf incident I tried constantly to induce the Khán to place himself under the guidance of Hazrat Makhdúm i Núr. The Khán would reply, "I desire this with all my soul. Without seeking [what you suggest], I wished to resign the government in order that I might follow the most perfect guide, Khwája Núr; but the more I examined myself, the less capable did I feel of making an open request to His Holiness. I then resolved to change my mode of living and to mend my ways, so as to render myself more fitting for his service. If I should acquire proficiency and capacity in the right path, then would Khwája Núr show me favour, without any request on my part; but if I should fail, my petition would be fruitless. Thus, but, by God's grace, may attain my end without addressing an open request to his Holiness. If such a happy consummation should be revealed I shall feel reassured." However much I insisted, the Khán always gave the same reply. A few months after my departure for Aksu, a letter arrived, directed in my name, containing certain instructions with regard to the affairs of Aksu; and on the margin there was some of the Khán's blessed handwriting. I have it intact before me at this moment.[1]

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CHAPTER LXXXII.

GENEALOGY AND ACCOUNT OF HAZRAT KHWÁJA KHÁVAND MAHMÚD SHAHÁB-UD-DÍN.

(He is always spoken of in this book as Hazrat Makhdúm i Núr.)
He received the name of Mahmúd from his father, and that of Shahúb-ud-Dín from his grandfather. Out of veneration they gave him the name of Khwája Khávand Mahmúd . . .[2]

I have heard Hazrat Makhdúm i Núr relate that when his father died he was twenty-seven years of age. He had heard his

[1] The omission here consists of some long high-flown passages on the subject of saints. The Khán's marginal note is now given by the author.—R.

[2] Some more irrelevant matter regarding saints and their virtues, is left out here.—R.

father say: 'In Shahr-i Sabz of Samarkand there is a garden, and in the garden a mulberry tree; and Khwája Bád-ul-Hakk wa ud-Din Nakhshband used to sit leaning against that tree. Hazrat Ishan, on account of this blessing, bought the garden. In front of the tree is a tank. One night, on the edge of the tank, Hazrat Ishán related to Khwája Ubaid-ul-Hádi and myself as follows: "During the lifetime of Hazrat Ishán[1] I suffered from a weakness of the stomach, which the doctors of Mávará-un-Nahr were unable to cure. I then went into Khorás'n,[2] where the Shaikh ul Islám, Maulána Abdu Rahman Jámi, brought me to his own house, and in his service I remained [for no little time]. I studied some of his tracts under him." I learnt that he had received his education at the hands of Sandigi Maulavi [Jámi], and from the pamphlet which I have copied into this book,[3] it appears that Khwája Nurá read standard books under him. After the death of Jámi, he went into Irák, where he enjoyed the society of Mir Hasan Yazdi and Mir Sadr-ud-Din. He next went and studied, for a period of six years, under Maulána Jalál-ud-Din Dávání and he also studied medicine under Maulána Imád-ud-Din, who was the most eminent physician, not merely in Irák, but in the whole world . . . .'[4]

Having completed his medical studies in Shíráz, he passed into Rum, where also he devoted himself to study. Thence he journeyed into Egypt. Having performed the pilgrimage to Mekka, he embarked at Jadda and went to India by way of Guj rát. Thence he repaired to Kábul, where Bábar Pádshán was at that time; and I, as already mentioned, was there also. These travels had occupied Khwája Nurá twenty-three years. When the Emperor took Samarkand, the Khwája went thither, and on the Emperor's returning to Kábul, the Khwája remained in Samarkand until the year 931, when he returned to Káshghar, as was mentioned. In those days he related: "In Samarkand I saw, in a vision, Maulána Háji Kásim (one of Hazrat Ishán's servants) come with two horses, saying that Hazrat Ishán had ordered him to tell Khwája Nurá to take those two horses and go to Káshghar." Before the Khwája reached Káshghar my uncle was attacked by paralysis, but on his arrival the Khwája, by means of his remedies, completely restored him to health. He stayed two years in Káshghar, where his associates were enriched by his blessings.

Mansur Khán sent some persons to him, saying that as Mukh-

[1] The Hazrat Ishán alluded to here, is apparently one who has not been hitherto mentioned.

[2] In the Turki stands "Turfán," but correct, I was obliged to go to Khorasán'—R.

[3] Quoted *in extenso* lower down, but omitted in the translation, as having no bearing on the history.

[4] A line of rhetoric omitted.—R.

dustúds had ever come to these countries [of the south, Turfán and Ghálish, which were the residence of the disciples of his [spiritual] fathers, these people and this country had never been blessed by a visit from the Khwája. As it would be difficult for his friends in those quarters to go to him, all their blessings would be upon him if he would come and honour them. The Khwája accepted this invitation of Maasúm Khán and so out for Turfán, where he remained nearly three years, and brought blessings to those who associated with him.

On the Khán's return from the Badakhshán campaign Khwája Núr-ul-Dín Turfán and stayed in Káshghar to attend my uncle, who, as mentioned above, had become subject to fits of vomiting [*qaiyá*]. Having again restored my uncle to perfect health, he proceeded to Yárkand. Here Khwája Muhammad Yusuf, as has been related above, did not come out to greet him in the prescribed manner, from which circumstance a dispute arose, which terminated as already described. After this affair he went to Yángi-Hisár, in which place the Khán also spent the winter, in order to wait upon his Holiness . . .[1] The Khwája told me that after the death of Abdu 'l-Rahmán Jámi, he found under his pillow some rough copies, one of which he gave, written out, to me; as I have copied it here. He gave me these passages in Yángi-Hisár in the year 987 [1580–81] . . . .[2]

At the end of the winter I went to Aksu, and there [found] the Khán and some of his adherents, high officials, nobles and others. At their request the Khwája wrote several pamphlets. One of these is the following, which I have copied out in full.

* * * * * * *

[1] About five hundred lines out, regarding some miracles performed by the saint, together with discourses and counsels by the same.

[2] Here follows the heading, 'Containing Khwája Núr-ud-Dín's writings copied, which I received when I was at Yángi-Hisár.'

[3] The pamphlet is entitled *Risálah-i-Hasháshíyah*, and has reference to the *Nafáis-ul-Maásir* on the same historical subject.

CHAPTER LXXXIV.

JOURNEY OF HAZRAT MAKHDUMI INTO INDIA,[1] AND EVENTS CONNECTED THEREWITH.

THAT spring, Hazrat Makhdumi Nuru set out for India by way of Badakhshán. The Khán escorted him as far as the pass of Shahnáz[2] [representing] seven or eight days journey. I being in Aksu at the time, was denied participation in this happiness. On my return from Aksu the Khán said to me "On bidding farewell to Khwája Nuru, I begged him to recite the *Fátiha* and just as he was about to commence I asked him, as a favour, to first of all repeat it for Mirzá Haidar and afterwards for me. He granted my request and having first recited it for you, he then did so for me." [Two couplets] . . . Those who were present relate that the Khán, during the few stages he made with the Khwája, was overcome with grief, and whenever the Khwája spoke, he was so overpowered with emotion, that he could not restrain his tears, a circumstance that greatly impressed those who were present. [Verses] . As this was the last time he [Khán] would see the Khwája he naturally felt severely the pangs of separation.

In short Khwája Nuru arrived in Hindustán. The frontier towns of Hindustán, namely, Kábul and Láhur, were then held by Kámrán Mirzá who humbly begged the Khwája to stay in Láhur, but the Khwája replied. "From the first, it had been my intention to wait upon the Emperor [Bábar]; therefore I must now go and condole with Humáyun. Having performed this duty, should I return, I will accept your invitation." He then went to Agra, the capital of India, where he was received with great honour by the Emperor [Humáyun].

At that period there had arisen in Hindustán a man named Shaikh Pul. Humáyun was anxious to become his disciple, for he had a great passion for the occult sciences, for magic and conjuration. Shaikh Pul having assumed the garb of a Shaikh, came to the Emperor and taught him that incantations and sorcery were the surest means to the true attainment of an object. Since lectures such as these suited his disposition, he became attached to the Shaikh's disciple. Besides this person, there was Maulána Muhammad Parghani who, though a Mulla, was a very [irreligious] and unprincipled man, and who always worked hard to gain his

[1] The Turki rubric reads "Journey into Bulakhshan."

[2] I do not know which of the passes referred to by according to *Shahnáz* was, is meant by this name. It might be the *Kárdán* or perhaps the *Kara-tásh*. The Khán appears to have returned at this time, from Aksu to one of the western towns.

ends, even when they were of an evil nature. The Shaikh asked the aid of Mulla Muhammad and, in common, by means of flattery, they wrought upon the Emperor for their own purposes, and gained his favour.

Not long after this I went to visit the Emperor, as shall be presently related but I could never gather that he had learned anything from his Pír, Shaikh Pál, except magic and incantations.[1] But God knows best The influence of Shaikh Pál being thus confirmed, Maulánà Muhammad, and then the Emperor and all his following, neglected and slighted Khwája Nurá, who had an hereditary claim to their veneration. This naturally caused the Khwája great inward vexation. It was mentioned above that when passing through Láhur, he had been invited by Kámrán Mirzá to take up his abode in that place, and he had promised to do so on his return. In pursuance of his promise, he now set out from Agra to Láhur Humáyun and his companions begged him to stay, but he would not listen to their entreaties He reached Láhur in the year 943 [1536–7 I and arrived in Láhur just before, and I now had the honour of kissing his feet

In those days I used frequently to hear him say: "I have seen a vision, a great sea which overwhelmed all who remained behind us in Agra and Hindustán, while we only escaped after a hundred risks:" and thus did it come about three years later just as he had said. as shall be presently related."[2] After the devastation of Hindustán he escaped, in safety, to Miyaná-un-Nahr, by way of Káshghar.

CHAPTER LXXXV.

MIRACLES OF KHWÁJA NURÁ.

I was present in the assembly when Maulánà Muhammad Parghari arrived from Agra, with a letter from Humáyun Pádshah, he also was present when the Khwája gave the answer before-mentioned. Maulánà Muhammad began to weep and begged that his sins might be forgiven him, he beseeched the Khwája with great earnestness to write a letter to Humáyun. The Khwája wrote "Oh Humá, do not throw thy noble shadow, in a land

[1] Shaikh *Pál*, *Phul* or *Buhlul*, was well-known in Indian annals and legend. He was put to death at or near Agra by adherents of Hindal Mirza in 1547 (See Beale's *Or. Biogra. Dict.*)

[2] The author alludes, apparently, to the battle of Kanauj in 947 (1540), when the Mughuls were overwhelmed by the army of Sher Shah, Sur.

where the parrot is less common than the kite *zaghan*]" Now, in this miracle there is a curious pun, for Humá Pádisháh did no throw his shadow in the country where the parrot is rarer than the kite [Maulaná Muhammad] returned stupefied. . . .[1]

While I was in Láhur, Tahmásp Sháh, son of Sháh Ismá'íl, came from Irák, took Kandahár from the deputies of Kámrán Mirzá, and having given it over to some of his trusted officers, he returned. This caused Kámrán Mirzá intense grief, and he asked me to tell the Khwája of his misfortune. The next day, when I went to wait on the Khwája, he said to me: "I have seen his Holiness in a vision, and he asked me 'Why are you sad?' I replied 'On account of Kámrán Mirzá, for the Turkománs have taken Kandahár. What will come of it?' Then his Holiness advanced towards me and taking me by the hand said: 'Do not grieve; he will soon recover it.'" And thus, indeed, it came to pass, for Kámrán Mirzá marched against Kandahár, and the troops of Tahmásp Sháh gave up the city to him in peace. This is an especially strange thing to have occurred, since the Turkomán rulers are very severe with their subordinates. Be this as it may, the matter was terminated quite simply.

Khánzáda Begum, the Emperor's sister, who has been frequently mentioned in this book, fell ill in Kábul. She wrote a letter to the Khwája, and sent it by me, to ask him for a cure for her malady. Now [redacted] that letter was badly composed, I rewrote it correctly, and then took it to the Khwája. He, on my arrival, said to me: "I wish to make you partner in a secret," whereupon I stood up humbly. He continued. "Give me the letter that the Begum herself wrote." Now, as a fact, I had written my letter in secret, and no one knew anything about my having done so.

I witnessed many other wonders performed by him.

* * [redacted] [redacted] *[2]

[1] *Huma* is the [redacted] of a mythical bird, supposed to wing over, and thereby its shadow upon, kings. By the land where the parrot is common, India is no doubt meant. The omission here consists of a miraculous tale concerning the fasting of the author.

[2] Here follows a Sufi letter by Khwája Núr, copied by the author into his text, but not translated.

CHAPTER LXXXVI.

THE END OF KHWÁJA NUR'S BIOGRAPHY.

Though I am not suited to the task, the context demands that I should give Khwája Nur's line of descent in discipleship.

He was the disciple of his grandfather Khwája Násir-ud-Dín Ubaidullah, the disciple of Maulána Yakub Charkhi, the disciple of Khwája Bahá-ud-Dín Nakshband, the disciple of Sayyid Kalál, the disciple of Khwája Muhammad Bábá-i-Samási, the disciple of Khwája Ali Rámitani the disciple of Khwája Mahmud Anjir Faghravi, the disciple of Khwája Arif Riugarvi, the disciple of Khwája Abdul Khálik Ghajdaváni [I were fitting that, in this place, I should speak of each of these holy men individually, but on consideration I do not think myself equal to the task (Caption lost]. . . .

I am fully aware that what I have already written is beyond my powers, but the requirements of the context have been the cause of my boldness, and I ask forgiveness for anything that be not pleasing to God or His Prophet or the friends of God. [Verses . . . .

After Khwája Nuri went to Hindustan, the Khán gave Amin Khwája Sultán (who had been brought from Aksu to Badakhshán) leave to go to India also. Although this step was necessitated by the affairs of the State, yet it did not cut the Khán off from his kin. However, Amin Khwája Sultán went to India, where he died a natural death. His eldest son, Masud Sultán, followed him into India. Khizr Khwája Sultán, Mahmúd Sultán, and Isán Daulat Sultán, after this dispersion towards India, settled themselves in different places, but there is no occasion for entering into further details. Whatever God wills that shall be said of them, will appear.

CHAPTER LXXXVII.

CONCLUSION OF BÁBAR PÁDSHÁH'S HISTORY

We have brought the Emperor's history down to the late events in the words "*Fath-ba daulat*" (930 1524). So much treasure fell into his hands, that all the people of the world benefited by it. In short, I went to India and was employed in the direction of the affairs of that country, as will be mentioned. The Emperor took possession of all the dominions of Sult'n Iskandar Afghán. Ránú Singí, one of the Rájas of Hindustán, came against Bábar Pádsháh with an army of several hundreds of thousands. The Emperor engaged him in battle, and defeated him;[1] and in his mandates took the title of *Gházi*. After this, he marched towards Chitor, where he won decisive victories over the infidels. Returning, he devoted himself to the settlement of the whole of Hindustán. In the course of the year 937 he fell a victim to a severe illness, which the efforts of the doctors were powerless to cure (Two couplets . . . As his end approached, he entrusted all the Amírs and people of the world to Humáyun Mírzá (whom he had recalled from Badakhshán) and his own soul to the Creator of the world. As soon as Humáyun had mounted his father's throne, such persons as Muhammad Zamán Mírzá (son of Badí-uz-Zamán Mírzá, son of Mírzá Sultán Husain), who had been in Bábar Pádsháh's service, and was his son-in-law, together with others, began to raise the flag of revolt and sound the drums of sedition. But Humáyun quieted them all by his kindness. He conquered what little of Hind had been left unsubdued by his father, and went in to Guzrát and captured it, but on account of discord among his brothers and the Amírs, he had to abandon it. The rest of his story will be told later.

[1] Ránú Singí, or Sánka, of Chitor—now Udaipúr in Rajputána. The author appears to allude to the battle of Kanwa in March, 1527, (Jumádí II 933) when Bábar defeated the Rána.

CHAPTER LXXXVIII.

INVASION OF TIBET BY THE KHÁN.

When Khwája Núr passed into Hindustán, and I withdrew from Aksu, Rashíd Sultán also returned, as has been already mentioned. During the autumn winter Rashíd Sultán went back, with his family, to Aksu. In the spring of that year, the Khán resolved to conduct a holy war against Tibet. Previous to this, his Amirs had frequently invaded and plundered that country, but on account of their ignorance and folly Islám had made no progress, and there were still numberless infidels in Tibet, besides those whom the Amirs had subdued.[1]

The Khán had always been animated by a desire to carry on holy wars in the path of God, and especially so now that he had just assumed the saintly ways of the Khwájas. He was always ready to devote himself to the cause of the faith, and felt that the holy war was one of the surest roads to salvation and union with God. Prompted by such pious feelings as these, at the end of the year 938 he set out to invade Tibet.

Having reached this point in my narrative, it is necessary for me to give some account of the land of Tibet, for this country is so situated that only a few travellers have been able to visit it. On account of the difficulties of the route which from every point of view is most dangerous—whether by reason of its hills and passes, or the coldness of the air, or the scarcity of water and fuel, or the shameless and lawless highwaymen, who know every inch of the roads and allow no travellers to pass—no one has ever brought back any information concerning this country. In such standard works as the *Mujjam ul Buldán*, the *Jám-i-Gití Numá*, and the Supplement to the *Siráh*, Tibet is not described as other countries are; they merely mention that there is such a region and some few facts regarding it are given. I am therefore embolened to furnish some details about the kingdom of Tibet which are to be found in no book.

[1] The appointment of the present and last two Governors of Ladák, from the house of Dalai in Turkistán. From the allusions to them which Mirza Haidar makes, they must have governed pretty frequently during the early years of the sixteenth century, though previous to that period I know of no mention of them. Besides those frequently referred to in this passage, it will be remembered that Ali Bakr's paternal Mir Vali, who was Ladák, and afterwards Mir Mazíd, who however, was killed there by a stone falling on his head. The date of Mir Vali's exploit can only be roughly placed towards the end of the fifteenth century. That of Mir Mazíd must have been about the year 923 (1517). All were, no doubt, wanton plundering expeditions, hypocritically disguised as holy wars.

[2] 948 ended 8 August, 1682.

CHAPTER LXXXIX.

DESCRIPTION OF THE SITUATION, MOUNTAINS, AND PLANS OF TIBET, AND AN ACCOUNT OF THE CUSTOMS AND RELIGION OF THE INHABITANTS

Tibet is a long and narrow country[1] (from *Rukan Bán* which means "between the north and the west,' towards *Bakan*,[2] which is "between the south and the east,' is eight months' journey. Its breadth is nowhere more than one month's journey, nor less than ten days. Its frontier on the side of *Rukan Bán*, adjoins Balunastán (as was stated above, in the description of Balur), but on the *Bakan* side, touches Hochu Sálá, which is a dependency of [what is called] Kanjánfu of Khitái. In the description of the

[1] The expression literally translated is "running lengthwise."

[2] These terms do not to be found in Persian or Turkish dictionaries, and I am not aware what language they belong to. The first one is certainly subject to many readings, and that adopted in the text is by no means certainly the right one. It may be *Rukn*, *Zilan*, etc., and *Bakk*, *Layan* etc., etc. *Bakan* may also be read in several ways. Fortunately, a subsequent passage enlightens us as to the meaning.

[3] *Hochu* properly *Hochow* is a town of the Kansu province of China, standing on the right (northern) bank of the Yellow River, about 320 li (or some 80 miles) south west of Lanchow. *Sala* consists of a large group of villages on the north bank of the Yellow River to the north and north-west of *Hochow*. *Kang-fu* represents the modern Si-Ngán-fu the capital of the province of Shensi. The region does not fall within the limits of the map attached to the text, but from a general map of China it will be seen that in reality, it lies more to the north-east of Tibet than to the south-east as Mirza Haidar places it; but his statement of the general position is in reality of no great moment.

Si-Ngan-fu was known in the time of the Mongols as *Kinsai-fu* or *Kan-zai-fu*, and it was so called by Marco Polo, who wrote "And when you have travelled those eight days journey you come to that great city called Kinsai-fu. A very great and fine city it is, and the capital of the kingdom of Kinsai-fu, which in old times was very noble, royal, and powerful in deeds, and had many great and wealthy and puissant kings." Previous to the Mongol era it was the capital of several of the Chinese dynasties and bore different names, those of *Chang-gan* and *Kong-cho-fu*. It is the latter which is believed to have been corrupted by the Mongols into Kongsu-fu. The site Mongol form seems to have survived among the nations of Turkistan etc., down to the days of Mirza Haidar.

The *Hochow* and *Sala* district is chiefly known as the settled range and fruitful Musulman population, which has been settled there for at least four centuries. The region has lately been visited by Mr. W. W. Rockhill, who tells us that these Musulmans are of Turki extraction, and speak a language mixed with Turki words. They are divided into two sections called locally the "black capped" and the "white capped" Musulmans, *Sala* is rather the name of the people than of the locality though there chief town goes by the name of *Sala-pulun* (or *pahon*). It is the *Sala* who are designated "Black Ugus" by the Chinese. In an interesting note, Mr. Rockhill observes that the annals of the Ming dynasty make mention of the *Salas*, as the remnants of various Turki tribes who had settled in the *Ho-chow Hwang-chow*, and other neighbouring districts, and had become a source of much trouble to the Empire. He concludes by pointing to the notice in the 'Ming annals," of the *Sali Ughurs* (see note p. 410), and inquires whether the *Sala* can be the same as the *Sari* (in Chinese *Sali*). The fact is that the two words can have no connection. *Sárigh Ughur* is the right form—*Sárigh* being the Turki for *yellow*, and Sali only its Chinese corrup-

mountains of Moghulistán and Káshghar it was stated that the principal range in Moghulistán, from which all the other hills branch out, passes north of Káshghar, runs towards the west, and continues to the south of Káshghar. It was also mentioned that the province of Targhána lies to the west of Káshghar, this range running between. This part of the range which lies between Káshghar and Targhána is called Alái.

Badakhshán is on the west of Yárkand. These countries are also divided by a part of this same range, which here takes the name of Pámir. The width of the Pámir, in some places, is eight days' journey. Passing onwards, one comes to some of the Yárkand mountains which adjoin Badakhshán, such as Rígrám[1] and Tagh Dumbásh, proceeding southwards, one arrives in the land of Tibet. Badakhshán is in the direction of summer sunset (*tábistán*) from Yárkand as stated above, and Káshmir is in the direction of winter sunset (*zamistán*) from Yárkand.[2] That same range runs between Yárkand and Káshmir, and is here called Bólti this district belonging to the province of Tibet. There is, in those parts a mountain wider than the Alái or the Pámir. The width in Bólti is twenty days' journey.

The pass ascending from Yárkand is the pass of Sanju, and the pass descending on the side of Káshmir is the pass of Askárdu[3] [From the *Sánju* pass to the *Askárdu* pass] is twenty days' journey. In the direction of winter sunset from Khotan are some of the cities of Tibet, such as Rúdhm, Sultánpur, and Bigwára,[4] and the

the name *Salar* is written in the Turki quite literally; it is a proper name and not an adjective.

It may be noted that it was among these turbulent Musulmans of Hindustan and Balkh, that the revolt broke out in 1826, which afterwards acquired the name of "the Hungamah" a movement which spread all over Khorasan, Turan, Hindustan, Yarkand, and some parts of Mongolia (See Yule's *Mission to the Court of Ava*, p. 29; Elphinstone's *History of India*, 9th ed., vol. ii. p. 608; and *Journal R. As. Soc.*, 1842, p. 508).

[1] The Turki text has *Rígat-Kám*.

[2] The expressions used for indicating these directions are peculiar. They should respectively, it would seem, be *ghurúb-i-tábistán* and *ghurúb-i-zamistán* from Yarkand. The passage, however, as shown in the critical notes has been altered by the late M. Reinaud in his portion entitled "A Part of Kashgharia in the Geography of Eastern Turkistan" and I have taken the same liberty, knowing that both the Ilkhan Ghazan's minister's *Tankih-i-Rashídi* is no exception to the usual inaccuracy of its (See *J. R. As. Soc.* 1871, p. 271.) The author's orientation is not particularly normal for Badakhshán lies nearly due west of Yarkand, and Kashmir due south-west.

[3] The name is a corruption, as in many geographical

[4] Properly *Sárikol*, or *Sárikul*, written *Asiadeh* on account of the inability of Persian Turks, and Hindustani-speaking peoples to pronounce an *s* immediately preceding a hard consonant at the beginning of a word. *Sárikol* is a Tibetan name. There is reference to a pass by Sárikol it would appear that a road led over it in Mirza Haidar's time. The pass in that quarter are nowadays looked by glaciers, and form impracticable for travellers.

[4] The *Sultanpur* mentioned here, must be the chief town of Kulu in the valley of the upper Bias river. Just south of Sultanpur, and on the same side of the Bias, there is a small place called *Bijaura* which would appear, at first sight,

afore-mentioned mountain range lies between Between Khotan and the towns of Hind above named, are situated Aridak, Ciuga, and Aspati,[1] which belong to Tibet; and it must be supposed that those mountains extend into Cathay. On the west and south of the range lies Hindustán, while Bhután,[2] Lahul and Bangáhal are all on the skirts of it. All the rivers of Hind flow down from those hills and their sources are in the country of Tibet.

On the north and east of Tibet lie Yárkand, Khotan, Chinchinta, Lob, Kaluk and Sárigh Uighur. The rest is a sandy waste [*sagistan*], whose frontier adjoins Kanju and Sakju of Khitái. All the streams which flow down from the mountains of Tibet, in a westerly and southerly direction, become rivers of Hind, such as the Nilab the river of Bhira, the Chinab, the river of Lahul, the river of Sultánpur and the river of Bijwára, which are all rivers of Sind. The Jun and the Gang and others flow through Bangála into the ocean[4], all the streams which flow in an easterly and northerly direction from the mountains of Tibet such as the river of Yárkand, the Ak Kásh and the Kára Kásh the Khiya, the Chinchinta, and the rest, all empty themselves into the Kuk Nam, which is a

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to be the locality alluded to by our author. But Mr. Shaw notes: "I incline to think that *Bajwára* must be an old town of that name a few miles from the Satlaj now Phillo, from its being mentioned as towards the Satlaj river" (*loc. cit.*, p. 279). This is probably the correct view.

[1] These three are obviously identified as *Hindol*, *Gugel*, and *Spiti*, the first in Lesser-Tibet, the third within British territory.

[2] The *Bhira* here pointed to is, no doubt, the town of *Bhera* on the left bank of the Jhelam below Pind-Dádan-Khan. It was a place much in vogue in Mirza Haidar's time, and is often mentioned by Babar. Gen. Abbott tells us that until it was supplanted by Pind-Dádan-Khan, *Bhera* was the principal town in that part of the country. He tells us also that on the opposite bank of the river, near Ahmadabad there is a very extensive mound of ruins called *Old Bhera* or *Johnthiagar* (See Bab., i. pp. 251 *seqq.*, Elliot, ii. p. 442, Cunningham, *Ancient Geography*, p. 155).

[3] Kanauj and Benares in the province of Kanauj.

The *Nilab* or Blue River, was the name which always has been given by Muslim authors down to the seventeenth century (and perhaps later) for the *Ab-i Sind*, or Indus; and must, from the sequence of the whole description, be also the river intended here. The "river of Bhira" between Jhilam and that of *Bijwára* as we have just seen from Mr. Shaw's note is in all probability the Indus. The *Jun* and the *Gang* it is almost unnecessary to mention are the Jumna and Ganges.

[4] The *Kolo Nor*, or Blue Lake—the *Tsing-hai* of the Chinese. Lassen's authorities remarkably correct regarding the rivers of Eastern Turkistan have hardly been surpassed. He confused *Lob Nor* with *Kolo Nor*. He could with his accustomed grasp of the geography of Eastern Turkistan have hardly been unaware that the river *Kara Kásh* emptied itself into *Lob Nor*. The river *Khiya* is very justly regarded as a tributary of the *Yurung Kásh*, and of the united *Yurung* and *Kara Kásh*, though in reality, it cast itself in the sandy desert before reaching any great stream. The *Ak Kash* I cannot trace under that name, but I suspect from the context that he uses the term as the name of the *Yurung-Kash*. Both, indeed, "are thought to be" (as Klaproth well remarks) "but one river, which flows from the Kara Muran (the Mongolian for the Yellow River of China) from *Kolo Nor*, but of course can only have been

lake in the aforesaid sand waste. I have heard some Moghuls say that one may travel round [the lake] in three months. From one end of it issues a large river, which is called the Kará Murán of Khatái

From these details it will be clear that Tibet is a very high-lying country, since its waters run in all directions. Any one wishing to enter Tibet, must first ascend lofty passes, which do not slope downward on the other side, for on the top the land is level; in a few cases only, the passes have slight declivities [on the further side]. On account [of the height] Tibet is excessively cold—so much so, that in most places nothing but turnips can be cultivated. The barley is generally of a kind that ripens in two months. In some parts of Tibet the summer only lasts forty days, and even then the rivers are often frozen over after midnight. In all Tibet, in consequence of the severity of the cold, trees never reach any height; nor does the corn, for, being low on the ground, it is *trodden down by the cattle*.

Now the inhabitants of Tibet are divided into two sections. One is called the Yulpá, that is to say, 'dwellers in villages,' and the other the Champa, meaning 'dwellers in the desert.'[1] But these last are always subject to one of the provinces of Tibet. The *inhabitants of the desert [nomads] of Tibet have certain strange* practices, which are to be met with among no other people. Firstly, they eat their meat and all other foods in an absolutely raw state, having no knowledge of cooking. Again, they feed their horses on fish instead of grass.[2] They also use sheep exclusively, as beasts of burden. Three sheep may, perhaps, carry twelve stabute *men*. They harness them with pack-saddles, halters, and girths; they place the load upon the sheep, and except when necessary, never take it off, so that summer and winter it remains on the animal's back.

[illegible] he [illegible] called it as issuing from *Lake I.*[illegible] Indeed [illegible] legend that the Yellow River [illegible] was by an underground channel from *Lake Lob*, is a very ancient one among the Chinese and not of their invention. The attempt of the great Lake [illegible] family would point unmistakably to *Lob Nor* than to *Kuku Nor*.

[1] Probably *Yul-pá* is an old variation of *Yul-ba*, from *Yul-el*, or *Yul-el*, meaning a village. The *Champa*, as the author says, dwell in tents for [illegible] life, nomads. [illegible] But the ordinary meaning of *Yulpa* is, Waddell tells us, "native country."

[2] *The first of these statements requires modification: the wood is of course* boiled only when [illegible] In winter, when meat is frozen hard, the Chinese, and indeed other Tibetans, [illegible] not raw, but they usually cook it after a fashion. In these respects their customs are the same as those of the Mongols, Kalmáks and other similar [illegible].

[illegible] Here too, the author makes a somewhat [illegible] somewhat easy matter [illegible] regions, and [illegible] the nomad tribes and these regions what the camel is to the Bedouin. They [illegible] of large and handsome, though [illegible] with a long hairy head, and have very short legs which [illegible] usually about 7 or 8 miles a day. Gen. A. Cunningham gives 27 to [illegible] as [illegible] their average

The Champa or nomads, live in the following manner In the winter they descend towards the western and southern slopes of the aforesaid mountains tha is to say, to Hindustán—taking with them wares of Khitái, salt cloth of goat's hair, *tankkab*, [1] zedoary,[1] kutás [*yaks*], gold, and shawls,[2] which are Tibetan goods. They trade in Hindustán and in the mountains of Hindustán, and in the spring they return from that country, having many of its products, such as cloths, sweets, rice, and grain, loaded upon their sheep After feeding their flocks, they advance slowly but continuously into Khitái, which they reach in the winter. Having laid in a stock, during spring, of such Tibetan products as are in demand in Khitái, they dispose of the Indian and Tibetan goods there in the winter, and return to Tibet in the [following] spring, carrying with them Khitái wares The next winter they again go on to India The burdens which they load on the sheep in Hindustán are removed in Khitái, and those put on in Khitái are taken off in Hindustán. Thus they spend their winters alternately in Hindustán and Khitái. This is the mode of life of all the Champa A Champa will sometimes carry as many as 10,000 sheep-loads, and every sheep load may be reckoned at twelve *man*. What an enormous quantity is this That amount is loaded in one year, either in Hindustán or in Khitái. On every occasion, bought As a rule, their burden consists of salt sheep, or borax when travelling towards India, and grain or flour when returning homeward These products are sewn up in bags and indeed anything packed of load would almost impossible for them to carry Col J Biddulph, when attached to Sir D Forsyth's mission to Kashgar in 1873 made an interesting experiment with a flock of 30 sheep, carrying loads of grain and flour He marched with them from Nubra in Ladak, to Shahidulla on the Kara Kásh, a distance of 330 miles by the Chang Chenmo road in 31 days but loaded only with 20 lbs. each In his report he remarks 'The loads, second hand, constant blisters, and well sinking into the snow, rendered walking liable to stiffness On starting we tried to keep them with a broad front, they marched at the rate of 1½ miles an hour with a large animal in front, would no doubt travel slower, and much must depend on the breadth of the road

On days when they had no grass, they had literally nothing to eat for they refused grain, not being accustomed to it . On arrival in camp, they were unloaded, and turned out to shift for themselves till dark when they were herded for the night [3] The Champa frequently march with several thousand sheep, divided into flocks which are driven separately, but within a few miles of each other, the whole forming one caravan. They usually camp about midday, turn the sheep loose, and stack the loads till the next morning To leave them on their backs, as the author states, would soon make an end of the sheep and merchandise When Mirza Haidar speaks of 12 statute *man* he is probably alluding to the Tabriz of Andijan, which, as we have seen above (p. 427), weighs a fraction under 5 lbs, so that between 6 and 7 Andijani *man* would form a correct figure (See Col Biddulph's report *Yarkand Mission Report* p. 102, and Cunningham, *Ladak* pp. 210 11)

[1] *Zedoary*, *jadwár*, an aromatic root used in medicine by Orientals (See Yule's *Glossary*, p. 71)

[2] By shawls the author probably means shawl-wool, for in Persian as well as in Ladak. the word *shál* is frequently used in Kashmir and Ladak. Similarly the word *Kutás* or Yak is I suspect intended for 'Yak's wool'

[3] This account of the mode of life led by the Champas also standers, though correct as the main, is somewhat confused It is, however, given literally, as the author states it

wherever they go, they take all these loads with them, and are never known fatigue or trouble by them. I have never heard of a similar practice among any other people. In fact, some do not even credit this story.

These Champas are a numerous race inasmuch as one of their tribes, called Dulpa,[1] numbers more than 50,000 families. And

[1] The word *Dopa* may be written in several different ways, such as *Dulta*, *Bdta*, *Dulba* etc., etc. It is even also possible, as regards the text, that it may be a misprint for *Dulpa*. I am inclined to think that the author intended to write *Dulpa* and that the word is a contraction of *Dulpa* or *Dulpo*, though Dr Waddell informs me that *Dopa* (spelt *gDopa*) is also the name of an aboriginal tribe in Tibet (analogous to the Gonds and Bhils of India) to which no Buddhistical long. From Jaschke's dictionary, however, it would appear that these Dopas are more ancient than a tribe, and that they are persons dishonourably belonging to a certain grade of life.

What is to *Dulpa*. This word is properly *Doppa* in Western and Central Tibet as is corruption all over. In Tibetan lexicons for *Dopa*, *Dokpa* or *Dekpa*. But if the author meant *Dekpa* he could scarcely exclude from it the *Champas*, or nomads, though they inhabit to some extent stationary tents of the *Champas*, sometimes, in some parts of Tibet, that Mr Rockhill calls them "semi-permanent residents." The word *Dopa*, [illegible] mountain pasture in summer only, is, as Mr Shaw happily translates it, "an Alp." What I do not know is whether *Dekpa Dopa* etc. by a term "figurative." In Ladak the *Dopas* differ from the *Champas* in that they in the only way in the *Dok* during summer in which they depend with their sheep, yaks, etc. to the settled village and live in tents, or in the *Champas*, entire tribes live who live in tents most of the year, and never move between higher and lower grazing grounds according to the seasons. Even settled villages find it necessary to neighbouring pastures here to a certain number of *Dopas*, who take charge of the flocks and herds of their settled neighbours in summer and have flown up to the *Dokpa* for pasture. Thus, pungly customs would seem to be. If it appears to me that Mirza Haidar is alluding, then, to the *Dopas* or *Dokpa*. It may be added that the term is sometimes used to designate, or designate, belonging to neighbouring hill countries. If pastoral, or semi-pastoral, habits such as the inhabitants of Bhutan and to hill tribes, inhabiting the *Dopas* living west of Baltistan.

Secondly as to *Dulpa*. At the bottom (p. 111), Mirza Haidar tells us of gold mines worked by a branch of the *Dulpa* tribe who live in caves on [illegible] grandmother's name. Although these who were then undoubtedly to some way by Emperor Nan Shang, who visited them on his journey from Lhasa in 873. Speaking of the location north of the Tsang-po valley, he says, the diggers usually dwell in caves excavated in the cut [illegible] habitations, which are really tunnel, *Lhadpa* [illegible] capable of varying in size from twenty-five to according to the wealth of the proprietors who live in them as a means of protection from [illegible], the caves being usually dug [illegible] the [illegible]. These gold diggers [illegible] are mostly *Champa*. Round the habitations, which are termed *Phadpa* (or, more properly in Tibetan, *Pagpa* or *Pakpa*) but it is quite possible that the word may have been applied by Moghuls to the diggers, and that Mirza Haidar misheard the latter as *Dulpa Champa*. It is also possible that I may have confused the *Dulpa* and *Dulpa*, when in fact, and that when writing his history, some [illegible] years subsequently, may have confused the two strange words. In any case, I am slightly inclined to consider *Champa*, which he would be scarcely correct in speaking of the *Dok* nomads belonging to [illegible] east of Digarchi to have no special [illegible], and it seems impossible that Mirza Haidar's narrative can apply to the [illegible] cases to be *Dog-pa*, a conversion (See Ritchie, *J. R. A. S.*, 1850, pp. 5[illegible] 128. Shaw *J. A. S. B.* xlvi, No. 1, 1878, p. 81. Drew, *Jummoo and Kashmir*, p. 8. and Pundit Nain Sing in *Rep. Trans-Himalayan Explorations* 1873 & p. 68. also Jaschke's *Tib. Dict.* [illegible]).

there are many more tribes like this one. The names of the chiefs I have asked their numbers, but they have been unable to inform me. God knows best, and the responsibility lies upon [those who have failed to inform me].

The dwellers in villages are called Yulpa, they inhabit many districts—such as Bilti, which is a province of Tibet; Bilti, in turn, comprises several [smaller districts, such as Purik, Khiyuk, Ashigám, Askárdu, [Runk], and Indaks, and each of these contains fortresses and villages. Wherever I went in Tibet, I either took the country by force or made peace, on the inhabitants paying tribute. Among these [places may be mentioned] Bilt, Zinskár, Márgul,[1] Rudok, Gugé Lu, Burís, Zunka, Minkib or Hinkáb], Zu-Sud Kanka, Nisan, Hum, Alalai-Lantak, Tuk, Labung [or Lanuk], Astikbank [or Askárbank],[2] which is the limit of my

[1] The name of *Mar Yul*, though never used in Ladak nowadays is not entirely forgotten there. It is said by Dr. Marx to include the upper and lower districts of Ladak proper, together with Nubra, Zangskar, etc. General Cunningham speaks of it as applied to Ladak generally, while Grenard gives it a much wider definition and makes *Margul* include the whole of Baltistan. I venture to think that Dr. Marx's definition is the one usually accepted by the natives of the province. On the meaning of the word too, authorities are at variance. Dr. Marx, quoting a highly intelligent and well-instructed Lama (my old acquaintance Gishé-Tsépal) says the word is derived from *mar* meaning 'bare rocks.' General Cunningham translates it 'Low country,' Strachey and Csoma de Koros (cited by Cunningham) render it 'low country,' while Dr. Waddell agrees with the rendering of Dr. Marx. There may, therefore, be still some uncertainty as to the meaning of the name. It may be thought that a country including no spot less than about 7,000 ft. above sea-level, could scarcely gain the name of 'low,' but with reference to Ch'angt'ang and the mountain roots surrounding *Margul*, the settled parts of the country are, in fact, at a low elevation. The division between Upper and Lower Ladak is said, by Dr. Marx, to be the plateau dividing the villages and districts of Dragos and Saspola on the Indus. *Margul* however is sometimes confounded with *Margyul*, or the 'Mang country.' *Mang* and Wakhi mean 'rich,' and is a specific for the province lying between Ladak and Western Tibet, which is long and is, in fact, rich in . . . . . *Margul*.

Mirza Haidar, when speaking of Eastern Turkestan, always applies to it the name of 'Tibet' as the custom of the present day among all native Central Asians, Badakhshis, etc. It is only on the south side of the Karakoram and Hindu Kush that the name of 'Ladak' is heard, and in these regions it is applied to the chief town, which as well as to the whole country, just as the name of 'Kashmir' is given to Srinagar, because it is the capital of Kashmir. 'Leh' and 'Samgar' are rarely heard, among the natives, in Ladak and Kashmir. In the same way, when Mirza Haidar speaks of *Margul*, as usually, it is always denotes the capital and its immediate district, sometimes the town only, or also Shol, in its near neighbourhood. Tsaparang is wrongly thought a part of Baltistan in the sixteenth century.

The exact Tibetan spelling of the name is *Ladak*, but may be called *Ladags*, but pronouncing these syllables out the letters and appending them all together, so that the result arrived at is *La-dak*. The final *Kh* of common pronunciation is a Kashmiri and Hindustani corruption. (See Marx, *J. A. S. B.*, as above, pp. 115, 116. Cunningham's *Ladak*, pp. 18, 19, and H. Strachey, *Physiography of West. Tibet* p. 13.)

[2] These names, as far as 'Gugeh' inclusive are easily recognised. For the attempts at identifying the remainder see lower down. Note 1, p. 17. As regards *Usmi*, which follows immediately, see note to text, p. 11, in Part I, will show that *Lassa* is intended

journey. From Askibuk to Bangála is worty-four days' journey, and Ursáng is on the east, and Bangála on the south, of Askabuk. Ursáng is the Kibla and K'abeh of all Khitái and Tibet, and has a vast idol-temple. As what I heard concerning this temple is incredible I have *not written it. There are many false stories* told of it. In short it is the seat of learning and the city of the pious of Tibet and Khitái.

CHAPTER XC

ACCOUNT OF THE CURIOSITIES OF TIBET.

The nature of those portions of Tibet that I have visited, and of its inhabitants, is such that in spite of my strong wish to describe it I find it impossible. I will, however on account of their strangeness, mention a few of the particulars which I have either seen myself or heard spoken of.

One of these is the gold-mines. In most of the Ol ampa districts gold-mines are found. Among them are two strange mines, one is called by the Moghuls the *Altanji* or Goldsmith[s] of Tibet, and it is worked by a branch of the above-mentioned tribe of Dulpa. On account of the extreme coldness of the atmosphere they are not able to work more than forty days in the year. In the level ground are pits or caves large enough for a man to enter. There are numerous of these holes, and most of them terminate by running into one another. It is said that three hundred heads of families live permanently in these caves. They watch the Moghuls from afar, and when these come near, they all escape into their caves, where no one can find them. In the caves all lives except the animals from sheep's milk [*aru-yush*] has no fat in it.[1] Out of these caves they bring soil, which they wash, and (the responsibility be upon those who tell this story) it is said that in one sieve of soil from these mines, ten *mithkáls* of gold are sometimes found. One man digs the earth, carries it out and washes it by himself. Some days he gets twenty seven full. Although this may appear incredible, I have heard it confirmed all over Tibet, and for this reason I have written it down.

Again, Ungar has two hundred forts and villages. It is three days' journey in length, and in it gold is everywhere to be found. Wherever they dig up the earth and spread it on a cloth, they find gold. The smallest pieces are about the size of a lentil [*adas*] or a pea [*másh*], and they say that sometimes lumps are found as large as a sheep's liver. At the time when I was settling the

[1] The translation of this passage, giving the all a mountain

tribute upon Guga, the head men related to me that a man was lately digging a piece of ground, when his spade struck fast in something, so that he could not, with all his efforts, draw it out. Having removed the earth, he saw that it was a stone in the middle of which was gold, in that his spade had become fixed. Leaving the spade where it was, he went and informed the governor. A body of men went to the spot and extracted it, and having broken the stone, found in it 1,500 Tibetan *mithkáls* of pure [*mohr*] gold (a Tibetan *mithkál* is worth one-and-a-half ordinary *mithkáls*) and God has so created this soil that when the gold is taken from the ground it does not diminish [in bulk] however much they beat it out, bake it and stamp it, it is only fire that has any effect on it. This is all very wonderful and is looked upon by assayers as very strange and curious. Nor is this peculiarity to be met with anywhere else in the world.[1] In the greater part of Tibet the merchandise of Khatai and India is to be found in about equal quantities.

Another peculiarity of Tibet is the *dam-gir*, which the Moghuls call *Yas*,[2] and which is common to the whole country, though less prevalent in the vicinity of forts and villages. The symptoms are a feeling of severe sickness [*mál khushi*], and in every case one's breath so seizes him that he becomes exhausted, just as if he had run up a steep hill with a heavy burden on his back. On account of the oppression it causes it is difficult to sleep. Should, however, sleep overtake one, the eyes are hardly closed before one is awoke with a start used by oppression on the lungs and chest. And this is always the case with everybody. When overcome by this malady the patient becomes senseless, begins to talk nonsense, and sometimes the power of speech is lost, while the palms of the hands and soles of the feet become swollen. Often when this last symptom occurs, the patient dies between dawn and breakfast time, at other times he lingers on for several days. If, in the interval, his fate

[1] The existence of gold in the western provinces of Tibet is well known, but the quantities found are very small and usually confined to dust—nuggets being seldom heard of. The quality is said to be good and most of it finds its way to Kashmir and India. The workings—in Ladak at any rate—are in the form of crevasses or pits, much as Muza Haidar describes them. His mention of the inhabitants watching for 'the Moghuls' is curious, but it is not quite clear whether he is alluding to his own expedition (presently to be described), when he may have seen the miners escape from his party by taking refuge underground or whether he points to a general custom. If to the latter, it would imply that the Moghuls from Eastern Turkistan were in the habit of raiding on the gold diggers. In Chaps. XCII and XCIV, we shall see that to plunder at Dalpa on Pulepa was indeed the chief object of the Khan's expedition to Tibet, though it was disguised as a holy war, and if this was the case in those instances it is possible that former raids had been undertaken with the same end in view.

[2] The proper spelling of this word, according to Mr. Shaw would be *Ias*. The nearest English word for *dam-giri* or "breath-taking," caused by the rarefied air at high altitudes. It is the French 'mal de montagne,' and the German 'Passen-gift.' (See note next page.)

has not been sealed, and he can reach a village or a fort, it is probable that he may survive, otherwise he is sure to die. This malady only attacks strangers; the people of Tibet know nothing of it nor do their doctors know why it attacks strangers. Nobody has ever been able to cure it. The colder the air, the more severe is the form of the malady. Output . . . . It is not confined to men, but attacks every animal that breathes, such as the horse as will be presently instanced. One day, owing to the necessity of a foray we had ridden faster than usual. On waking next morning, I saw that there were very few horses in our camp, and [on inquiring] ascertained that more than 200 had died in the night. Of my own stable there were twenty-four special riding horses, all of which were missing. Twenty-one of them had died during that night. Horses are very subject [*sandyat*] to *dam-giri*. I have never heard of this disease outside Tibet. No remedy is known for it.[1]

[1] The facts of the rarefied atmosphere at high altitudes, on respiration and circulation, are well known, although the authorities differ as to the cause of the symptoms. In a person in health, as I was at the time, but little affected, the malady does not affect a man at an elevation of say 12,000 feet, while the more severe *dam-giri* (as *dam* as it is usually called) when they are said to 17,000 or 18,000 feet, manifest themselves at the level of the sea. The degree of suffering depends on the constitution of the individual, or on how far he has become accustomed to high altitudes. The effects, as I interesting the symptoms slightly differ from those, as I myself have had personal experience of. The only [illegible] suggested, in the case of sailors who cannot supply sufficient oxygen to the system from a small quantity of pure air, very much resembles, I believe, over-fatigue attacked from exposure to the sun. Dr. Bellew was of opinion that a kind of peculiar "relieves with the fluid was produced by the circulation of impure oxygenated blood. Mirza Iddun, which prevails the more of the path to the neighbouring *tals* and villages, unaccountably [illegible] which [illegible] only a few miles, at an altitude little [illegible] above the villages [illegible] by the natives [illegible] any mountains, such as [illegible], [illegible], from getting the effects attributed to which they must usually ascribe to pernicious exhalations from the ground and the presence of noxious weeds. Old accounts of the effects of "the" [illegible] sickness [illegible] Central Asia, will be found in Wolff's *Operations* ii. 218. Dr. Ross *Journey and Kashgar*, pp. 214, Howe's *Kashmir and Kashgar*, ii. [illegible], and other works. Sir H. Yule (*Polo's Travels* Wood's *Oxus*, lxv) suggests that the "valley of Badakhshan and Wakhan *Tuli* by the Turks *Leh* [*Ine?*] signifying an odour or miasm, and by the Indian population of the Hindu *Bish-i-hara* or poisonous air." In the Purki MS. where I first met this translation I would read *tutki*, which (Mr. Ross informs me) is "from the verb *tut-mak* to die, as *gir* from *giftan*." The Turkistan word is (as Dr. Wolff is good enough to note) not *Dug-ra*, or "place of the mountain," and *La-dug*, or "[illegible] place." Other accounts of the malady may be found also dealing with the Alps the Andes etc.

CHAPTER XCI.

[illegible] AND THE CUSTOMS OF HIS PEOPLE.

THEIR men of learning, *Ulama* etc., as a body, called Lamas. But they have different names, in proportion to the extent of their learning. Just as we say "Imám and Mujtahid," they say "Tunkana and Kahjavá."[1] I had much conversation with them with the help of an interpreter. But when I came to nice distinctions, the interpreter was at a loss both to understand and to explain, so that the conversation was incomplete. Of their tenets and rites, however, I was able to discover the following particulars. They say that the Most High God is from all eternity. At the beginning of creation, when He called the souls into being, He taught each one separately how to attain to the regions of the blessed (which was the path that leads to Paradise), and how to escape from hell. [This He taught them] without palate, or tongue, or any other [corporeal] medium. Those souls He sent down at various times, as seemed fitting to Him, and mixed them with earth. And this is the origin of the power of vegetation of plants in the earth. When the soul has descended from the highest to the lowest degree, it is no longer pure, but unconsciousness and oblivion dominate it. In the process of time, it migrates to some vile body, and this migration, although it be into a base degree, is yet an advance upon the state of being mixed with earth. In every body [the soul] makes progress according to its conduct. If its conduct is perfect in that body, it enters into a better body; if, on the other hand, it errs, it enters a yet viler body, and if until it has [body]

[1] *Kahjavá* may also read *Kchuva*. On these terms Dr. Waddell has favoured me with the following remarks:—"The ordinary Tibetan degree of divinity, somewhat analogous to our M.D. carries with it the title of *Tsung-Pa* (properly *Tsung-nam-pa*—spelt *Drun-nam-pa*[1]) when the degree is conferred by the Tashi-lhunpo university as *Ge-she* (spelt *dge-ses*) when conferred by the great universities of Central Tibet (viz., Depung, Sera and Gahlan). These may be the names here mentioned. The higher degree, however, which may be called the Doctorate and held by very few Lamas, gives the title of *Kah-chan*, or *Kah-chu*, or *Kab-chu* (spelt *skabs-bcha* or *skabs-tsehu*[2]) when the degree is conferred by Tashi lunpo, but *Rab-byam-pa* when given by the so-called Central Tibet. *Khajavá* or *Kchuva* may thus be intended either for *Kah-chan* or *Ge-she*—the former probably though it is possibly meant for *Ku Shag*, a title given by courtesy to educated Tibetans even amongst the laity, though in Lahul it is restricted to the highest Lamas (Rinpoches) who pose as reincarnated Bodhisats.

Nor does *Tunlana* probably mean *Tul-Ku*—the proper title of a incarnated Lamas—the *Khutuktu* of the Mongols. Taking the two titles together, I think they are probably intended for *Tsung-nam-pa* and *Kul-Chu*, thus implying it probable that the author was conversing with Lamas affiliated to Tashi-lhunpo which, in Northern Tibet and Mongolia, enjoys greater reputed as a teaching centre than the universities of Lhasa (Cf. Jaeschke's *Tibetan Dict.*, p. 203, and [2] Koppen, *Die Religion des Buddha*, ii, p. 253).—L. A. W."

it still lacks soul, it again becomes mixed with the earth, and again remains inanimate *matter* for some time.

In this manner [the soul] migrates from one body to another, and progresses until it attains the human body. In the human body it first of all reaches the lowest degree, such as that of a peasant or a slave. It gradually rises in the scale of humanity, until it enters the body of a king, in which state, if the entity] conducts itself in a becoming manner, it attains knowledge and insight into former states, and knows what it has done in each separate body, what has been the cause of its progress, and what the reason of its degradation. This knowledge and consciousness is the degree of sanctimony. And in like manner, by means of much contemplation, people attain to the stage in which they recall what was taught them at the beginning of eternity; they remember everything that the Most High God communicated to them, without palate, tongue, or any other physical medium. This is the degree of prophecy. In it men learn what they have heard from God Almighty, and on these revelations] are their religion and faith based. The soul which has attained to the degree of prophecy is no longer subject to death, but has eternal life. The being continues until his physical strength is quite broken, when his body perishes, and nothing remains but his spirituality. All who have spiritual force of this kind may see [the soul]; but otherwise it cannot be seen with the eye of the head, which is bodily vision.

Such are the tenets of the religion of Shaká Muni. All Khitái is of this faith, and they call it the religion of "Shakia Muni"; while in Tibet it is called "Shaká Pu Bi,"[1] and "Shakí Muni." In histories it is written "Shaká Muni." In some histories, Shaká Muni is reckoned among the prophets of India, and some hold that he was a [another *human*]. Also, it is maintained that no one goes to Heaven by the mere acceptance of the faith and religion, but only in consequence of his works. If a Musulmán performs good acts, he goes to Heaven, if he do evil, he goes to Hell. This also applies to [those infidels. They hold the prophet in high esteem, but they do not consider it the incumbent duty of the whole of mankind to be of his religion. They say: "Your religion is true, and so is ours. In every religion one must conduct oneself well. Shaká Muni has said: After me there will arise 124,000 prophets, the last of whom will be called Jina Kasapa,[2] an orphan, without

[1] Dr. Waddell writes: "Sakya, Pu-Bi: *Pel-pa* is the Tibetan equivalent of the Sanscrit *Salya*, and means, literally 'the mighty one.' (*Cf.* Jaeschke's Dict., p. 231.) L. A. W."

[2] "This word is not badly transliterated. It should read, Professor Bendall informs me, *Jina-Kasyapa*. Dr. Waddell notes of this subject: "*Kasyapa* was the last mythical human Buddha who preceded Sakya Muni, and he is especially worshipped now by the *Bonpa* followers of the pre-Lamaist religion of Tibet. Compare Fa Hian's reference to the followers of the mystic cross in Hunza-gloms about Ladak.—L. A. W."

father or mother. All the world will comprehend his religion. When he is sent, it will be necessary for the whole world to submit to him, and blessed will he be who hastens to adopt his faith I bequeath my own religion in order that it may be handed down from generation to generation until the blessed time of his appearance. The semblance of this prophet will be in this wise' and therewith he gave an image which the people were to remember, for in this form the prophet would appear. People should believe in him before all other men.

At the present time, the chief idol (which they place in the entrance of all the Idol Temples) besides all their fables,[1] have reference to him. This idol is the figure of Jina Kasapa And they attribute most of those qualities to Jina Kasapa, which apply to our Prophet I observed to them "What Shakí Muni said refers to our Prophet They replied: "Shakí Muni said he would come after 124,000 prophets, and after him would come no other prophet Now of those 124,000, but few have appeared as yet.' I insisted earnestly that they had all appeared, but they would not admit it, and so remained in their error.

At *Zunka which is the most famous* [place] in Tibet, and one which produces zedoary *máh fa-fin*, I saw another interesting object, viz, an inscription of the Pádisháh of Khutii I was written in the Khitii character, but in one corner it was in Tibetan writing while in another corner was a clear Persian translation in the Naskhi hand. It ran as follows: "His Highness the king sends greeting to all his people, saying. It is more than 3,000 years ago now, that Shakí Muni introduced idol-worship and spoke words which are not intelligible to all . . .' This much I have retained, the rest related to some orders for the repairing of the temple I have quoted this to show that Shakí Muni lived 3,000 years previous to the date of the inscription, which, however, not being [dated] in the Hajra, I could not understand But judging from the extent to which the inscription was worn, not more than a hundred years could have elapsed since it was written. But God knows best. I was in Zunka in the month of Rabi ul Awal, 940 [October 1533].

Another [curiosity] is the wild *kutás*. This is a very wild and ferocious beast. In whatever manner it attacks one it proves fatal whether it strike with its horns, or kick, or overthrow its

[1] The fables here alluded to, Prof Bendall thinks, are probably the *Játakas*, or "Birth stories

[2] The date usually assumed for the Nirvana of Sakya-Muni is about the middle of the [illegible] century B.C.: thus Mirza Haidar's estimate would appear to be about 1,000 years too early, but Dr Waddell informs me that, by the Tibetan Lamas, an antiquity of 3,000 years is often assigned to Sakya-Muni Mirza Haidar, therefore, may have had authority for what he says here

victim. If it has no opportunity of doing any of those things, it tosses its enemy with its own, wonderfully *gazelle*-like thereon hurling the ground. One male *kiyik* is a load for twelve horses. One man cannot possibly raise the shoulder of the animal. In the days of my forefathers *kazáki* I killed a *kiyik*, and divided it among seventy persons, which each had sufficient flesh for four days.[1] This animal is not to be met with outside the country of Tibet. The remaining particulars concerning Tibet will be given in the account of the campaign.

CHAPTER XCII.

HE KHÁN MAKES A HOLY WAR ON TIBET

The Holy War is the main support and fortification of Islám the most efficient ground-work for the foundations of the Faith . . .[2] After the Khán's repentance, I had always awaited an opportunity for personally conducting a holy war *ghazát*, and collecting his images and thirsting for this exploit be in any way satisfactorily accomplishing out a *ghazát* expedition, every year, so at length in Zulhijja of the year 998 [July 1592] he set out to attack the infidels of Tibet.

As I mentioned above, Tibet is bounded on the north, where it is called Bilti, by Balur and Badakhshán, in the direction of winter sunrise[3] of that place is Yárkand, and on the west is Kashmír. Having bidden Iskandar Sultán accompany me, and having departed me to [illegible] country, he Khán himself started (by way of Khotan) for the Altunji of Tibet, which is another name for the Dulpa.

CHAPTER XCIII.

ARRIVAL OF THE AUTHOR IN TIBET, AND SUBSEQUENT EVENTS

I set out in Zulhijja of the aforesaid year, and in the beginning of Safar, reached Nubra, a dependent province of Tibet. I then sent a person all over that country to greet the people with a

[1] For the transliteration of the *Tabaḳát-i Akbarí*, see note, p. 82.

[2] Here follows a passage on the virtues of the *Ghazát*, chiefly won, and left untranslated.

[3] The expression is *Ṭarḥ-i Zamistán-i*, which is translated, according to Mr Shaw, "direction of winter sunrise" as in the instance mentioned in note 2, p. 107.

[4] See notes, pp. 111 and 112.

general invitation. [He was to say]. 'This is a general invitation to the faith of Ahmad el Mujtabá. Happy the man who comes to the Faith and obtains his portion.' The governor numbered as above mentioned; but not the chiefs of Nubra, who were refractory and rebellious, and retired to their castles and forts. A certain man named Bur Kipá, who was at the head of the infidels, strengthened himself within the castle of Mutadín,[1] which is the chief fort of that country. I laid siege to this fort, and was for some days employed in making ready the siege implements such as catapults, shields [*tará*], etc. On the appointed day I approached the fort, and the talons of Islám, seizing the hands of infidelity, the enemy were thrown into disorder and routed. Having deserted the fort, they fled in confusion and dismay, while the Musulmáns gave them chase, as far as was possible so that not one of those bewildered people escaped. Bur Kipá was slain together with all his men, their heads formed a lofty minaret—and the vapour from the brains of the infidels of that country ascended to the heavens.

Thenceforth no one dared offer resistance. Having thus reduced the whole province of Nubra, a garrison was placed in the fort and order established.

Thence we passed into Mínyul, and there encamped. In Mínyul there are two rulers. One called Lata Jughdán, and the other Tishkun.[2] They both hastened to wait [on me]. At that period

[1] This name may also read *Mant-dár*, but is probably intended for *Mundar*, near the junction of the Nubra and Shayok rivers. The chief village, and seat of the district officials in the Nubra Valley is nowadays, *Tegar*—a name which bears a certain resemblance to part of the word Mutadín. At some time *Olatse*, on the opposite side of the river, was the chief place.

[2] The kings and rulers of Ladák are not easy to trace at this period. In the first place, the history of the country has not yet been critically worked out: in the second place, no dates are recorded (except occasionally) till the year 1580 A.D. is reached. We possess two lists of kings previous to that date, one by the late Emily Schlagintweit and her sister Mrs. D. Cyril Munro of the Moravian mission in Ladák. Both are taken from the same Tibetan work—the *Ladak Gyalrabs*—but they differ to some extent and are especially at fault during the period which embraces the transactions related by Mirza Haidar. On the whole probably the latter version of Dr. Munro is to be most trusted, as he collated several manuscripts of the *Ladak Gyalrabs* and had the assistance of good local authorities on the history of the country. Had he only been able to supply dates for the reigns of the kings and for the events he mentions, his work would indeed have been valuable. The only way in which I have been able roughly to set up a reference mark for the dates, is to assume that the sixteenth king of the line reigned not later than the early part of the fifteenth century, for it is during this king's time that an event is mentioned showing that the famous religious reformer Tsong-Kapa was then alive, and the period of Tsong-Kapa's life is well known (from Chinese sources) to have been 1365 to 1417 A.D. Thus the sixteenth king of Ladak must have been ruling before 1417, while Mirza Haidar's invasion took place in the autumn of 1532 (Salar 938 H.), when the name of one of the rulers was Lata Jughdán, or Chogdan. Now the only ruler of the name of Chogdan (fully Lo das chog-ldan) is a descendant, who was son of the sixteenth, and it would seem impossible that a man should be reigning in 1532 whose father was king at a time previous to 1417. There is, therefore, some discrepancy here which I see no way of reconciling. The name of the other ruler, given by Mirza

Libra began to change. In the whole of Tibet during Libra, the cold is so intense that, compared with it, the winter of other countries is as the hottest days of summer. I then held a consultation with the Amirs, who were with me, as to which district of Tibet would be best suited to establish our winter quarters in, and where we might find grain and provender for the cattle during the winter. As no such place was to be found in those parts, Kashmir was decided upon for the winter quarters. If we could conquer it, well and good, if not, we could winter there and leave in the spring.

This matter having been settled, we left Máyul and the neighbouring districts, and taking the army of Tibet along with us, advanced towards Kashmir. At this juncture Abdál Kuli Yasávul, one of the Khán's trusty chamberlains, arrived with news that the Khán was making for this quarter [Máyul], that on the road he had been afflicted with *dam-gri* (which is the peculiarity of the infidel country), and [adding] that he wished to see me as soon as possible. That same hour I set out to [meet" him, leaving the army where it was.

Haidar as Tashikun, or Tashi-gon, may fit in somewhat better, for Dr Marx's minute on a king has for name of Tse-shis-na-n-gyal. In reality this would be two very common Tibetan names, and the second *shis* would not be uttered, the whole would be pronounced *Tashi Namgyal*. It is related of this personage that he made himself master of the world of the country from Purig (or Purik—lying between lower Indus and Shyok) in the west, to Do Shod, near the source of the Tsangpo (Brahmaputra) in the east, that he fought against an invading force of Turks and killed many Turks. He erected a temple (dedicated) to the (four) Lords . . . and hid his apparel at the Pass and at the foot of (the images of) the (four) Lords. Again by building the temple to the (four) Lords, he obtained power over the demons that turns back hostile armies." Whether this invasion of "Turks" points to Mirza Haidar's exploit, can only be a matter of conjecture, and, indeed, it seems to me very doubtful if Tashi-Namgyal and Tashi-Tsun can be identified with any of the princes mentioned in the genealogy of the native rulers of Ladak, that it scarcely distinguishes one person from another. The Tashi-Tsun mentioned here is apparently the same chief who is mentioned later as having welcomed Mirza Haidar on returning from his expedition towards Yarkand, whose ancestor is said to have been the headman of Nubra and is recorded to have been executed by the Moghuls. On the whole, nothing very distinct can be made out of the Ladak annals as we have them. (See for Marx's translation, *J A S B*, Vol LX, 1892, Part III, pp 97 *seqq* and for Schlagintweit's tables in Stoliczka's *Manual of Kashmir, etc*, I, pp 212 ff)

CHAPTER XCIV.

ARRIVAL OF THE KHÁN [illegible] TIBET, FOLLOWIN THE AUTHOR HIS LN RANG E INTO BÁLTI. JOU RNEY OF THE AUTHOR TO KASHMIR.

It was mentioned above that the Khán had decided to advance against the Dulpa by way of Khotan, and had sent me forward to *Bálti*. *At that time* the Emperor of the firmament was in he sign of Leo; the Khán, having marched for one month, took up his summer quarters among the hill pastures of Khotan, until the end of the [illegible] of Virgo Those who had had experience of that region then represented to the Khán "It is now too late [in the season] *to achieve anything for very soon all the waters and* rivers will be frozen over, so that no water will be obtainable nor is there sufficient firewood to be found to melt the ice, for watering the cattle and horses. It will also be hardly possible to kill enough *kutás* to make a sufficient supply of soup It is for those reasons that, on previous occasions, *several armies have been dismounted* [lost their horses] on this road" The Khán being convinced [of the impracticability of continuing by that route] said, "Were I to give up the holy war in Tibet, I should be disappointed of great recompense hereafter If this route is too difficult, it will be best for me to follow in the steps of Mirzá Haidar, and complete the holy war in that quarter.' So saying, he turned back from Khotan and advanced along the road which I had taken.[1]

On the way he was so severely attacked by *dam-gni*, that, for some days he was quite insensible, and his life was reduced to a breath. The doctors applied suppositories [*shiy if*] and used aperients, and whenever these took effect he became conscious for the moment, but soon again fainted away. To the nobles and counsellors he said "Although my health is not strong enough to admit of my conducting a holy war, I shall not be wanting in intention. When I am deprived, as I certainly shall be, of the companionship of the living, it will only be to join the band of the departed Perhaps I may die on the road As long as there is a breath of life in me I will not abandon the war When all life

[1] From this it appears that the Khán had started from Khotan with the intention of crossing by one of the direct routes to Ngari-Khorsum, or the western province of [illegible] at [illegible] now Lassa-governed Tibet—the region where the gold workings are to be found Those routes, whether by the upper Karakásh, or by Polu, are said *difficult and at such excessive altitudes* as to be practically impassable except for light and well equipped parties at the best season of the year They are never used by traders or travellers and are very little known Mirzá Haidar's route (and the one the Khán afterwards followed) was the *ordinary one* over the Karakorum pass as is evident from Nur-u-deing's additional as the first point reached [illegible] arriving in Ladak

has gone out of me, you can do as you please.' During this time he frequently asked after me, and used to say, with emotion and regret: 'At the present moment I have no other desire than this [seeing the author], and I pray God I may live may be preserved until I meet him once more.' He also composed verses suited to his frame of mind: among them the following, complet [Verses]. . . . He constantly uttered such sentiments during his intervals of consciousness.

It is strange that in spite of the severity of this malady, one never desires to stay in one place [for any length of time]. Indeed, so excessive is the cold, and so great the scarcity of water and corn, that supposing one were to make a halt, it would only aggravate the disease. The cure is to do one's best to reach some place where *dam-gni* is less prevalent. Whenever the Khán reached such a place he recovered consciousness.

On the day that the Khán returned to his senses, I joined his camp. Having embraced me affectionately, he said: "Of all my friends or children, it is you who have been in my thoughts the most [, and I thank God for having been allowed to see you again.' [Verses . . . From that hour he began to regain his usual health and strength, and by the time we reached Nubra he was entirely restored, so that he was able to enter that district on horseback. After this, all the Amirs assembled together in council and each gave his opinion on the best course to pursue. I suggested, "After careful investigation, I can discover no spot in those districts of Tibet, which can provide winter quarters for more than one thousand men. But with a thousand men, there will be no possibility of insubordination or revolt. There seems to be no place capable of supporting a large army in winter, except Kashmir. But on the road to Kashmir there are many passes, which the Khán's strength will not allow him to cross. If the Khán would issue the needful order, he might retain 1000 men in his own service and proceed to Bálti with them; for in Bálti there is no *dam-gni*, and no passes need be traversed to reach it. He might place me in command of the rest of the troops, who, having spent the winter in Kashmir, would, on the return of spring, do whatever seemed wisest.

Of all the propositions this one pleased the Khán most, and thus it was decided. At the outset of his expedition the Khán knew that Tibet was no place for a large army. Five thousand men had been fixed [as the number]; 3,000 belonged to the Khán's army and 2,000 to mine. Of those 3,000 men, the Khán [now] retained 1,000 for his personal service and advanced towards Bálti, while I turned in the direction of Kashmir attended by 1,000 men, and also by several distinguished Amirs, such as Amír Dín Ali, who was mentioned in the lists at Káshghar, Bábá Sháik Mirzá, and others.

CHAPTER XCV.

THE KHÁN'S EXPERIENCES IN BÁLTI.

At the end of Lúbia the Khán arrived in Bálti. Bahrám Chu, one of the head men of Bálti, submitted and waited on the Khán. All the other Chu[1] began to practise sedition and revolt the natural outcome of infidelity. In the first place, under the guidance of Bahrám Chu, the Khán took the fort of Shigár[2] (which is the capital of all Bálti) at the first assault. All the men of the place were mown down by the blood-stained swords of the assailants, while the women and children, together with much property, fell a prey to the victorious army. Furthermore, wherever in that hill country a hand was stretched out, it never missed its object; [and even the strongly fortified ravines and canyons were trampled *under foot by the horses of the Khán's army.*][3]

On account of the snow, no news from Kashmír could reach the Khán during that winter, and the infidel insurgents to serve their own vile purposes, spread many false reports, thereby causing the Khán, and all the army, to become distressed and anxious. At length, towards the end of winter, an express messenger, who had been sent from Kashmír arrived, bearing news of our successes, whereupon the apprehension and distress of the Khán [and his troops] were changed to joy and gladness, and they recited the verse, "Thanks be to God who has put sorrow away from us."

At the beginning of spring they withdrew from Bálti. [At this juncture] the Khán entrusted to Amír Kamber Kukildásh, who was mentioned in the lists [of the rear-guard] of Kishtwár, the province

[1] *Chu* may also read *Ju*, which is a very common distinction to the names of natives of the Kishtawár province of Kashmír, whether Hindus or Musulmans. But this can hardly be the sense in which Mírza Haidar employs it, for it occurs in many passages to come. He obviously means it to signify an official of some kind, and I believe it to be the word *Chhe* or *Chu* of Ge. Cunningham. He writes (p. 260) 'Among the Mahomedans of Ladak the petty chiefs are usually called *Chho*': while (p. 277) he gives *Ch-pon* as the equivalent of an inferior official—a 'chief of ten' or sergeant. Moorcroft, too, (II., pp. 24, 30, etc.) speaks of an inferior official by the style of *Chu-chá*. I do not know the word, in local use among modern officials in Ladak but it may be current in Baltistan. Bahrám was, to judge by his name, a Musulmán, and it will be seen below, that it is with reference to Musulmán chiefs that Mírza Haidar always employs the word *Chu*.

[2] The right spelling, but write *Ashiga* at p. 110.

[3] The Persian texts make no apparent sense of this passage, so the Turkí alone has been translated. The allusion is, I think, to the Tibetan method of defence, in mountain passes by building walls of loose stones across them. The remains of such native barricades of this kind, are found still, in many parts of Ladak. *There are two for instance on the direct road to Yarkand, which were originally built to assist in keeping out the Moghuls.*

of Nubra, which I had set in order and handed over to the Khán. But in consequence of the Amír's bad judgment and want of capacity, the country went to ruin and the inhabitants rose in revolt, each man betaking himself to some strong place. Utterly disregarding these weak rulers who had been placed over them, the people gave themselves up to robbery and every kind of crime. On this account [the Khán's officials] not deeming it safe to remain any longer in Nubra came to Míryul.[1] Táshilcan, for his neglect of duty, was deprived of his fortress and put to death.[2] It was here in Míryul that I found [the Khán's officers] encamped when I arrived from Kashmír, as shall be presently related.

CHAPTER XCVI.

THE AUTHOR'S ARRIVAL IN KASHMÍR AND EVENTS CONNECTED THEREWITH.

Then I left Nubra with the Amírs and the new army, which the Khán had sent with me, and joined my own forces in the district of Míryul; after which I set off, by forced marches, in the direction of Kashmír. On the road, all the chief men of Tíbet submitted and, joining us, greatly increased the numbers of our army. Some of the Bálti Tíbetans, who live in the valleys of Kashmír, acting, as our guides, we reached that country at the beginning of the sign of Scorpio (*Jumádá II.* 8).—After crossing the pass of Kashmír, which is called Zoji. The chiefs of Kashmír had already heard of the approach of our army, and were occupying the narrow defile of Zoji.[3] Having crossed the pass of Zoji I sent forward 400 men, chosen out of the whole army for their experience, under the command of Tímúr Bahádur Culchu, who was one of those men tested in the lists at Káshghar. When they reached the narrow defile, they found it occupied by the Kashmír army, few of whom were stationed as outposts at its support. At dawn our soldiers made a charge on these pickets, who fled down the defile followed by our men. When the main body perceived this, seeing no way of holding the road, they too turned and fled. Arriving, at

[1] Míryul is here distinguished from Nubra and obviously stands for the district of the capital—at that time probably Shel-mani-Leh. (See note, p. 110; also the first translated sentence of Chap. CV, where Míryul is obviously used for the capital, *and not for Ladak in general*.)

[2] See note pp. 118-19 regarding Tashkun.

[3] The Sind river (of course flowing from the Zoji pass down towards the Indus, was called the *Lar*. The narrow difficult defile mentioned immediately below, as the position defended by the Kashmírís, is most likely the defile of *Hang*, or *Hang Sahu*, between the villages of Gangangir and Sumamarg about twenty miles below the western foot of the Zoji pass.

this moment I gave them chase, hus tanly did our whole force pass such a difficult place On the second day after this affair we alighted in Kashmir. Having reached this point, it seems fitting, in order to render the subject clear and intelligible, to give some account of the country of Kashmir and its rulers.

CHAPTER XCVII.

DESCRIPTION OF KASHMIR.

Kashmir is among the most famous countries of the world, and is celebrated both for its attractions and its wonders. In spite of its renown no one knows anything about its present state, nor can any of its features or its history be learned from the books of former writers At this present date of Muharram 1050, [1549—50] now that I have subdued this beautiful country and seen all that is notable in it, whatever I shall write will be what I have witnessed.

The second time that I entered Kashmir and when I had not reduced the whole of the country, I drew an omen [*fāl*] from the Koran, with reference to its conquest and to my becoming established there The verse that turned up was "Eat of the daily bread from your Lord and return your thanks to him in the shape of a fair city. The Lord is forgiving."

The plain [*palgāh*] of Kashmir extends from the *Bahārat* quarter, which means "between the south and the east," towards the *Nil-ab Bān* [or north-west]; it is a level expanse about a hundred *kuh* (equivalent to thirty *farsakh*) in length. Its width is, in some parts, about twenty *kuh*, and in a few places ten *kuh*.[1] In this

[1] The word *Kuh* or *Kurah* is the Persian form of the Sanskrit *Krosa* or *Kosa* of India As a measure of distance it has varied so greatly with time, and still varies according to locality, that a better estimate could hardly be given than our author's when he makes it 0·8 of a *farsakh*, or about 1½ mile In North-western India and Kashmir, in our own times, the Kos is usually taken at about 1½ mile The Emperor Akbar established the *Kos* on the basis of 500 *Hath Ghaz* which produces an English equivalent of rather over 2½ miles; but it is probable that the value of the *Kos*, like that of the *Ghaz* has fallen very low since Akbar's reform and that Mirza Haidar's *Kuh* may well have measured not less than the *Hāhi Kos* Even later than Akbar's time Colonel Cunningham shows, a Kos measuring much less than 2½ miles was in force in Ladak. On the whole, therefore 1½ mile may be fairly assumed to have been the approximate length of Mirza Haidar's *Kuh*, and may be applied in all cases where he states distances in that measure As a matter of fact, the length of the Kashmir valley is about [illegible] English miles, while its breadth varies so greatly that it is impossible to state it in figures (For full particulars regarding these and other measurements of the words *Kuh* and *Kos*, and the measurements they have represented at different periods see Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India* Appendix II and Yule's *Glossary*, p 202)

region all the land is divided into four kinds The cultivation ■ (1) by irrigation [*âbî*] (2) on land not needing artificial irrigation, (3) gardens, and (4) level ground, where the river banks abound in violets and many-coloured flowers. On the [level] ground, on account of the excessive moisture, the crops do not thrive, and for this reason the soil is not fallowed, which constitutes one of its charms[1] The heat in summer is so agreeable, that there is at no time any need of a fan. A soft and refreshing breeze is constantly blowing. . . .[2]

The climate in winter is also very temperate, notwithstanding the heavy snowfalls, so that no fur cloak [*postin*] is necessary. In fact its coldness only serves to render the heat yet more agreeable. When the sun does not shine, the warmth of a fire is far from unpleasant [Couplet]. . . .[3] In short I have neither seen nor heard of any country equal to Kashmir, for change of climate during all the four seasons.

In the town there are many lofty buildings constructed of fresh cut pine. Most of these are at least five stories high and each story contains apartments, halls, galleries and towers The beauty of their exterior defies description, and all who behold them for the first time, bite the finger of astonishment with the teeth of admiration But the interiors are not equal to the exteriors

The passages in the markets, and the streets of the city, are all paved with hewn stone. But the bazaars are not laid out as they are in other towns. In the streets of the markets, only drapers and retail dealers are to be found. Tradesmen do all their business in the seclusion of their own houses Grocers, druggists, beer-sellers [*jahâ* and that class of provision vendors who usually frequent markets, do not do so here. The population of this city is equal to that of [other] large towns.

As for the fruits—pears, mulberries, [sweet] cherries and sour cherries are not met with, but the apples are particularly good. There are other fruits in plenty, sufficient to make one break one's resolutions. Among the wonders of Kashmir are the quantities of mulberry trees, [cultivated for their leaves, from which] silk is obtained The people make a practice of eating the fruit, but rather regard it as wrong. In the season, fruit is so plentiful that it is rarely bought and sold. The holder of a garden and the man that has no garden are alike, for the gardens have no walls and it is not usual to hinder anyone from taking the fruit

[1] The whole of this passage regarding the land, is obscure and the translation uncertain. The Turki MS is clearer, but mentions only three categories of land "One kind is land where agriculture is done with [river] water Another where it is done with rain-water. Another is the level ground where the river-banks abound in violets and many-coloured flowers: this land is too damp to cultivate."

[2] Some rhetorical sentences slightly abridged and a couplet omitted —R

[3] About a half a folio of flowery prose and verse descriptive of the flowers, birds, etc, is omitted here —R.

CHAPTER XCVIII.

FURTHER WONDERS

First and foremost among the wonders of Kashmir stand her idol temples. In and around Kashmir there are more than one hundred and fifty temples which are built of blocks of hewn stone, fitted so accurately one upon the other, that there is absolutely no cement used. These stones have been so carefully placed in position, without plaster or mortar, that a sheet of paper could not be passed between the joints. The blocks are from three to twenty *gaz* in length, one *gaz* in depth, and one to five *gaz* in breadth. The marvel is how these stones were transported and erected. The temples are nearly all built on the same plan. There is a square enclosure which in some places reaches the height of thirty *gaz*, while each side is about three hundred *gaz* long. Inside this enclosure there are pillars, and on the top of the pillars there are square capitals; on the top of these again, are placed supports,[1] and most of these separate parts are made out of one block of stone. On the pillars are fixed the supports of the arches, and each arch is three or four *gaz* in width. Under the arch are a hall and a doorway. On the outside and inside of the arch are pillars of forty or fifty *gaz*[2] in height, having supports and capitals of one block of stone. On the top of this are placed four pillars of one or two pieces of stone.

The inside and the outside of the walls have the appearance of two porticos, and these are covered with one or two stones. The capitals, the ornamentation in relief, the cornices, the "dog tooth" work, the marble covering on the outside, are all covered with pictures and paintings, which I am incapable of describing. Some represent laughing and weeping figures, which astound the beholder. In the middle is a lofty throne of hewn stone, and over that, a dome made entirely of stone, which I cannot describe. In the rest of the world there is not to be seen, or heard of, one building like this. How wonderful that here should (there) be a hundred and fifty of them.

[1] Literally, "small urn-pits."—R.

[2] Mirza Haidar's *gaz*, as we have already seen (pp. 58 and 270), was practically the same as that used by Baber, and therefore assumed some 28 to 36 inches. But even if he is using here, the standard *gaz* of India—the yard of 18 inches—it will be seen in the note below, that his measurements are out of all proportion, too great.

[3] There is nothing, in this account, to show which of the ruined temples of Kashmir the author is describing. When he gives one hundred and fifty as the number of them, he probably commits no great exaggeration for even in Mr. Vigne's time (about 1881-8) the number was reckoned at not less than seventy to

Again, to the east of Kashmir there is a district called Bunig [Vunág. Here there is a hill on the top of which is a ditch [*basti*] like a tank, and at the bottom of the tank is a hole. It eighty Daring [illegible] severing centuries, very many must have disappeared. Some [illegible] known to have been destroyed, and the stones they were made of used for various purposes. Others, again, have been built over, or otherwise hidden from sight while some, no doubt, have been overgrown by the jungle. The five most remarkable ruins now known, are those at Mattan, or Pandu Kan, about five miles east of Islámabád (the ancient capital of the valley, and now called, by the Hindus Anant Nág), at Bijbiyar (near Uri), Avantipur, Pandrethan, and Payech. The Mattand temple is not only the largest of the whole, but by far the most and as the late Mr. Fergusson observes, is the most typical example of the Kashmir style. It dates from about 750 A.D., and some of the others may be somewhat older; "but none," writes Mr. Fergusson, "can be carried further back than the reign of Rání Ishya A.D. 578 to 591." Nor can any be brought down below say 1200 which is probably the date of that of Payech. The style during these six centuries is a uniform that it may be taken as one, for the purposes of general history.

If we assume Mirza Haidar's description to refer to this the largest of the temples, it may be interesting to compare Mr. Fergusson's account with it. He says: "The temple itself is a very small building being only 60 feet in length, by 38 feet in width. Its width of the wall, however is reckoned by its wings or projects, which in reality it does not." It then sits on a terrace mound, which I estimated its height to be also 60 feet when complete thus making each dimension of 60 feet. Mr. Fergusson doubted if the temple ever had a roof. Fragments of what must have been found in more than one of the floor of the temple, and judging from the density of the walls, and the large voids they include, he doubted if they could have supported a stone roof. If, indeed there was a roof he believed it must have been of wood. The courtyard that surrounds and encloses the temple, was graphically by Mr. Vigne a more remarkable object than the temple itself. His actual dimensions gives as 220 feet by 142 feet. Each face in the central wall which, I compute would have reached to 90 feet in height at the summit of the roof, which stood on each side of the court 9 feet high. Nothing now remains of the Mattandruin, and its details have been inflicted from what I could collect only.

Mr. T. C. Vigne who published, in 1842, a narrative of his travels in Kashmir, but he became entitled to the Mattand temple and I recede that the great length—that of the side walls—was about 270 feet, while that of the front was 168 feet. The height of the pillars including base and capital, he made barely 40 feet, and the largest blocks of the entablature of which the temple was built 6 to 8 feet in length, of proportionate solidity, and cemented with an excellent mortar. His measurements of the side walls and front, evidently refer to the centre enclosure, and not the temple itself. They are somewhat in excess of those given by Mr. Fergusson, but this discrepancy may be accounted for by Mr. Vigne having perhaps measured the outside of the walls, while Mr. Fergusson particularly mentions that his figures relate to the interior of the enclosure. But however this may be, the discrepancies of Mirza Haidar's account have to be considerably pared down in every instance, as is usually the case with statements made in figures by Asiatics. The chief interest that his description possesses is, that it is one of the oldest notices of the Kashmir ruins that have come down to us—perhaps the oldest from the pen of any Musulman, or foreign writer.

As regards the question of date, if the author's account were more exact, his particular mention of the existence of a dome would be important; as judging from the inaccuracy of his other statements this one cannot safely deserve much consideration. (See Fergusson's *Hist. of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, 1876, pp. 279 *seqq.*, Vigne's *Travels in Kashmir*, i., pp. 385 ; also Moorcroft, ii., pp. 259 *seqq.*; and an interesting paper by Mr. W. Simpson, in the *Journal of the Past of Brit. Architects* for May, 1872.)

(Other traditions differ somewhat as to the date. (See Stokvis i. 230.)

remains dry throughout the year, except during the season of Tamus, when water issues from it.[1] Two or three times a day it gushes out [with such force] that the tank is filled, and enough water flows down the side of the hill to drive mills two or even two mills. After this it subsides, so that the water remains except in the hole. When the season of Tamus is passed it again becomes dry for a whole year. Though openings have been made to stop it up with lime and mortar, yet when the season has come, all this has been washed away, and it has never been found possible to stop its flow.

Further, in Nágim, a notable town of Kashmir,[2] there is a tree which is so high that if an arrow be shot at the top, it will probably not reach it. If anyone takes hold of one of the twigs and *shakes it, the whole of this enormous tree is put in motion.*

Again, Div Sar,[3] which is one of the most important districts of Kashmir, contains a spring twenty *gaz* square. On the sides of it are plenty shady trees and soft herbage. One boils some rice, puts it in a bottle, closes up the mouth [of the bottle] tightly, and having written a name on it, throws it into the spring, and then sits down [to wait]. Sometimes the bottle remains there five years, on other occasions it comes up again the same day: the time is uncertain. If, when it reappears, the rice is found to be warm the circumstance is regarded as a good omen. Sometimes the rice has undergone a change or earth and sand may have got inside it. The more [substances that find their way into it the more unfavourable is the omen considered.

Moreover, there is in Kashmir a lake called Vihn, the circumference of which is seven *jaríbhs*. In the middle of this lake Sultán Zain-ul-Abidin, one of the Sultans of Kashmir, erected a palace. First of all he emptied a quantity of stones into the lake, [at this spot] and on these constructed a foundation or floor of closely-fitting stones, measuring two hundred square *gaz* in extent,

The spring of Vihn'g is one of the most famous in Kashmir, and is made much of by the Hindus. It is reputed to be the source of the Jhilam. But the real sources are in the hills at some distance to the south and east of Vihn'g. We read in Inco's *Kashmir Handbook*: "The water of the spring, which is very cold and of a deep bluish green colour, is received into an octagonal stone basin, about 111 feet wide by 4 feet deep in the centre and 11 feet deep at the sides and filled with sacred fish; after flowing through the garden in stone lined canals it shortly joins the Sandran. Around the basin is an old building consisting of twenty-four arched recesses, which were formerly ornamented with elaborately carved stones many of which still remain. . . . The stone basin, the canals and other constructions are of a later date than Mirza Haidar; they are ascribed by the Emperor Jahángir whose favourite resort was Vihnag.

[2] Now a mere village. It lies one short march south of Srinagar.

[3] The name of *Div Sar*, or *Deo Sar*, does not appear to be in use nowadays. It was the district however, of which Kolagám was the chief town or village, and Kolag'm, or Kulgám, stands to the left of the upper Jhilam—to the south-west of Islámábád. (See Moorcroft ii. 113 and foll. and Cunningham's *Ladak*.)

and ten *gaz* in height. Thereupon he built a charming palace and planted pleasant groves of trees, so that there can be but few more agreeable places in the world. Finally, this same Sultán Zain-ul-Ábidín built himself a palace in the town, which in the dialect of Kashmír is called Rádín. It has twelve stories, some of which contain fifty rooms, halls, and corridors. The whole of this lofty structure is built of wood.

[Among the vast kiosks of the world are:—in Tabríz, the Hasht Bihisht Kiosk of Sultán Yakub, in Herát the Bágh-i-Kháh, the Bágh-i-Safíd, and the Bágh-i-Shahr, and in Samarkand the Kuk

The *Ular* or *Wular* lake, the largest sheet of water in Kashmír. The author usually exaggerates measurements, but in giving 28 miles as the circumference of the Wular he is somewhat underestimating the fact. It is about 12 miles by 10, but varies according to season. As regards the palace on the island of *Lanka*, its ruins are to be found still and have often been explored by travellers since the days of Mírza Haidar. The island is near the entrance of the river Jilam into the lake and measures some 95 yards by 7[illegible]. The Chinese traveller, Bou'ddar, visited Lanka in 1135, and speaks of the palace as "an edifice . . . which it is pretended floats miraculously upon the water," though he also explains that according to tradition, "one of the ancient kings of Kashmír, out of enmity, built it upon a number of thick beams fastened together." In 1821 Mr. Moorcroft landed on the island and found two ruined buildings—one of stone at its eastern extremity, around which were the bases of several massive polygonal columns, the other merely an oblong house, with pitched roof and plastered walls, containing fragments of Hindu carving. The first of these he regarded as a fortified Hindu construction, but he makes no mention of the origin of the other. The fluctuations of both, however, according to the various inundations had compelled the stones derived from the ancient Hindu temples in other parts of Kashmír which had been destroyed by the Muslimans. If this is the case it is possible that in constructing the mosques or palaces their slabs, columns, etc., from the ancient temples may have been used, and this may have led Mr. Moorcroft to believe the ruins to be of Hindu origin, although he records having seen an inscription relating that the building was erected by Sultan Zain-ul-Abidín, who reigned about 827 to 871 A.H. (1421 to 1467 A.D.). The legends and traditions connected with the island and its name in all seem to point to an artificial foundation for the buildings that were erected there. In all probability there was a shoal rather than an island or peninsula, and what appeared as an island at very high stages of the lake, only during the low-water season. If this be the case, the spot would not have been fit and ready ground to found even a very large palace or temple upon, which has led to the fable. However this may be, Mírza Haidar rightly assigns the building to Sultan Zain-ul-Abidín, whose reign dates only about a hundred years previous to his own time. In 1871 Mr. A. Constable (Director's edition) saw two or three like Mr. Moorcroft, a slab of black slate bearing a Persian inscription, dated 1118 A.H., which had been erected to commemorate the erection of the edifice by the Sultan. Haidar's account being of Kashmír." The inscription is, I believe, still preserved.

The name of *Lanka* would seem to be of pre-Muhammadan origin, though Moorcroft heard that Zain-ul-Abidín had so named it after a place of Hindu traditions. *Lanka* or *Lank-alpa*, is the ancient Hindu and Pali name for the island of Ceylon, and it is not improbable that this small island in the Wular may have been named after the greater one, long before the days of the Muhammadan kings of Kashmír.

It may be remarked that it is with reference to this spot, that Moorcroft shows his acquaintance with our author. He writes: "The celebrated Mírza Haidar extols *Lanka* as a delightful spot for a party of pleasure"—but nothing more! (Constable's *Durbar*, pp. xlv. 17, Moorcroft, ii, pp. 224, 225).

[There appears to be no trace left of a palace bearing the name of *Rájdán*. That the building should have disappeared is not surprising, since it is reported to have been constructed of wood.

Saráí, the Ak Saráí, the Bágh-i-Dilkushái, and the Bágh-i-Buldi Though [the Rájdán] is more lofty and contains more rooms than all these, yet it has not their elegance and style It is, nevertheless, a more wonderful structure.

In the *Zafar Náma*, Sharaf-ud-Dín Alí Yazdí has stated a few facts with regard to Kashmír, but he is not quite consistent with reality. He had never been there himself, but derived his information from travellers, who had not a proper regard for accuracy, hence his statements are not always exact.

CHAPTER XCIX

EXTRACT FROM THE "ZAFAR-NÁMA."

Though Kashmír is one of the most famous spots in the world, yet on account of its secluded position, it is seldom visited by any but those who make it the express object of a journey. I here give such details as I have been able to verify; having derived them from trustworthy sources and also from the natives. I have taken its position, size, and extent from geographical works.[1]

Kashmír has near the middle of the fourth climate, for the beginning of the fourth climate is where the latitude is 33° 51', and the latitude of Kashmír is 34° from the equator. Its longitude from the *Jazáir-i-Khálidát*[2] is 105°. This country runs longitudinally, and is enclosed by mountains on every side; the southern range [lies] in the direction of Dahrá [Dehlí], the northern [looks] towards Badakhshán and Káshgar; the west towards the county inhabited by the Uzbak [Afghans] tribes; its eastern side terminates in the outlying districts of Tibet The extent of its level plains from the eastern limits to the western, is about 40 *farsakhs*, and from south to north 20 *farsakhs*. In the heart of the level plain lying within the mountainous district, are 1000 inhabited villages, abounding in wholesome streams and vegetation It is popularly believed that in the whole of the province—plains and mountains together—are comprised 100,000 villages The land is thickly inhabited, and the soil is cultivated The climate is very salubrious, while the beauty of the women of the country is proverbial. [Verses] . .

In the mountains and plains are to be found many kinds of fruit-trees, and the fruits are especially good and wholesome. But, since the temperature inclines to be cold and the snow falls in great abundance, those fruits which

[1] The remainder of the chapter is from the *Zafar-Náma*.

[2] The Arabic name for the *Insulæ Fortunatæ*, which the ancient geographers—Arabs as well as Greeks—took for their prime meridian, subsequent to the date of Ptolemy The latitude given here, it may be observed, is remarkably correct, for Srinagar stands in 31° 7' north lat

require much warmth, such as dates, oranges and lemons, do not ripen there, these are brought from the neighbouring warm regions.

In the middle of the valley there is a town called Shádigám, which stretches eastward and westward for a *farsakh* in either direction. This is the residence of the governor of the country. Like an Nagl. Ind., Jhelam flows through the middle of it a great river, which is much larger than the Tigris. The wonderful thing is that this mighty river comes from one spring, which rises within the limits of the country, and is called the spring of Vir [Vírnág]. The people of the place have constructed across this river about thirty bridges of planks bound together by chains, through which they can open a way. Several of these bridges are in the town of Srinagar, which is the capital of the province and the seat of the governors. After the river has passed the limits of Kashmír, it takes in one place the name of Dandána, in another that of Jhelam,[1] it flows through the upper portion of Multán and joins the river Síyáb. The united streams empty themselves into the Sind near the [town of] Uchh and the whole river thenceforth takes the name of Sind, which discharges itself into the sea of Oman at the extremity of the land of Tatta.[2]

[1] The two names here mentioned, are those of Mírzá Haidar, or those of the author of the *Zafar-Náma*. Whether both are correctly given, or whether a copyist's misunderstandings copied from one history into another, it is not easy to determine, but my impression is that the *Jamla* of the text is a corruption of *Jamd*. Though Mírzá Haidar professes to quote the *Zafar-Náma* those passages by no means accord closely with the extracts on the same subject translated in Elliot's *Hist. of India*. They correspond far better with a part of the description of Kashmír contained in Abú Tálib Husaini's Persian version of the *Malfuzát-i-Timúri*, also reproduced in English by Dilio. It would not be unlikely that Mírzá Haidar possessed as he was a local knowledge, should amend the *Zafar-Náma* while copying it; but whether Shuaf-ud-Dín copied from the original Turki of the *Malfuzát* (if there was one) or whether Abú Tálib (whose translation dates from 1620) copied from Shuaf-ud-Dín, is by no means clear. The two accounts are, however, one and the same, small differences notwithstanding. The two names now in question for the Jhilam, are precisely the same in both, and Mírzá Haidar has made no amendment in this instance. *Dandána* I mentioned, as far as I have been able to ascertain, nowhere else than in these passages of the *Zafar-Náma* and the *Malfuzát*, but *Jamd* (perhaps *Jamd*.) is commonly applied, not only to the river of that name in the neighbourhood of Kashtwár, but throughout its course. The historian of Timúr's campaigns seems to have designated the common name for the river. The *Tárikh-i-Hafiz Abrú* (a work of the first half of the fifteenth century) describes the whole length of the Jhilam from its source in Kashmír to its confluence with the Indus, under the name of *Jamd*; while the *Matla'u-s-Sa'dain* (dating from about the middle of the fifteenth century) likewise speaks of the Jhelam as the *Jamd*. Somewhat less than two centuries later, however, we find Jarrett calling it the *Behat*—a name which has remained in use down to our own time, and is a form of the ancient *Vidasta* or *Vitasta*. That at whatever period *Jamd* or *Jamad* may have first come into use, it seems to have been forgotten by Musulman writers since the fifteenth century. (See Elliot's *Zafar-Náma*, ii, p. 521; for *Malfuzát-i-Timúri*, iii, pp. 110-81; for *Tárikh-i-Hafiz Abrú*, iv, p. 4, and for *Matla'u-s-Sa'dain*, iv, p. 11; *Babur*, p. 201, also Major Raverty, *J. A. S. B.*, lx, 1891, pt. i, pp. 200-1.) *Síyáb* is evidently *Chenáb*, badly copied.

[2] The *Uch* alluded to here, is no doubt the old town of that name, situated near the left bank of the Panjnad just below the Sutlej confluence. "In the time of Timúr and Akbar," says General Cunningham, "the junction of the Chenáb and Indus took place opposite *Uchh*, 10 miles above the present confluence at Mithankot. But early in the present century the Indus gradually changed its course, and leaving the old channel at 20 miles above *Uchh*, continued its course to

This country [Kashmir] is protected naturally by its mountains on every side, ■ that the inhabitants, without the trouble of carrying themselves, are safe from the attacks of enemies. Nor have they anything to fear from the revolutions worked by time, or by the hand of man.

The entrances to the principal passes of Kashmir are [illegible] Khoshán ■ such a difficult route, that it is impossible to traverse it [illegible] with loads to be driven along it, so that inhabitants, who are accustomed to such work ■ y the loads upon their own shoulders [illegible] several days, until they reach a spot where it is possible to find a horse. The road to Tibet offers the same difficulty. The route which leads to Tibet is easier than these two, but during ■■■ al days one finds nothing but poisonous herbs which make the journey inconvenient for travellers on horseback, since the horses perish.[1]

CHAPTER O.

THE CONVERSION OF KASHMIR TO ISLÁM, AND A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE MUSULMÁN SULTANS OF KASHMIR.

The conversion of Kashmir is a comparatively recent event. The people were all Hindus and professed the faith of Brahma. A certain Sultán Shams ud-Dín came thither disguised as a kalandar. At that time there was a governor in every district of Kashmir. There was also ■ queen, into whose service Sultán Shams-ud-Dín entered. After a short time the queen learned to marry Sultán Shams-ud-Dín; and not long after this event, his power became absolute throughout Kashmir. He was succeeded by his son Alá-ud-Dín, who was in turn succeeded by his son Kutb-ud-Dín, during whose reign Amir Kabir Alí the Second, called Sayyid Alí Hamadání,[2] appeared

the south-south-west until it rejoined the old channel at Miánkot. At the time of Mirza Haidar then, *Uch* must have been near the confluence of the greater rivers and ■■■ for this reason perhaps, ■ city of some importance. The name of *Uch* or *Uchcha* is common in Northern India; and one place so called, is to be found a short distance west of the junction of the Jhilam with the Chinab; while a third lies ■■■ ■ miles north of Jacobabad. (See Cunningham *Ancient Geog.*, pp. 220–21 and 212 *seq.*)

Tatta, standing near the apex of the delta of the Indus though a town of not much importance now, ■ a place of great antiquity, and at the period of the earlier Moguls ■■■ to have given its name to the whole of Lower Sind. (See for ■ complete account of *Tatta* Cunningham, pp. 288 *seq.*)

[1] The *Zafar-Nama* contains this passage about the poisonous herbs: "The road from Kashmir to Ladak. Whoever originally wrote it, had remarkably correct local information and the statement holds good to the present day. Round about the spot called Bálál at the western foot of the Zoji pass there are poisonous weeds among the grass, which frequently prove fatal to horses if turned out to graze. Nowhere else in these regions (as far as I am aware) does such a poisonous herb occur.

[2] His Sayyid Alí Hamadání was a refugee from Hamadán in Persia, whence he and those of his race are said to have been expelled by Timur, about the

there Kutb-ud-Din died in less than forty days,[1] and was succeeded by his son Sultán Iskandar, who established the Muslim faith and destroyed all the idol temples. His son Sultán Zain-ul-Abidín succeeded [illegible] for fifty years. He devoted [illegible] Mír Muhammad Hamadání, a Sayyid of the family which [illegible] Sayyid Ali's son Mír Muhammad Hamadání, hailing from Pamán Sayyids, hailing from Kutb-ud-Din that the envoys of Kashmir [illegible] attributed. Sayyid Ali died in Pakhli about the year 1385, and [illegible] to have left the country [illegible] six years [illegible] family which [illegible] authority is usually known [illegible] Kashmír as "Sayyid Hamadán," and who may be regarded as [illegible] Muhammadan portion of the population. His descendants or persons claiming this distinction—still exist I believe, in Srinagar where the mosque Shah-i-Hamadán is perhaps the most venerated of any in the town. A note written in the *Times* tells me that through Sayyid's "pious zeal and devotion" is still shewn a tablet in memory of the building, "which but little light breaks upon the pillars and ceiling and walls of striped [illegible]." The mosque and dwelling of Sayyid Ali Hamadání, Kashmír mosques, [illegible] Shah-i-Hamadán is [illegible] original model" (See Bellew's *Dárd Rág Dard*, p. 28, and the *Times*, 7th November 1874).

"However all [illegible] Kutb-ud-Din's reign was less than forty days, [illegible] could [illegible] days after the arrival, in Kashmír of Sayyid Ali Hamadání. Under Kutb-ud-Din's reign a [illegible], by the usually [illegible] fifteen years (Scott Waring).

"It would have been [illegible] to accept Mírza Haidar as an original authority in this history of the kings of the country [illegible] long, but his [illegible] with two other [illegible] Abul Fazl that [illegible] Firishta and Abul Fazl-that [illegible] by no means agree in the [illegible] the various Sultans or in the length of their reigns and even the [illegible] Firishta vary [illegible] among themselves. Mr. C. T. Rodgers has published a careful summary [illegible] Firishta's history of Kashmír, and has shown, however, the [illegible] also how the [illegible] give [illegible] historical tables. It is possible [illegible] Firishta is a better authority than Abul Fazl; but as this [illegible] to investigate discrepancies, or to give a history of the Musulmán kings of Kashmír I have only compiled a rough table, from Mr. Rodgers' translation of those kings whose names a little more than even the [illegible] which Mírza Haidar [illegible]. When [illegible] precedes it [illegible] that I have [illegible] an average [illegible] among those Mr. Rodgers has found authority for, or that appears to be preferable to the others:—

		A.H.	A.D.
1.	Shah Mír, or Shams-ud-Dín [illegible]	began to reign	713	1312
2.	Jamshíd [illegible]	"	741	1315
3.	Ala-ud-Dín [illegible]	"	748	1317
4.	Shahib-ul-Dín [illegible]	"	754	1354
5.	Kutb-ud-Dín [illegible]	"	781	1379
6.	Sikandar [illegible]	"	[illegible]	[illegible]
7.	Ali Shah [illegible]	"	819	1416
8.	Zain-ul-Abidín [illegible]	"	827	1423
9.	Haidar Shah [illegible]	"	871	1466
10.	Hasan Shah [illegible]	"	891	1486

After Hasan Shah there was [illegible], and then who followed him—

himself to embellishing Kashmir with buildings, and in order to humour all the nations of the world, he paid attention neither to Infidelity nor Islám. It was at this time that Kashmir became a city, which it has remained until now.

In Kashmir one meets with all those arts and crafts which are, in most cities uncommon, such as stone-polishing, stone-cutting, bottle-making, window-cutting, *tábdán-kardan*, gold-beating, etc. In the whole of Mávará-un-Nahr, except in Samarkand and Bokhárá, these are nowhere to be met with, while in Kashmir they are even abundant. This is all due to Sultán Zain-ul-Abidín. After him the power of the Sultáns of Kashmir began to decline, and the Amirs became so strong that the Sultáns ruled in name only, insomuch that outward respect was no longer paid them. Those helpless Sultáns, therefore, in order to secure their own safety, had to flee the country and endure much adversity.

To Sultán Nazak, who is to-day my companion, I have shown far more respect than the former administrators of the kingdom ever showed [their contemporary sultáns]. Since the reign of Zain-ul-Abidín a few of his offspring have borne the title of 'king,' but of authority they have had none.

CHAPTER CI

ACCOUNT OF THE RELIGIOUS SECTS OF KASHMIR.

The people were [formerly] all Hanafí, but in the reign of Fath Shah, the father of this Sultán Nádir,[2] a man of the name of

Muhammad Fath Shah, Shahín, Ismá'íl and Názuk came to the throne and went down, one after time, until the date of Mírzá Haidar's invasion of the country in 918 (= 1511). Názuk was the nominal Sultán during the Mírzá's regency—*i.e.*, till 958 (= 1551). The date of the first of these Muslimán kings, Shams ud-Dín, is especially uncertain for Mr. Rodger appears to think that 717 is as likely as 718. In that case the whole of the above table would be inexact, as each date is usually based on the one that precedes it. This Shams-ud-Dín, under the name of Shah Mírzá, or Shah Mír, had been minister to the last Rajah of the preceding Hindu dynasty, Sinha Deva by name, and of his successors, and had served in that capacity for somewhere about thirty years, before he made himself king and married Sinha Deva's widow.

Abul Fazl's complete table of these Muslimán lines of rulers will be found in vol. ii. (Colonel Jarrett's) of the *Ain-i-Akbarí*, pp. 371–80. Briggs' *Firishta*, vol. iv. pp. 444 *to* end also contains their history, together with a genealogical tree. (See, for Mr. Rodgers' translation, *J. A. S. B.*, 1885, pt. i., pp. 108 *sq.*)

[1] Meaning, here the town of Srinagar, usually called "Kashmír."

[2] By *Nádir*, the author probably means the same Sultán that he has just styled *Názak*. Mr. Rodgers shows that on the coins of Kashmír the name usually occurs as *Nádir*, though in histories it is more often met with in the form of *Názal*. (Rodgers *loc. cit.*)

Shams came from Tálish in Irák[1] who gave himself out as a Nurbakhshi. He introduced a corrupt form of religion, giving it the name of Nurbakhshi' and practised many heresies He went to seek for those cowardly people called *Ilh-i-Ahwat*, which does not conform to the teachings of any of the sects, whether Sunni or Shia. Those sectaries revile the companions of the Prophet and Áisha, as do the Shias, but contrary to the teaching, of these latter, they look upon Amir Sayyid Muhammad Nur Bakhshi as the Lord of the Age and the promised Mahdi

They do not believe in the saints and holy persons in whom the Shias believe, but regard all those as [appertaining to] Sunnis. Shams] introduced many impious practices and infidel beliefs and gave his heretical sect the name of 'Nurbakhshi' I have seen many of the Nurbakhshi elders in Badakhshán and elsewhere. I discovered that outwardly they follow the precepts of the Prophet and hold with the Sunnis One of the sons of this Amir Sayyid Muhammad Nurbakhshi showed me his tract. In it was written: "Sultans, Amirs and fools [or the ignorant] maintain that worldly power cannot be combined with purity and piety. But this is absolutely false, for the great prophets and apostles, in spite of their missions, have exercised sovereignty and have likewise striven diligently after those other matters [*i.e.*, purity and piety], as for example Joseph, Moses, David, Solomon and our Prophet"

Now this is opposed to the belief of the Nurbakhshi of Kashmir, and is in accordance with that of the Sunnis. That book, the *Ilh-i-Ahwat*, which is celebrated in Kashmir, I sent, complete, to the Ulamá of Hindustán, who repudiated it and wrote on the back of it a decree [*fatwá*] of remonstrance as follows "In the name of God the Merciful. Oh! God, show unto us the truth in its reality, and the false, wherein it is void, also show us things as they are After perusing this book and weighing its contents, it seemed clear [to us] that the author of it was of a false sect, who had gone against the Book and the Sunna, and did not belong to any denomination of the people of Truth. His profession is that God hath commanded him to do away with all differences among the people, (Firstly) in the developments and ordinances of the Holy Law, and to make them as they were in his time, with neither increase nor diminution, and (Secondly) in the fundamental principles among all the peoples of the earth. [In this] he is certainly lying, and inclined to heresy and schism It is the duty of such as have the power, to obliterate such a book, and a religious necessity for them to stamp out and extirpate this sect,

[1] *Tálish* appears to have been a name but was applied to the province of Gilán, though properly speaking, it was only that of a tribe which inhabited a part of Gilán (See *Sháhid Iqbálání*, p 15)

to prohibit persons from following it and acting according to its dogmas If they persist in their belief and abandon not their false creed, it is necessary for the security of Musulmáns, from their evil example, to repulse them with obstinacy and punish death If they repent and abandon the sect, they must be commanded to follow the teaching of Abu Hanifa.'

At the present time in Kashmir, the Sufis have legitimatised so many heresies, that they know nothing of what is lawful or unlawful They consider that piety and purity consist in night-watching and abstinence in food, yet they take and eat whatever they find, without ever considering what is forbidden or what is lawful. They give way to their lusts and desires in a manner not consistent with the law. They are for ever interpreting dreams, displaying miracles, and obtaining from the unseen information regarding either the future or the past. They prostrate themselves before one another and, together with such disgraceful acts, observe the forty [days of retirement]. They blame and detest science and men of learning, consider the Holy Law second in importance to the True 'Way,' and that in consequence the people of the 'Way' have nothing to do with the Holy Law. In short nowhere else is such a band of heretics to be found. May the Most High God defend all the people of Islám from such misfortunes and calamities as this, and turn them all into the true path of righteousness.

Thanks be to God that, at the present time, no one in Kashmir dares openly profess this faith, but all deny it, and give themselves out as good Sunnis They are aware of my severity towards them, and know that if any one of the sect appears he will not escape the punishment of death. I hope and trust that through the intervention of God and by my own efforts, the land will gradually be entirely delivered of this misfortune, and that all will become, as they now profess to be, Musulmáns from the bottom of their hearts Amen Oh Lord of the two worlds

There was also a sect of infidels who were Sun-worshippers, called Shammási Their creed is as follows "The phenomenon of luminosity of the sun is due to the purity of our faith: and our being is derived from the sun's luminosity. If we defile the purity of our creed the sun would no longer have any existence, and if the sun withdraw its bounty from us, we should no longer have any being. We are dependent on it for our existence, and it on us Without it has no existence without it we have none. As long as the sun is visible, our actions are visible to it, and nothing but uprightness is lawful. When night falls it does not see us or know us" Since the sun is not aware of what passes in the night, they cannot be called to account for what they do in the night-season This sect used to be called Shammisi. . . .

When this Mir Shams appeared in Kashmir and conquered its people, he took the title of Shams-ud-Dín [Sun of the Faith]. All titles descend from heaven, and the real one must have been Shamm'is-ud-Dín. It has been misunderstood by the Kashmiris, or else they called him Shams-ud-Dín by way of reproach. For this reason they called him Mir Shams.

CHAPTER CII

RETURN TO THE MAIN NARRATIVE.

Before entering upon the description of Kashmír, I had brought the thread of my story down to the point where, after passing the defile of Lár without difficulty, we entered the city. The army of Kashmír was dispersed, and the townspeople, forsaking their city and homes, fled towards the hills and glens leaving their property in their dwellings. I took up my quarters in the Rájdán, which has been mentioned, and entrenched my men within its walls. During many days no trace of any one was visible. For twenty-four days we remained there, by which time the horses and cattle had quite recovered their strength. The army of Kashmír was stationed in the middle of some swamps *kár* at about two *farsakhs* to the south of the city, whose towers could be seen. Wise men were of opinion that we ought not to remain within the city, but thought that we should march out and watch for an opportunity to give them battle. Though the enemy were far stronger than we, both in arms and numbers, we might yet defeat them by strategy. Couplet . . So, sallying forth from the city, we passed, in line, in sight of the enemy, and went and encamped at a place called Baklat[1] on the east side of Kashmír.

In a word, from the date of Jamádí II till Shabán: that is to say, from the end of autumn till the spring—we avoided the army of Kashmír, who on this account became elated, and grew so bold that, at first, every time we marched on, they halted for some days, finding some strong positions from which to oppose us. In the first place they would fortify the position soundly, by every means in their power, and then, advancing in the night, would take up a defensive station in the place [where they halted]. At

[1] Or *Ballána* or *Nallána* etc. It is not traceable on existing maps. By the "east side of Kashmír," he evidently means to the eastward of Súrgám.

length they became so [confident] that they would follow after us on the [illegible] day that we made a move, without taking any precautions Finally in a village called Bígh Navín,[1] after they had advanced fearlessly and had hastened over some level ground, having drawn up my men, I turned and faced them. It would be tedious to enter here into details, but to be brief, in the twinkling of an eye, the wind of victory began to blow and the enemy were scattered and discomfited . . .[2] The chief Malik of Kashmír, Malik Ali, together with several other eminent Maliks who were generals and commanders, perished. Those who escaped the sword, fled to the tops of the mountains. Many were wounded, while such as remained unhurt had their hearts broken in two from fear. *That night they resolved on flight, lest on the morrow it should be impossible* Their generals were alarmed and astupefied

By the ordering of Providence, the following noteworthy incident occurred to me. I discovered the devilry and base nature of Mírzá Ali Tagháí, who for devilish designs is more famous than Satan himself. [Couplet . . . In short, Mírzá Ali Tagháí came to me and offered his advice, saying: 'If our army had fled, it would have been utterly broken. When the enemy reach the hills, it is clear that they will there take up a strong position, and it will not be prudent for us to advance into the hills to attack them. It is foolish to risk a disgrace The way to destroy the enemy at this juncture is for us to descend with all speed to the lowlands of Kashmír, and attack their families, it will then be impossible that they should remain where they are; they will perforce come down to defend their families. Those that have their households with them in the hills will not want to descend, while those whose families are on the lowlands will make for the hill-tops A certain number will remain where they are Being once separated in this manner, they will find no possibility of reuniting and no further fighting will be necessary"

I allowed myself to be deceived by these devilish promptings and lying suggestions, and decided that on the following morning we should descend with all haste [Couplet] . . . . At dawn [next day] we started on the downward road Mír Ibráhím Ali came to me and said with much severity "What witnesses have we swallowed that matters should have come to this pass? Now that we have scattered the enemy and have driven him into these hills, you would leave him? Where are you going?" I then hesitated and halted, when Mírzá Ali Tagháí, who had marched forward, came back and asked why I had stopped Mír Ibráhím Ali [illegible]

[1] The variants might be *Banu, Banu*, etc It does not appear on modern maps

[2] Two lines of rhetoric and a couplet omitted R

[3] This sentence is somewhat abridged — R

repeated to him what he had said to me. Mirzá Alí Tughái, turning towards me his double-faced countenance, said, "It is childish to alter one's decisions, I maintain my opinion still" [Corpleq] . . . . But I, seeing all to the wise counsel of the provident Mir Dáim Alí, followed the evil advice of that worthless wretch . . . [1]

In short, we set out and came to the district of Nágrám. Mirzá Alí Tughái went in advance. At the second stage we learnt that lower down there was no road, or if there were one, it was not suitable for the passage of an army. Chased from one place, and stopping in another, we finally halted at a spot called Jarma. The army of Kashmír, overjoyed with this march of ours, began again to collect their scattered forces from all sides, and descending from the hills, stationed themselves in a strong position, round which they threw a stockade (*sháh*). [Coplet . . . . This happened on the 4th of Shabán, 940 (An ingenious person found the date in *Ruz-i-chahárum az mah-i-Shabán*). When Shaban was over and the season of Tamuz had come to an end, the snows of mid-winter (that is, the sons of Capricorn) were melted from the passes by the heat of the summer sun.

Mirzá Alí Tughái, continuing his intrigues, began to point out, and enlarge upon, the enormous difficulties which the conquest of Kashmír would involve. He thus turned the hearts of the whole army from a desire to conquer Kashmír. The only exception was Mir Dáim Alí, upon whom those base promptings had no effect. All the leaders of the army of the Moghuls . . .[2] who had been scattered about, and were now re-united, came to Mir Dáim Alí, and with one mind and one accord said, amid much noise and commotion, "Tell a certain person" (by which they meant me) "that we are Moghuls, and we have been continually occupied with the affairs of Moghulistán. The natural solace and joy of the Moghul *Ulus* is the desert, in which there is no cultivation [*ábádání*]. The screeching of the owl in the wilderness is sweeter, to our ear, than the song of the nightingale in the grove. We have never made a cultivated land our home. Our companions have been the ravenous *beasts of the mountains, and our associates the wild beasts of the* desert. Our favourite haunts and our most agreeable dwellings have been the caves in the mountain tops; our clothing the skins of dogs and wild animals, our food the flesh of birds and wild beasts. How can men of our race associate with this besotted band of infidels of Kashmír, which is the garden of Aram—nay more a specimen of Paradise? It has been said, 'The idolaters shall not enter Paradise.' Moreover, from Kashmír to Kíshghar is a long

[1] A quatrain and a play on words are omitted here.—R.

[2] The passage left out here is *halla jamhur-i-zamán-i-chaghatán*. I can make nothing of it.—R

journey, and not only is the distance great, but the difficulties of the road are well nigh insurmountable. 'There are [to be considered] our families, our baggage, and our flocks and herds. Without flocks we must despair of our lives: separated from our herds we shall have to give up existence, and resign ourselves to death. Therefore, it is better that [even] amid the army of Kashmir, we should return to the Khán. If the Khán kills us, our bodies will at least be buried by our own people. If he does not kill us, we will certainly never again draw our bridles towards any other place than Moghulistán.' (Complot) . . .

Mir Dáim Ali came to me and reported what had been said. I was astounded at the men's behaviour. Verse . . . It is related that a certain sweeper *Jamádár* was passing a perfumer's shop, and when the scent got into his head, he fainted away. A doctor, who happened to be present, cried: 'Apply some filth to his nose,' and the man immediately came to his senses. (Two complots) . . . . Finally, I said to Mir Dáim Ali: "[If I make an attempt to complete the conquest of Kashmir] these cowardly men will be eager to do something to shatter the foundations of sovereignty." Mir Dáim Ali replied: 'On our departure, the Khán told us that Mirzá Ali Taghái, in all affairs of the State, considered in the first place, his own advantage and generally neglected the rest. By this rule he abides — that in considering his own personal gain, he entirely ignores the necessities of the State . . .[1]

"Let us put the Khán's proposal into practice, so that henceforth no one will dare to show signs of insolence or insubordination, perfect concord will ensue, and thus the kingdom of Kashmir, which has never yet been subdued by a Moghul Khákán, will fall into your hands. You will earn a great name for all time, and the gratitude of the race of Moghul Kháns. For this country has never been conquered by any one [of them]."

To this I replied: 'In my time many assaults on the affairs of the Khán's army have been placed under my direction, and suitable Amirs have always been associated with me. I thank God that hitherto all has gone well with me, and that nothing has ever occurred to cause the finger of reproach or blame to be pointed at me. If this [execution] should take place, all the blame will be laid at my door, and all these Amirs, whose minds are full of devilish promptings, will be convinced that he [Mirzá Ali Taghái] was sent with the army in order that I might carry out the orders of the king of death. He would doubtless make every effort to save his

[1] In this place there follows a passage of which I have been able to make but little. The substance seems to be that the Khán had fully overlooked the misdeeds of Mirzá Ali Taghái, but desired that if he were found to be laying plots, such as winning over Sultán Ishák etc., and delaying in putting him to death. This is all that the Khán told Dáim Ali, who continues to Mirzá Haidar as follows: text ff.

own life and every one will imagine that in accompanying me, his own life is in danger. Moreover, it would not be acting like a good Musulmán.'

After much reflection, I saw that there were only two courses open to me to pursue. On the one hand, to kill Mirzá Ali Taghái and subdue Kashmir, on the other, to spare him and retire from the country. I finally decided upon the latter course, and sent messages of truce to the Maliks of Kashmir. Thus did I disregard the dictates of wisdom, and my action has caused me much suffering. I have seen what I have seen. As has been said, 'He that hath his enemy before him, if he do not kill him, he is his own enemy.' [Complet . .

CHAPTER CII.

CAMP FROM KASHMIR AND SUBSEQUENT EVENTS

The government of Kashmir was at that time conducted in the name of Muhammad Shah. Among the Maliks of Kashmir, after Ali Mir, who was killed in an engagement with us], there were Abdál Makri, Kájchak, Láhuri Makri and Yakchak. When terms of peace were proposed, they were very thankful, but they did not credit our good faith wondering how people who had once conquered such a beautiful country, could be so senseless as to give it up.

In a word the *Khutba* was read and coins were struck in the exalted name of the Khán. The revenue of Kashmir, which was due to the Moghuls, we took. One of Muhammad Sháh's daughters was wedded to Iskandar Sultán. And everyone, according to his rank, formed a connection *mulázát* with one of the Sultáns or Maliks of Kashmir. I, for example, became connected with Muhammad Shah, and in accordance with the Moghul practice we called each other "friend." Similar [relations] were established between Mir Dín Ali and Abdul Makri; Mirzá Ali Taghái and Láhuri Makri; Bábá Bák Mirzá and Kájchak, my uncle's son Muhammad Mirzá (who will be mentioned below) and Yakchak. Numerous presents and offerings were interchanged.[1]

[1] It may be worth while to transcribe here Firishta's account of Mirza Haidar's campaign in Kashmir, as translated by Mr. C. J. Rodgers. 'In 930 he says 'the Sultan of Kashgar, Said Shah, sent his son, Sikandar Khan, together with Mirza Haidar [2000 soldiers], by the way of Tibet, to invade Kashmir. They forthwith, leaving the lofty valleys of the Central Asians, the Moghuls, on small insignificant tattoo ponies, to forage in the mountains

At the end of Shawál we set out again by way of Lár, as we had come. On reaching the frontiers of Tibet many of the inhabitants hastened out to receive us, bringing presents and flocks. But Kaisa,[1] which is a district of Tibet, contains a valley, which is narrow as a miser's heart, and in it is a very deep ravine, forming a lofty rampart wall, which seemed beyond the realms of possibility to pass. So narrow indeed was the road, that on the brightest day the darkness of night prevailed there. Trusting, in this valley, which they considered no human being could take, they were refractory and refused to pay the tribute [demanded of them]. We encamped there at the noontide prayer-hour. During the night all were engaged in making preparations for an assault. At dawn next day[2] all the warriors raised a shout, and made ready to fight. In short fierce fighting ensued. More than once the Muslmán forces were driven back by blows, or by rocks which were rolled [down the sides of the ravine], but each time they again made fast the skirt of valour in the girdle of endeavour, and kept a firm footing on the hill-side of holy war! Finally the infidels were routed and most of them perished, those who escaped the edge of the sword fled like chaff before the wind. All their women, children and families fell a portion to the victorious army. The rest of the infidels were filled with the utmost alarm.

To save their own lives and those of their children, they came and delivered up whatever they possessed. All the property of the province of Purik, which is one of the most important in Tibet, was collected together and distributed among the Amirs and soldiers of our army. Having selected a few curiosities and rarities for the Khán, we set out for Mirzyul.

The invaders, finding everything open before them, destroyed the palaces of the olden kings and levelled them with the dust. The city was burnt. The treasury and the buried treasures were plundered, and the whole army of invaders was laden with goods and gold. Wherever the Kashmiris were found hidden they were pursued and slain or imprisoned. "This state of things lasted six months." A great battle then took place, and is described in detail; but Fraser does not assign the victory to either side. He continues "In the evening the prisoners numbered on both sides and were all beheaded, and both armies were ready to accept peace, the Kashgha party taking with them presents of wool, hawks, and precious things sent to Muhammad Shah (the king then reigning) and asked his daughter in marriage to Sikandar Khan, and desired that the [country] whom the Moghuls had in their hands should there remain. Peace being thus concluded the Central Asians returned to their homes, and peace [was] reigned in Kashmir" (*J. A. S. B.* 1885 pt. i. p. 115). Mr. Rodgers does not indicate what the term is which he thus does. Central Asian

[1] Probably *Kalsa* as intended by *Kársa*. It is a district and village between Kargil and Suru. But it is also possible that *Kalsa*, or *Kalsi* may be meant—a village on the Indus [on] the [old] road to Ladák and near the foot of an extraordinarily deep and narrow gorge.

[2] and [3] These two passages are slightly muddled.—R

CHAPTER CV.

RETURN OF THE KHÁN FROM MÁRYUL TO HIS CAMP AT YÁRKAND, AND THE AUTHOR'S MISSION TO URSANG.

On my return from the war, I was most affectionately welcomed by the Khán, who embraced me and showed his abundant regard for me in every way.[1] After these demonstrations, the Khán questioned me concerning the particulars of the campaign. I told him what I have herein written down. When I arrived at the end of my recital, the Khán said: 'Hitherto no one of the conquering Khákáns, from the time of Chingiz Khán to the present day, has laid the hand of dominion upon the soil of Kashmir. But now, by your laudable and strenuous efforts, the parts of Kashmir have been decorated with the titles of the Moghul Khákáns. The Sultáns of Kashmír, who in former times owed allegiance to none, and the governors who were dependent on them alone, are now subject to the Moghul Khákáns. For this mighty achievement, not only I, but all the Moghul Khákáns owe you a debt of gratitude, as do also my nobles, and especially my own children, for whom such a glorious name has been won.'

By order of the Khán, I left the army and entered his [personal] service. On the next day, the rest of the Amirs and Iskandar Sultán had the honour of waiting on the Khán. I laid before the Khán, as offerings some valuables from Kashmir and some coins both silver and gold, which had been struck in his name, together with other treasures which I had brought back from the various countries. All of these he graciously deigned to accept, and, according to the custom, distributed them [among his men].

These formalities being terminated, he summoned a council of all the great Amirs and nobles. Each one spoke as his feelings prompted him. Having listened to these speeches, the Khán pondered for a while and then said to me: "You well know that it has always been my ardent desire and earnest intention to conduct the holy wars in person. I am resolved on the destruction of the idol-temple of Ursang, which is the point of adoration of the whole of Khitái. Now, this has never been achieved by any Musulmán king, not one of them, indeed, has ever been near the place. My health will not withstand such an undertaking.[2] I

[1] The chapter opens with a few lines of historic and verbal connexion and union, which are omitted, while this sentence is much abridged.—R.

[2] In the Turki version this sentence stands: It is a pity that, having made such a resolution, my health should have failed me.—R.

have come to the end of my strength, and since I have this feeling of weakness, which is apparent from my exterior, I desire you to commend me to the protection of God, and full of sincerest and religious fervour, to hasten to destroy that temple. I will meanwhile return to my loved home, leaving the whole of the administration in your hands. To me and you made, who have both grown old retire to the corner of devotion, which is a haven of repose, while you take upon yourself the affairs of the State. We will help you with our prayers for your welfare, you will benefit us by your good actions.'

After this lengthy speech he issued a mandate of the following purport viz: "Mirzá Haidar had been elected. He may take with him whomsoever he chooses. Those who accompany him are subject to his commands and not to mine."[1] When this mandate had been promulgated, I gave the great Amirs leave to return home. I then chose to accompany me my brother Abdullah Mirzá and my uncle's son Mahmud Mirzá. I set in command of the army Janaka Mirzá and Bahrika Mirzá, who were both mentioned in the lists [muster roll] at Kishghar. From the rest of the soldiers I selected 2000 men. I then turned my attention to this matter [the invasion of Ursang], and before the [preparations] were completed, six days of Zulhijja were past. Thus was the extent of my attendance [on the Khán].

On the day of leave-taking, the Khán sent for me privately, and bestowed on me, as gifts all the royal clothing, he had with him, besides some horses. In addition he gave me a belt and a sheath containing several knives, both of which he had devised himself. He gave these to me with his own hands, saying: "Those I have acquired myself, I entrust them to you as a keepsake. If you return in safety, and find me still among the living, you can return them to me. They are a deposit. But if anything should occur which should separate us for ever, you can keep them as a remembrance of me." I thanked him greatly for his kindness; but the reins of self-control fell from my hands, and my extreme grief and sorrow caused the humidity, which lay in the recesses of my heart, to pour forth by way of my eyes. I was much affected. The Khán, in his kindness of heart began to comfort me, and after he had in a measure succeeded in quieting my mind, I said to him. "What heart would be strong enough to be consoled after hearing such words as yours? Allow me to accompany you as far as your capital, Yárkand. When I have seen you seated on your happy throne, I will then return to my own duties; in the meanwhile the rest of the army can pasture their cattle in one of the grazing grounds of Tibet.

[1] This sentence is somewhat obscure in the text, and I have not been literal.—R

Ha ho Khán replied, "It is no wise to despise difficult undertakings. You have misunderstood what I said to you [My meaning was that there is no living person who does not doubt whether he will remain in the world, or whether he will not taste of the wine of death], nor is his dependence on an illness. I am not exempt from the hand of fate even though I touch Yárkand in safety, I am not secure from death. Since my separation is likely to be of long duration, and since no one can know what is said, I have taken this opportunity of speaking to you. What I have said to you I have said, and I do not think that your accompanying me and then returning, is compatible with what I have arranged.[1] In every circumstance one must look to God. Everything must be entrusted to Him I consign you to God, and I hope that we may meet again in Yárkand Be strong of heart and energetic The great name you have won by the conquest of Kashmír will be magnified by this expedition." Having uttered those words he allowed me to depart, and himself set out on the return journey.

CHAPTER IV

THE DEATH OF THE KHÁN AND AN ELEGY ON HIS LIFE.

* * * * * *

In what the Khán, having finally arranged the above-mentioned affairs set out from Mírzul in Ghílzi, for Yárkand. I attended him on his first stage, and then, with evil forebodings, took a crushing and melancholy leave of him. [Two complete .... Four days later I received a letter in the Khán's own handwriting, stating that he had crossed the pass of Sákai,[2] and that the feelings of weakness which he apprehended, had not come over him. He had reached Nubra in safety and was camped there, intending to proceed towards Yárkand after the festival of the Sacrifice.

[1] In these passages, the Persian texts being very corrupt, I have partially followed the Turki.

[2] This chapter opens with half a folio of verse and rhetoric on the mortality of man, the whole of which is passed over.

[3] By the *Sákai* probably the Karakung pass is indicated. It leads across the range immediately north of the town of Leh, and is about 17,800 feet in height. It not the Karakung, the pass within a few miles east of it, called the Digar, and of about the same height, may be meant. The local names for these passes vary considerably among the people of the country but as these are the only practicable ones that lead into Nubra in all but the most severe winters, the Khán must have followed one or the other, if news of his arrival there was received in Leh four days after his departure.

[Turkish quatrain.] The last letter sent me from the Khán's [camp] [illegible] to the following effect.—Having celebrated the Festival of the Sacrifice, they set forth on their homeward road with all speed. When they had crossed the ice passes *muzáfat*[1] a grave change for the worse took place in the Khán's condition, from the effects of that hell-tainted air. From that place to a region where there was no *dam-giri*, was eight days' journey. (I have already explained the symptoms of this malady, in my account of Tibet.) All the Amirs were agreed that both hurry and delay were to be feared. Still, they considered that a place where there [illegible] no *dam giri* should be reached as quickly as possible, hoping that the Khán's natural strength would enable him to combat the violence of the malady, until such a spot should be attained. If they delayed any longer in a neighbourhood where *dam-giri* prevailed, his strength might not hold out. [Couplet]. . .

But the ill-advised nobles, foremost among whom was Mirzá Ali Taghái, mounted the Khán, in his weak condition, upon his horse, and then started with all speed, supporting him on every side. As it is dangerous [with this malady] to remain in an upright position, it would have been proper to construct a litter. But these Amirs excused themselves for not making one, on the ground that it could not be carried over the passes. [Verse]. . . . They made eight days' journey in four, and at eventide prayers they arrived within three *farsákhs* of a stage where *dam-giri* is less prevalent. There, suddenly, the Khán's strength gave way before the violence of his malady, and his nature became utterly exhausted by that hell-tainted climate.[2] Thus did the pure soul of that noble-minded and just ruler hasten to the regions of the blessed. [Three couplets]. . . This awful and heartrending event happened on the 16th of Zulhijja in the year 939 [9 July, 1533]. After this calamity many curious and strange things came about, of which I shall speak presently.

The life of the Khán, his noble character and worthy qualities have already been fully described in these pages: but although an account of the whole of his life is contained in this history, the context has rendered it necessary to give the facts in a somewhat disjointed and scattered manner. I will therefore add here a brief recapitulation. His genealogy is as follows: Abul Fath

[1] Meaning the 'glacier pass,' or Sasser, which consists of a series of glaciers. The elevation of the highest point is about 17,700 feet.

[2] The eighth stage on the road to Yarkand, from the east foot of the Sasser pass, is in the Sugot ravine, which leads from the Sugot pass down to the Karakásh river, a little above Shahidulla. Three *farsákhs* short of the Sugot halting place would mean some spot on the pass of that name, which is, as nearly as possible, 18,000 feet in altitude. It is a locality noted for height-sickness, and [illegible] doubt it was on this pass that Sultan Said succumbed. The twelve miles which he failed to accomplish, would have carried him to a level nearly [illegible] feet lower.

Sultán Said Khán Ghází, was son of Sultán Ahmad Khán son of Yunus Khán, son of Shir Ali Khán,[1] son of Muhammad Khán, son of Khizir Khwája Khán, son of Tughluk Timur Khán The descent of Tughluk Timur Khán from Japhet, the son of Noah is traced in both the *Mujmal ut Tawárikh* and in the Prolegomena to the *Zafar-Náma*, and God willing, the details shall be given in the first part of this history], I will therefore avoid repeating it in this place].

He was born in Moghulistán in the year 892 [1487]. He received his name from his distinguished grandfather, Yunus Khán. Up to the age of fourteen he remained in Moghulistán, under the care and guidance of his father. But when Sultán Ahmad Khán went to Tashkand to meet his brother Sultán Mahmud Khán, he took the [young Khán with him. On the occasion when the battle took place between Sháhi Beg Khán and the two brothers, at Akhsi, in which the Khans were defeated, the [young] Khán being wounded, fell into the hands of Shaikh Báyazid, who was Governor of Akhsi As was shown above, there was but an insincere alliance between Shaikh Báyazid and Sháhi Beg Khán. [Shaikh Báyazid] detained the Khán in prison one year, but the following year Sháhi Beg Khán came and put Shaikh Báyazid, and his brother Tambal, to death, and conquered the province of Farghána. He next released the Khán from his confinement in Akhsi, and took him with him on the expedition which resulted in the capture of Hisár and Kunduz On his return from that expedition, [Sháhi Beg] set out to attack the Khwárizm

The Khán, who was then sixteen years of age, having, together with seventeen other persons, escaped from Samarkand, went and joined his uncle, Sultán Mahmud Khán, in Moghulistán. Finally, fleeing after one of the contests in Moghulistán, he returned to Andijan, where the governor, who was subject to Sháhi Beg Khán, threw him into prison, with the intention of putting him to death, but escaping thence, he took refuge with his cousin, Khán Mirzá, in Kábul When the Emperor marched again upon Hisár, with the purpose of subduing Máwará-un-Nahr, he sent the Khán to Andijan. On reaching this place, it was given up to him by my uncle, who entered his service. When the Uzbegs a second time became masters of Máwará-un-Nahr, the Khán abandoned Andijan and went to Káshghar, which he took by force of arms, and there he reigned absolute during twenty years. At the end [of his reign] he undertook a holy war against Tibet, where, in the year 939, he died of *dam-giri* at the age of forty-seven.

He was a Hanifi by descent In his youth he was addicted to forbidden pleasures, and little inclined towards laudable and

[1] The author has omitted Yata Khan, who was father of Yunus see pp. 78 and 121

becoming pursuits On attaining the age of thirty-seven, he renounced all unlawful enjoyments and betook himself to a religious life under the guidance of Hazrat Makhdúm Khwája Shaháb ul Milla wa'd Dín, better known as Khwája Khávand Mahmúd He devoted all his attention and thought to this noble course, fasting by day and watching by night [1] In all his private gatherings little else was discussed but religious matters, and by these conferences he was much influenced Into ice had a strong hold over his mind, and in all his affairs he conformed with the Holy Law, never tiring of its observances, but rather delighting in them He referred most questions to the spiritual counts [*dán ush sl ar*] for settlement.

He had the greatest reverence for the Ulama For this he was much blamed by the Sultáns of the day; but he answered them saying 'It is fitting to honour and exalt those of my own rank: these people, considering their station in life, cannot claim equality with the humblest of my servants, but I reverence them on account of their knowledge Whether they are great or whether they are humble in station, makes no difference, I regard only their learning. No reproach can be levelled a me for this 'Those who honour the man for his learning, and not the learning [for its own sake] commit an act of folly." [2] He treated Sufis and pious men as brothers, and they never overstepped the bounds of propriety with him [though there was no ceremony between him and them]. Thoughts of sovereignty and royal dignity never entered his head He was equally polite to all, and although he upheld the dignity of the royal state, he observed an attitude of affability beyond all conception

I was twenty-four years in his service, and do not remember ever having heard him use abusive or obscene language to an inferior. If any of the slaves in his attendance committed an offence worthy of punishment or reproof, he would frown, but keep his temper and say very little If he did speak and wished to use abusive language, he never went beyond calling, my one "unclean" or "carrion," and if he spoke in Turkí he said nun h the same

[1] That is, observing the hours for night prayers —R.

[2] This passage is not an exact rendering In order to make sense, the translation has of necessity, been somewhat freely dealt with

CHAPTER IV.

IV HIS IN KÁSHGHAR AFTER THE KHÁN'S DEATH.

* * * * * [1]

In short, after the Khán had resigned his life into the hands of the angel of death, Mirzá Ali Taghái (that Shaikh of Satans) and Kuwí'n Shih Muhammad Diván (mother of Satans, in whose eyes for years past, the ophthalmia of envy had filled the place of light) having conspired together, sent Yidgár Muhammad son-in-law of Mirzá Ali, to Rashid Sultán in Aksu with a letter issued in the Khán's name and made up of impertinences and falsehoods. They declared it to be the Khán's last testament, and that he, before dying, had said: 'I did not wish to make the holy war in Tibet. It was Sayyid Muhammad Mirzá and Mirzá Haidar who forced me to take the step. I shall never be satisfied with my son Abdu Rashid, if he does not put those men to death. Then death will be in retaliation for mine. Moreover, as long as they exist, the sovereignty will not be his.' Having devised such infamous lies as these the outcome of that devilry which for so many years had held possession of their brains—they sent the letter off. At the same time, they sent another messenger to my uncle, relating the manner of the Khán's death, asking what was to be done, and adding that any instructions should be carried out in full. These lies were confirmed by the most solemn oaths.

When this message reached my uncle, he was filled with emotion and alarm. He performed the proper ceremonies of mourning, and set out from Káshghar for Yarkand. As it was the season of Asad and the heat was excessive, the Khán's remains were brought in and buried, as quickly as possible, in a chamber of the palace (*Diwán-khána*). In the meanwhile, my uncle arrived from Káshghar. Having paid a visit of condolence to the ladies of [the late Khán's] haram, he performed similar duties with respect to the rest of the household. All the Amirs who were on the spot, came and begged my uncle for a confirmation of bounty. First of all, in the presence of this body of grandees, Ulus and Amirs, he promised that their interests should be attended to even better than they had been in the lifetime of the late Khán. They, on their part, professed their allegiance to him by means of the strongest and most solemn oaths. "We too," they said "will, even more than in times past, show our loyalty and singleness of purpose." In

[1] This chapter opens with about ten lines, chiefly of verse, regretting the cruelty of the Fates in cutting off the Khán's life.—H

particular, Mirzá Ali Taghái was profuse in his protestations of devotion and sincerity.

Having satisfied himself on these points, he turned his attention to the raising up of Ahmad Rashid Sultán as the new Khán and plans were suggested for his installation. These having been settled in the most satisfactory manner, they duly awaited the arrival of Rashid Sultán. It was the last day of Zul-hijja when news of his arrival was received. My uncle sent forward the grandees to meet him, and made every preparation for a royal and dignified reception. "But," he said, "it is not proper that he should make his entry on the last day of the month and of the year, and on a Wednesday. To-night he had better remain in the suburbs, and to-morrow, Thursday, the first of Moharram, and the beginning of the year 940, he should enter the town." This plan was decided upon and the Amirs went forward.

But Mirzá Ali Taghái went privately, and said to [Rashid Sultán] —"As the Khán's honour is in my keeping, I feel it my duty to tell him of a scheme now long laid, which was proposed to myself and the Amirs by Sayyid Muhammad Mirzá. I would lay it before you now, in order that timely measures may be taken to check it. The promise he exacted from us was, that as soon as Rashid Sultán arrived, we should slay him by his father's side, and that we should set upon the throne of the Khánate, Iskandar Sultán, who is in Tibet." Such lies as these he not only invented but impressed in such a way on Rashid Sultán that [the latter] saw no good reason for doubting him. On the morning of Thursday, the first of Moharram 940, Rashid Sultán set out towards his father's tomb. My uncle, clothed in mourning, [two couplets . . was seated by the [late] Khán's grave. As Rashid Sultán rode up to the door of the house, my uncle came forward his vest rent open, his beard torn, his black turban thrown upon the ground, and on his shoulders black felt [two couplets], . . uttering moans and lamentations. Rashid Sultán [immediately] ordered his men to seize him which they did from off his side, and let fall upon his Musulmán neck, a non-Musulmán sword—severing his head from his body. Ali Sayyid, likewise, who has been mentioned in several places, attained the degree of martyr.

Having murdered these two unfortunates, he dismounted and advanced to the head of his father's tomb. Thence, he went and paid a visit of condolence to the ladies of the haram. Meanwhile, he sent Mirzá Ali Taghái to Káshghar to put to death my uncle's children, Husam Mansur, son of Sayyid Muhammad Mirzá, and Sultán Muhammad Mirzá, *son of Mirzá Abú Bakr*, and also the son of Sayyid Mahmud; none of these three had attained the age of twenty. He spared not of insult or violence [towards those who were left alive—namely, the wives and families of my

uncle]. Thus were my uncles faithful and devoted services to Rashid Sultan, rewarded with murder and violence, and those solemn oaths and binding compacts which they had mutually sworn to consummate like blood-money. [Complot . . It is a practice among some nations to do honour to their dead, by sacrificing the choicest of their flocks and herds of their cattle. Rashid Sultán, on his father's demise put to death my uncle, his children and Ali Sayyid, that is to say, he stood them. Two complots ...

After he had killed my uncle, and had ill-treated [his family], he went on to offer such insults and indignities to the haram of his noble father, as my modesty prevents me from describing. Maulána Sharaf-ud-Din Ali Yazdi, in the *Zafar-Náma*, describes the misdeeds of Sultán Khalil Mirzá, one of the grandsons of Amir Timur, who succeeded his grandfather on the throne of Samarkand. This passage I have copied exactly into this place. Certainly with the exception of Sultán Khalil Mirzá, no one but Rashid Sultán has practised such tyranny and wrong. These matters being somewhat delicate to relate, I have copied out the passage in order to give some idea of this lamentable affair. The evident intention of Sharf-ud-Din Ali Yazdi, in mentioning these hideous deeds, was that his readers and men of note might be warned to avoid criminal acts, and practise works of righteousness.[2]

Rashid Sultán did not stop here, but also subjected to every kind of harsh treatment and insult, his aunts, who were members of my haram, and the mother of the children of Shah Muhammad Sultán, who have been mentioned above on various occasions, and will be spoken of again in their proper place. The mother of the children of Shah Muhammad Sultán is Khadija Sultán, a full sister to the late Khán. Though she was suffering from hectic fever and dropsy, and confined to her bed, he banished her and her children into Badakhshán, but ere she could arrive, she died on the road, after undergoing a thousand trials and hardships. Her children, Ismail Sultán, Ishák Sultán, Yakub Sultán, and Muhtarima Khánim—some in infancy, some still at the breast, desolate and friendless exiles—were sent to Kábul, where they were received with fatherly kindness by Aimak Sultán, who has been mentioned as being in Hind, in the service of Kámrán Mirzá. He undertook the entire charge of his sister's sons.

Ismail Sultán perished in the wars in Hindustán. Yakub Sultán died a natural death. Muhtarima Khánim was, by my agency, married to Kámrán Mirza, as will be related. Ishák Sultán, also through my influence, is still with Kámrán.

[1] This is nearly a literal translation of the sentence *Ohun Khunlahá-i-ishán bi dahd*, which, however has no meaning in English.—R.

[2] He also omitted a short extract from the *Zafar-Náma* consisting of about a dozen lines of very difficult style and some verses.—R.

CHAPTER CVII

ACCOUNT OF MUHAMMADI BARLÁS WHO WAS AN AMÍR-UL-UMARÁ TO RASHID KHÁN OR RAIH & HIS REASONING S UI

He was son of Ali Mi ik, son of Darvish Husain Barlás Dmn g the Khán's sojourn in the provi ce of Targhán, on the occasion of the release of Rashid Sultán from the captivity of the Uzbeg, and when he rejoined his father the latter appointed Ghazi Barlás, Muhammadi's uncle, to be *(Rashid's) Atá Beg. But about* the same time, Ghazi Barlás died a natural death The office of Atá Beg was then, quite properly, conferred upon Ali Mi ik Barlás. A few years after the reduction of Káshghar, Ali Mirák Barlás went on a holy war to Tibet, and the office of Atá Beg, to Rashid Sultán, descended by inheritance, to Muhammadi. Soon after this, Rashid Sultán was brought into Moghulistán. The Amirship over all, was given to Mirzá Ali Tagháí, while the affairs of the Kirghiz were placed under the control of Muhammad Kirghiz Muhammadi was likewise in the service of Rashid Sultán, as has been explained

Ali Mi ik Barlás was my uncle's maternal uncle, by reason of which connection, my uncle and I used every effort to further his interests But Mirzá Ali Tagháí was not friendly towards him Without showing it, he was afraid that my uncle's intentions were evil and his devotion insincere. On Muhammadi's account, Mirzá Ali Tagháí's dislike for my uncle increased, while Muhammadi, on every occasion, sought to defend my uncle At length, Shah Muhammad Sultán was killed by Muhammadi It has been mentioned above, how the Khán's sons and the honoured Khoja man, were bent on retaliating by the death of Muhammadi and how my uncle and I rescued him from that calamity. This produced bitterness against me on the part of my maternal aunts, their children and my other relations. All this [hostility was encountered for the sake of Muhammadi

The atrocities which took place after the death of the Khán, the murders, the violence, all [seemed due to the wantings of Mirzá Ali Tagháí]. Though Mirzá Ali Tagháí used all his influence, yet without the sanction of [Muhammadi, Rashid Sultán would never have committed *such scandalous acts In fact [Muhammadi's]* influence for evil was greater [than Mirzá Ali Tagháí's], and his control over Rashid Sultán's mind was so great, that the latter

A word seems here signifying apparently some other fault but it is illegible in the text—R

dl whatovor he told him, howevor "infdel" the action might be All these lying deeds and unrighteous deeds were for the sake of Muhammadi). The ladies of the Khán's haram—Rashid Sultán's step-mothers—were pressed to marry Muhammadi and those who did not yield, he went so far, in his resentment, as to plunder and expel. But he did not see fit that the mates of the *humá* should become the co-mates of the crows

His own sister Badi-ul-Jamil Khánim had been engaged to Bínah Sultán, son of Adak Sultán, the Uzbeg Kazák. When he (Rashid Sultán), in alliance with the Uzbeg Shaibán, routed the Uzbeg Kazák, Bínah Sultán because of his position as son-in-law, and relying on his [for safety], came forward to meet Rashid Sultán, who threatened to put him to death if he did not at once divorce Badi-ul-Jamil Khánim Having taken her from this chief, who was worthy of the alliance he gave her to Muhammadi, whose ancestors had never attained to such dignity nearly so great. This act was a complete breach of propriety for a person who was treated as of equal rank with a prince. But Rashid Sultán disregarded everything, and brought disgrace upon his own house. He could not distinguish a man endowed with reason, from a brute beast. Still the most infamous thing of all, was taking her from a worthy man and giving her to an unworthy one. Such a deed is quite unheard of.

[Muhammadi's] influence over Rashid Sultán was without limit, but the reason for it was never apparent. It did not lie in the merit of past services, nor in his intelligence and sagacity as an Amir, nor yet in eloquence in council, nor in affable manners or good breeding, nor in vivacious humour at feasts nor in courage in battle, nor in grace or charm of bearing. [Verses . . . All that he said and did, was united with falsehood and evil. In short, all the unworthy deeds [Rashid Sultán] are to be traced to him. We have nothing further to blame Rashid Sultán for, than that he allowed himself, on every occasion, to be guided by Muhammadi There has lately come a report that Muhammadi has bidden this life farewell. If it is true, it is not unlikely that Rashid Sultán will grasp the reins of rectitude, and renouncing his evil ways, will repent him fully. Amen. Oh Lord of the two worlds!

CHAPTER CVIII.

MARCH OF THE AUTHOR TOWARDS URSANG — HE SLAYING OF HIS BROTHER ABDULLAH MIRZÁ. DEATHS OF THE KHÁN AND THE AMBITION

WHEN the Khán set out for Yarkand, I took leave of him, and in the first ten days of Zulhujja of the year 939, after keeping the feast of the Sacrifice in Mirgul, I set out to destroy the idol-temple of Ursang. After marching for twenty days in that part of Tibet, we found no signs of infidels, except a few fortresses. These were so strongly situated and fortified, that they could only have been taken with great difficulty and the gain was not worth the pain. Leaving behind Iskandar Sultán, my brother Abdullah Mirzá and my cousin Mahmud Mirza, gather with the heavy baggage and the tired beasts of burden, I took the strongest and freshest of the horses with me, and started in all haste.

On the first of Safar we reached a place called Bárang. Here we found some of the Champa people of Tibet, who were plundered, nearly 300,000 sheep fell to the lot of our victorious army, besides persons, horses and goods in proportion. For the completion of our desires, and the satisfaction of our necessities, we halted in a suitable pasture land, to rest and refresh our horses, by this means we afforded Iskandar Sultán, Abdullah Mirzá and Mahmud Mirzá time to overtake and rejoin us. But while I had hastened forward, they had followed leisurely, and on the first of Moharram 940, they had approached one of the above-mentioned fortresses, which was called Kárdun.

The despicable men in the fortress longed to extremities applied for aid to one of the Rás of Hindustán, who sent 3,000 Hindu *Katará-dar* infantry [men armed with short swords]. [Complot . . .]. Iskandar Sultán and my brothers advanced with 200 men, to give them battle, but they pushed

This sentence should perhaps read, 'on the eleventh day . . . R

The Ra, or Raj, of Hindustan would be a natural shortened form of the rulers of Nipál, or the events described in this passage, take place in the neighbourhood of the Nipál frontier. The circumstance that the men sent by the Rái to help the Tibetans, were armed with "katara" or short swords would also point to the mountaineers of Nipál—for the tribesmen are still familiar with the national weapon, the kukri. The katára is in fact not the same as the kukri; it is a Indian weapon, of which the handle consists of two parallel bars with a cross-piece joining them, but it is short, and its name would probably be sufficiently accurate description of the kukri, for a writer who may not have known the terms of 'kukri'. As to the date in question, the reigning dynasty in Nipál was that of the Malla line of princes, like that of the Ghurkas, the Ghurka Raja who was reigning in 1533 does not appear to be known as

forward so rapidly that only a few of the 200 kept up with them My brother, Abdullah Mirzá, was a daring youth, and had already distinguished himself in the Khán's service in Balta, where having gained the *jalda*, he was respected by all the army. Elated and animated by this distinction, and without reflection, he neglected to await the main body, he advancing with only three men, threw himself into the middle of the 3000 He was dismounted, but at this juncture my cousin Mahmud Mirzá came up with four men. Seeing his brother (cousin?) in this plight he too made a daring charge, and saved his brother from imminent danger; whereupon the latter again returned to the charge, only to be a second time dismounted. At this moment five of the bravest warriors arrived on the scene, and seeing the two brothers so hard pressed, they charged the enemy; but by this time my brother, Abdullah, had been cut in pieces so completely that each separate part of his armour and coat was in the possession of some infidel. [Four couplets] .... I repeated the verse, "Verily unto God we return"

I halted [for some days in that pasture-ground, until the beasts were rested and refreshed. I then sent back all the booty that had fallen into our hands, and having chosen out 900 men from the army, set forth with them for Ursang From Miryal of Tibet to that place is two months' journey. After one month's journey, one comes to a spot where a lake is situated; it is forty *farsákhs* in circumference, and on its shores there is a castle, which is called Luk-u-Labuk. We halted there for the night, the next morning we found all our horses had died, except a few that were half dead—groaning and writhing [with pain] Thus of my own twenty-seven horses, only one was, on that morning, in a sound condition, two others were dying, and the remaining twenty-four were dead. The cause of their death was the *tan gi*, which has been described above.

When we left that place, only [a fifth part of the army were mounted, all the rest proceeded on foot. On the second day we plundered the province of Nam [or Nan]. The people of that place assert that it is twenty-four days journey into Bangála. Many captives were taken by us. Those of our army who were mounted on serviceable horses, only numbered ninety men With these ninety, I advanced and plundered a place called Askíbak. About 100,000 sheep 20,000 *katás* and a proportionate number [prisoners and horses, fell into our hands. There remained eight days' journey from Askíbak to Ursang. However, the horses of our party being entirely broken down, we were obliged to turn back. Six days before, we commenced our return This took place on the 8th of Rabi II. On the last day of Jamád II. we overtook the party that had been sent back with the booty and

plunder, at a place called Támlik, which is twenty days' journey from Máyul.[1]

The Guga people came and represented to us that Guga was the chief district of Tibet; they were willing to pay any capitation

[1] Mirza Haidar's expedition into Tibet, though one of his most remarkable exploits, is related with tantalising brevity and with an absence of explicitness, as to localities and dates that renders his record of it unsatisfactory in the extreme. It would be interesting to be able to trace his route from the borders of Ladák, to the point where he had to turn back and give up his designs on Lassa. If indeed, it is one point or more of those which he writes *Asl Albarí*, or *Asl Abrár*, could be identified the extent of his knowledge might be tested, and a clue would be obtained to the whereabouts of the other places he mentions. But I am unable to trace either name *Asl Albarí* on any map or in any record that I have known to me. It appears from his narrative that he started from Máyul (Leh), and his mandate to eight stages) and passed, on his line of march, the *Asl Albarí*, four places, the first of which he names *Burmang* (*Varmang* or *Barang* etc.—the variants would be numerous) he next visited *Kardun* to the *Lak Land* (or *Tal* or *Lahul* or *Jal Lanul*, etc.) on a large lake and halfway from Leh to Lassa: the fourth *Hem* (or *Hari*) two marches further on, and finally arrived at *Asl Albarí* which he puts at eight days' journey from Lassa. He stayed six days and then took eighty days to return to a place which he writes *Zamtil*. This last was two days short of *Ungak* (the chief village of the Gugea district may be assumed) and twenty days from *Máyul*, or Leh.

The distance from Leh to Lassa is actually reckoned at sixty stages, just as Mirza Haidar has it: and about halfway on this journey is one month, as he also puts it the great Lake of Manasarowar (the Rákas Tal or Lake Mapham) was passed. Thus we seem here, to have a refining point; for no other lake that he could estimate at 10 farsakhs (40 miles) in circumference, is to be found anywhere near the halfway point between Ladák and Lassa.

According to the itinerary compiled by the Indian Survey Pundits in 18 , the post-station called *Bethá*, close to the north side of the Tanak Lake is at twentieth from Lassa, while the post-stages would, on the average be 19½ miles in length—total, 710 miles. The ordinary marches shown by the Pundit's table, average something over 11 miles each but the seventeen stages, into which they are broken are much shorter, rarely exceeding 10 miles. If we take a journey in which a traveller sets out unarmed, at an average of about 28½ miles, the estimate for thirty days' journey would bring the distance to the same—or, nearly 710 miles. Mirza Haidar is speaking evidently, apparently, for a party mounted travellers, but he may have obtained his information of the distance between *Asl Albarí* and Lassa in post-stages, or in either kind of ordinary marches. If the latter be reckoned, *Asl Albarí* should be looked for about 281 miles from Lassa; if the last only some 102 miles. The site of the eighth post-station from Lassa, in the Pundit's route is *Tong Lacho*; the name of the eighth last halting-place in *Gelat*: while the eighth stage, at about 28½ miles, would be *Po-ngan*. Of these names, none has any resemblance to *Asl Albarí* or *Asl Albal*.

But there is reason to believe that *Asl Albarí* was much more than eight marches, or indeed, than eight post-stages distant from Lassa: and that the Mirza was not so near his goal as he thought. The only one point of fixation on the route from Ladák is the great lake, even the name of the 'castle' or fort, which stood near it (though it may contain the word 'Tanak') cannot be located exactly. The Pundit shows a place called *Tangyar* on the northern shore of the Tanak, which bears a faint likeness to *Tal-Land*, but not sufficient to have caused identification. However, Mirza Haidar tells us that he marched only two days from this 'castle' to the province of *Hem* (or *Hari*), which required twenty-four days' journey to reach Bongal. After proceeding for an undefined distance towards Lassa, and then arriving at *Asl Albarí*, he records that from that place also, the journey to Bongal was twenty-four days. If the same distance to Bongal was reckoned from both these places, the possibility is that they were not far apart. Moreover, it was at the castle on the Tanak that the Mirza set out with only thirty mounted men, while from *Hem* (or *Hari*),

tax which I might impose, in accordance with the extent and wealth of the country, I therefore proceeded to Ouga, where I arrived in two marches from Támlik. I was received by the people in a most respectful, obedient, and hospitable way. After

went on foot. Thus it is scarcely likely that with a force in this condition, and with winter setting in (for it was towards the end of October) he would have pushed forward to any great distance.

Again, the last given in the narrative are too imperfect to afford any sure basis for an estimate of distances or halts. We find merely that the expedition left Ugah about the 4th July, 1783; that it reached *Ak-dbrak* on the 22 d of the first month; that the commissioners at 28th October and arrived at *Támlik* on the 1st day of *Guph* in the 10th January 1784. This *Támlik* was two days from the chief place in *Guph* (possibly *Taupang* or *Dankar*), and two by days from Maryul or Leh. Of the other places the author mentions on this expedition *Beranag* (or *Bulang*, etc.) should probably be looked for in the districts of Ont or *Guph* or *Chumurti*, in order to accord with the estimate of twenty days from Leh, while *Kardon* may be the *Kardam*, or *Kardang*, marked on the maps of Tibet about twelve miles south of the *Tsan-lak*.

The names between pp. 110 and 111 of *Guph* onwards, fully as puzzling as those in the line of march towards Lassa. Indeed, most of them appear to be given wholly in the corrupt form, and the position of the place with *Zunka* the text, a vague clue might be obtained from the passage at p. 113, if the author can be credited with a mistake of a month in the dates. For records there, that he was at *Zunka* in the month of Feb. 1, 310 Tibetan (1) that he reached *Beranag* on the 1st Sept., and (2) that that place was only twenty days from Maryul, which is much too slightly given on to the other. From the date of leaving Maryul, twenty days would bring to date to Mahamani were fifty days would be required to attain the 1st Sept. But at the start no the author implies that he was at, or near, *Kardon* on the 1st Moharam, and halted there for some days. *Kardon* (if *Kardum*) is a good instance further removed from Maryul than is *Beranag*, or that my point twenty days from Leh, but the author places himself at the former spot a month earlier than at the latter. This, in all probability, the dates in the text should read 1st Moharam at Beranag and 1st Safar at Kardun—that is, twenty days from Maryul to be increased fifty days to the latter. And, if as *Zunka* would have to lie (according to the lakes) between *Kardun* (or the great lake) and *Ak-bhrak*. This correction is the most reasonable, as the author states that he went on rapidly from Maryul to *Beranag* and that his relations followed leisurely till the two patrons at *Kardun*. If such an amendment is admissible the clue to *Zunka* would be as follows:

Now, the map obtained by Captain H. Strachey in 1846, gives a place called *Sunka* on the fourth post-stage from Lassa, which would locate it at *Serle* of the Pundit's and other maps, and in this position *Zunka* (if *Sunka*) might fall within Mirza Haidar's location for the month of Rabi I. In this case *Hem* (or *Hard*) and *Ashabi-ak* could not with regard to dates, have been as laid, and it is just possible that if *Hem* be the right reading, that place may be represented by the *Ari-dong* shown on D'Anville's map as standing near an unnamed lake to the south of the great river, but intended obviously for the lake *Palgu*, or *Palti* of later maps. Yet, strangely enough, the position of D'Anville's *Ari-dong* is occupied, on more modern maps, by a so called *Jangla*, a word bearing a curious resemblance to *Ari-la*. However the *Sunka* of Strachey's itinerary is not far off, and is the probable of the two as a possible identification of *Zunka*. If not a corruption of the same word, *Sunka* may be another name for *Sarla*. Captain Strachey gives no particulars of the place, but the Pundit describes it as "a large village containing numerous houses, while Mirza Haidar says it was the most famous place in Tibet." The result in any case, is that Mirza Haidar's farthest point towards Lassa could not (on the assumptions) have been beyond the Palgu, or Palti lake, situated about 31° degrees of 13 long., or some 370 miles at least from Lassa.

Still, all this is based on more or less of speculation for very little can be certainly established. The Tibetan names, in all probability only will

staying there three days, and flung the levy at 3,000 Tibetan *mithkáls* (one of which is equal to one and a half of the ordinary *mithkál*) I returned, and on the road heard of the disposition [*sic*] of my army, which I will speak of immediately.

represented in Mirza Haidar's Persian, since in the list of places at p. 110 there that are known in Tibet and Baltistan, not unsatisfactorily with reference to accuracy, and it is only where we create localities which are (almost certainly) in the imperfectly known regions of Tibet proper, that I mention them. The explanation probably is that we know so little of this ground and have of places actually here Most of these names are in many cases taken from foreign sources—the Chinese of the last century, and the Indian Survey Pandits and are therefore likely to be distributed as those in Mirza Haidar's text. Representatives of more than two travelers may be seen, but the help is given that of Ippolito Desideri, the Jesuit missionary of the first quarter of the last century, contains scarcely the name of a place between Ladak and Lassa even much as a glance at the geography of this country. Yet he travelled, it seems, over almost exactly the same route as Mirza Haidar. The same must, as we have seen, be said of the Pandit's narrative.

It may be added here, that Dr. Waddell informs me the name given by Stoliczka is *Tiger Road* which would be very likely to be current in Western and Central Tibet, as syllables would be pronounced *Ta Dzi* or *Ta Dze*, but even this from cannot rest on certain (See also Shuttleworth, *Journey in Tibet* [Extract] *J. A. S. B.*, 1848, and *Physical Geography of Tibet*, *J. R. G. S.*, 1851; the Pundit in *Report of Trans-Himalayan Explorations*, 1873; D'Anville's map in *Duhalde*, iv., [illegible] p. 158, and Desideri in *Ms.* belonging to Hakluyt Society.)

The likeness of Mirza Haidar's expedition bears to that of the Dogra general Zorawar Sing, just 300 years later in point of time, to Ladakh Sing, the Dogra Rajah of Kashmir, having seduced Ladak with much difficulty, might also an easy matter to extend these requests to Tibet proper. In the spring of the year 1841, a force commanded by Zorawar Sing was pushed forward into the Tibetan province of Nari Khorsum, in three columns—one advancing by Leh, one by the Indus valley, and the third over the Rupshu table-land. At first no resistance was offered by the Tibetans, and the Dogras made easy progress, but after passing to the south-eastward of the Manasarowar lakes, and while in a region of 15,000 feet above the level of the sea, winter set in. The cold was intense, supplies and ammunition were alike wanting, and the troops were reduced to have loaded their muskets and gunstocks for fuel. The Tibetans, having watched their opportunity, sent up a large force from the eastern provinces and attacked the invaders while benumbed by cold and hunger, as the Dogra chronicler puts it "by the mercy of Heaven." The Dogras were defeated about the middle of December, in a battle which took place between Kardung and Purang.

Mirza Haidar's expedition ended in a somewhat less disastrous way, but with a similarity with that of Zorawar Sing extends to the circumstance of the Nipalis, becoming alarmed at the presence of an invading army so near the frontier, which Government sent envoys to demand explanations of the Dogra commander, and apparently they received satisfactory [illegible] for a hostility to *have occurred with Nipal, while, after the disaster near Kardung,* the fugitive troops were permitted to take refuge in the Chumbi territory.

(An account of this expedition will be found in the *Gulab-Nama* of Diwan Kirpa Ram of Kashmir, a Persian history of the Dogras in Kashmir, some extracts from which I translated some years ago.)

It may be added that the Government of Lhasa claiming Nari Khorsum to belong to China, decided on hearing of the invasion, that the Dogras should evacuate the territory they had seized, in order to avoid complications with the Chinese Government, and the 10th March, 1842, was fixed for the same idea. A British officer, Captain Thomas Cunningham, R.E. was then there that the decision was arrived on, and Zorawar Sing was accordingly recalled. But before the messenger could reach him, he had retaken his force. (See T. D. Cunningham's *Heat of the Himalaya*, p. 28.)

CHAPTER IX

SUFFERINGS IN TIBET, AND THE DEATH OF THE AUTHOR'S COUSIN, MAHMUD MIRZÁ.

* * * * * *[1]

As soon as Rashid Sultán had made an end of murdering and insulting my uncle and others of his near relations, he sent a messenger into Tibet bearing divers mandates. One of those was for his brother Iskandar Sultán, and ran thus: 'We have conferred upon you the country of Tibet. [We desire] Mirzá Haidar and Mahmud Mirzá also to remain there.' Another was addressed to the whole army as follows: "The wives and families of all those who are in Tibet will be sold. Immediately upon the arrival of this, you are ordered to disperse and set out for Yárkand.' When these unwelcome orders arrived, I had gone to Ciuga, as has been said. No sooner did the soldiers learn the purport of the message than, seizing the opportunity, they set out for Yárkand; but Iskandar Sultán and my cousin Mahmud, with a handful of men, having got away [from the rest], remained behind. Two days later, I reached the stage where the men had disbanded [*vide ante*]. Iskandar Sultán and my cousin Mahmud pointed out that we had better remain there that night — many of the soldiers had fled unwillingly, and were probably only watching for an occasion to rejoin us.

There yet remained with me more than a hundred men; these were all brave soldiers or commanders of battalions, whose service was hereditary, who had often distinguished themselves in battle, and had won *fulúses*; each one also had been born to the title of Amír. Some of them were my [foster]-brothers, and were called by me *Kukildásh*, from these I had no reason to expect opposition. But on the morrow I discovered that all my trusted men had disappeared, like the stars at dawn.

After the sun had lit up the earth's dark surface, Ján Ahmad Atka, who has been already mentioned as my foster-brother, came to me with a certain Sháh Muhammad, a *Kukildásh*, and one of the most distinguished of his band. With them they brought five followers. Thus was the fear of loneliness dispelled. After a while, Iskandar Sultán and my cousin Mahmud came back, and having collected about fifty men we proceeded towards Miyul.

[1] The chapter opens with some high-flown passages and many verses concerning bad news, misfortunes, and the like. The author says that for the information of the reader he will venture to record briefly but truly, some of the terrible events which he not lately succeeded in [illegible] death of the Khán.—R

[illegible] the beginning of the season of Capricorn, and the commencement of winter-time [Cuplet. The cold was so intense that were I to describe it, I should be accused of wanton lying. Out of those fifty men, more than forty had either had their feet, noses or ears, taken off by the cold frost-bitten. Sustaining such fatigues and sufferings as those, at the end of twenty-five days we reached Máryul. The *Chos* of Máryul, named Tíshtúm and Lata Jughdán, who have been mentioned in a few places already, hastened out to wait upon us. Since we had on a former occasion treated them with violence, both plundering and killing their people], I was inwardly in great fear of them. But contrary to my apprehensions, they showed their willingness to assist us in every way, and even proffered excuses, saying, 'For four hundred years, from father to son, we have been the subjects and you the king; we the slave, you the master, if in the days of your glory and greatness we were alarmed and transgressed, we met with our due retribution at your hands. At the time the *Chos* of Tibet submitted to and obeyed you, solely from fear. But now we offer our services, out of attachment to you, and in all sincerity.' [Verses.]

They gave us the castle of Shaya, which is the capital of Máryul.[1] In Shaya we took the opportunity to recover from our fatigues], and here, some of the army who had stayed behind, now rejoined us. Among them was Maulánà Darvish Muhammad Kará Tígh, one of the attendants of Khwája Muhammad Yusuf, who has been mentioned above. This Maulaná Darvish Muhammad was a pious and devoted Musulmán. He knew the Tibeta language remarkably well and enjoyed the entire confidence of all the *Chos* of Tibet. He was thus able to do the all our affairs with them in a satisfactory way.

From Kashmír there came a certain man named Háji, who attached himself to my service, he will be mentioned frequently hereinafter, our party now numbered more than sixty persons.

But the disbanded army, as it advanced, began to suffer from

[1] *Shaya*, ordinarily called *Shah*, or *Shay* but properly written *Shel* in Tibetan, is a village about eight miles south-east of Leh, on the right bank of the Indus. On a high rock above the village stands one of the old residences of the Ladak Kings, who, at various times have made it their headquarters. This may have been the case in Mirza Haidar's time, and for this reason, probably, he called *Shah* the capital of Ladak. The period when Leh became the capital is now ascertained that I am aware of but he Tarikh-i-Nowadeh, translated by Dr Max, states that the 19th King (the 'Gyá-s Namgyal mentioned in note 2 p. 18) was the builder of the old fort at Leh, there is now left standing to be seen on a pinnacle overlooking the town. As the Leh 'palace,' which stands on the same hill but a little lower down, is not mentioned in the Chronicle, I infer that it was built somewhat later, though it is generally said to have been over three hundred years ago. It was at Shah that Moorcroft in 1821, found settled an Khwája Shah Ni'z whom he describes as a descendant of 'a grand old Turco family — the Emperor Baber' (See Max, *J. A. S. B.* lx, 1, 1891, pp. 123-4 and Moorcroft, i, p. 211.)

the change in the season; so much so, that most of the men were unable to proceed while those who attempted to go on, lost all their effects. Nearly one hundred and fifty men died from exposure to the cold. The rest arrived in a half-dead state at Yárkand.[1] Another party, turning back, reached Máyul in a helpless condition. Thus a body numbering five hundred men was again assembled, together with about 10,000 sheep. [For a time] we enjoyed a complete rest.

Before reaching Máyul, I sent forward Ján Ahmad Ataka and Sháh Muhammad Kukildásh, to Rashid Sultán in Yárkand, with many gifts from the spoil we had taken in our last expedition. I also wrote him a few lines, reminding him of our ancient bonds of friendship, and sent him as proof thereof, some old tokens we had interchanged. A dark coloured Arab *pustín*, and a steel *bálaba* both of which Rashid Sultán had given me, I now sent back to him, just as they were [*ba-jins*]. [Verses] . .

Towards the close of that winter Rashid Sultán sent Bidaken, son of my foster-brother *Ján Ahmad Ataka*, accompanied by Hasan Divána, to bear to me messages of apology and expressions of repentance. His past behaviour [he admitted] had been due to his ignorance, and was a cause for shame in this world and the next. He now frankly begged the forgiveness of his dear friend. He had sent Maulána Kudásh with two hundred men, for my service. All those of my following who had gone over to him, might now return to me; no one should hinder them. He also sent me some horses and other gifts. I was not a little encouraged by these messages, and most of Tibet submitted.

In the meanwhile Maulána Kudásh arrived, bringing with him some of my chief retainers. Being reinforced by this band, we marched for Bálti, which touches the confines of Kashmír. All Bálti paid the appointed tax in kind without hesitation or delay. Suru is a department of Bilti, and its chief defence and stronghold. *Maulána Kudásh asked permission from me to go and impose a levy upon Suru, but I would not consent to this, knowing, that those infidels would not be willing to let any one visit their districts and valleys.*[1] [Indeed the people of Suru begged that [no one might come] "Whatever amount is due,' [they said], "that we will ourselves bring to the camp where you now are, there is no need for you to come [to us]" However, when the fowler of destiny places the grain of earthly desire in the net of fate, not even a bird of wisdom can escape from that net [Complet]. . . . But Kudásh, not accepting my refusal, was so

[1] It is remarkable that even in our own times, the people of Suru have the reputation for being contumacious. they have a strong dislike to foreigners visiting their district and throw whatever obstacles they are able in the traveller's way. The invasion of the Dogras in the present century was resisted by them with much determination.

importunate in his demands that I at last sanctioned his going, and he set forth. The people of Suru put him to death in a narrow pass, together with twenty-four worthy men who were with him, they were surrounded by a hundred ignominious and were unable to strike a blow. Although our force numbered some seven hundred [illegible] yet, on account of our poverty and want of arms, we were unable to avenge him. [Three couplets . . .

Leaving Bilti, we set out towards a province in Tibet called Zangskar. The crops had, as yet, attained no height; harvest time was not yet come, when we arrived. While we were waiting for the harvest, that we might divide the crops, one of the *Ulus* of Bilti, named Tangi Sakib, who had in the past rendered us useful services, came and told us that the time had come to go and attack the murderers of Kudásh, that is to say, the people of Suru. "You can go and pillage their country," he said, "carry off their women and take vengeance on their men."

Some of those who had lost their strength, were at once despatched to Máiyul, in order that the strong men among us might proceed with all speed. I sent my cousin to escort the party [going to Máiyul], as one day's march of that journey was very dangerous. He was to see them [safely] through this part of the road. At night he encamped there. As the place was dangerous, he kept his horse by him all through the night. During his sleep, the horse, while grazing, kicked him so hard on the forehead as to fracture his skull [making a wound the size of the heel. On the next day he came to me and showed me his wound. According to the practice of Moghul surgeons I broke the bone [again], and seizing the edge of it, applied remedies. I then sent to tell Tangi Sakáb what I had done. He sent back answer: "Since your coming would involve no little difficulty, [you had better send me a small contingent to take Suru. We will send you a fifth part of all that falls into our hands. This also would be an acceptable service."

Between Zangskar, where I was dwelling, and Sut,[1] the home of Tangi Sakib, is five days' journey. I sent [to Tangi Sakáb], seventy [illegible] under the command of Maulánd Darvish Muhammad Kará Tágh, who enjoyed the entire confidence of the *Ulus* of Tibet, and Nur Ali Divána, one of the most promising young soldiers, and who had turned back to rejoin me. Nearly two months were passed in exchange of messages before a decision was arrived at. Mahmud Mirzá's wound had opened afresh, and it became quite impossible for him to remain in Zangskar, on account of the severity of the weather. So I was obliged to send him back to Máiyul,

[1] *Sut* [illegible] *Sot* is a name not often seen on modern maps. It will be found, however, [illegible] Moorcroft's map, spelled *Soth*. It is [illegible] of the group of villages usually known [illegible] *Kargil*. It may, indeed, have been another name for Kargil.

while I remained in *Zangskar*, in order that, [illegible] as he had reached Máyul in safety, I might myself proceed to Sunu, where I hoped to find some means of existence. When Mahmud reached the spot where he had received the kick from his horse, he halted for the night; and on the morrow, as he was about to mount, he exposed his head to apply the dressing. The cold got into the wound and, fainting away, he became insensible. At noontide prayers a person came and informed me of his condition. I at once set out in all haste to see him. I arrived at midnight and found him unconscious. On the following day he came to himself and entirely recovered consciousness. The next day also, he was conscious, but on the third day he began to talk incoherently, and two nights later he died.[1]

Meanwhile a messenger arrived from the party which I had despatched against Sunu, saying that Nur Ali Divána, in company with his companions and Maulána Kari Tigh, had gone to attack Bághán, who was a *Ghai* of the provinces of Tibet. Maulána Darvish Muhammad having, on good [illegible] place apart, they exchanged blows, and at length Bighán, being mortally wounded, they made a present of that infidel to the Musulmáns, and taking leave, proceeded to Yárkand.[2] That infidel killed the Maulána by transfixing him with a stick. Thus the Sunu expedition came to nothing. Having conveyed Mahmud's body to Máyul, I sent from thence to Káshghar [to be buried in the tomb] of his forefathers. These events happened in the beginning of the season of Scorpio. It was at the commencement of the cold season of Tibet, that we went to Máyul. That winter, until spring came round, we passed in such a manner that, were I to describe our sufferings, I should be suspected of exaggeration.

On the return of spring, seventy persons were sent with the horses, to a place called Ulluk Maving (*mughán* famous in all Tibet for the richness of its crops. I spent the interim in hunting the wild ass and the wild *kutás*, and then returned. On my departure I had left Iskandar Sultán in Máyul with a body of men. When we had once again reassembled, the horses had grown fat and strong, but our men, unable to support the pressure of misfortune and trial, all at once dispersed and went off to Yárkand; only fifty of them stayed behind, the rest all fled. At this juncture Ján Ahmad Ataka, whom, two years previously (on my return

[1] Half a folio of verse and florid passages is omitted here. The author complains of the grief he has suffered from the loss of his uncle and other relatives. His troubles, he says, reached the climax when he was past thirty years of age and not yet forty.—Tr.

[2] This passage is obscure, and makes little sense. It would appear that Bighán killed the Maulána, and was afterwards made [illegible] to Musulmans of the district, as a slave, by the Maulána's companions who then went on to Yárkand.

from the Urasang expedition) I had sent to Rashid Sultán (as was mentioned), came back from Yárkand, bringing the orders that we were to stay no longer in Tibet. If I had my reason for lingering in Tibet had been, that of my own choice I moved to some other place, I should be accused of breaking my engagement. He [Rashid Sultán, however, while outwardly pretending, to be upright, had broken this engagement, which he had sworn to with the most solemn oaths, and now, disregarding every Canonical le] consideration, ordered me to take flight. Verso] . . . . No sooner had Jún Ahmad Ataka delivered his message, than I set out for Badakhshán.

CHAPTER IX

FROM AU ÜOL CROSSING . . . TO BADAKHSHÁN.

I MENTIONED above that out of my force of 700 men, only fifty remained with me. The rest all got away to Yárkand, as best they could. It has also been already observed, that the difficulties of travelling in Tibet are due to the scarcity of provender and the terrible severity of the cold, while the roughness of the paths is almost beyond conception. We were without a proper supply of clothing, and fuel and more particularly of horse-shoes, which are above all things indispensable on those roads. Our horses were few, and were in a broken condition. To remain in Tibet, therefore, became impossible, while to leave it was difficult. However, to stay and to go were both attended by obstacles, there was at least hope in the latter course, for it we might look for alteration of our troubles, but we could foresee not. If we determined to stay [Verso . . . . The routes to Kashmir, Khaghan, Turfán, and Hindustán were all equally impossible. The road to Badakhshán was the only one that offered any hope of safety.

No one of us had ever travelled from Tibet to Badakhshán, excepting by way of Kíshghar. But among those who had deserted and fled to Yárkand, was a certain man named Jalán Sháh. He once related that he had heard from the people of the mountain districts of Yárkand, that from a place called Tígh Nák,[1]

[1] Mírzá Haidar's spelling of this name is probably the right one. It appears on all most maps as *Takarak*, and is a spot on the Yárkand River to the west of Kilian-alli where the tracks to Kugiar and Yárkand leave the valley of that river. Mírzá Haidar's party (it will be seen by the map) branched off from the direct route to Yárkand at Ak-Tágh, then followed down the Yárkand River past Kilian-alli. *Tígh nák*, etc., is the Turki for "snake-like," presumably on account of the many windings of the river. The route is an exceedingly difficult one, on account of the frequent crossings and recrossings, as is also that followed by travellers

there was a bye-path leading to the Pamirs of Badakhshán. I had inquired the particulars of him. By that unknown road we now advanced. "Can one travel by a road one has never seen and knows not?" Of the fifty persons who had remained with me many, from want of strength, stayed behind in Tibet.

I moved off finally, with twenty-seven men. We suffered much from want of supplies for the journey from the weakness of the beasts of burden, from the difficulties of the road and from the cold. For although it was now the season of Virgo, the cold was so severe, that at a place we came to called Kara Kuram, as the sun sank the river (which is a large one) froze over so completely, that wherever one might break the ice not a drop of water was forthcoming! We continued our efforts [to obtain water until bed-time prayers. The horses that had travelled all day over *dam-gir* ground, arriving at a stage where there was neither water nor grass, refused to eat the little barley that was left (and which we now gave them) because they had not drunk. Jin Ahmad Atika said "I remember once noticing a spring at a distance from here." He indicated a spot in the middle of the ice, where we had to cut a hole: this time there was water, and we gave the horses to drink. There was one mare *kaj*[1] among them, the strongest of all the horses, whose teeth, from want of water, became so tightly locked together, that in spite of every exertion she could not drink, and therefore died.[2] The bags upon which she had carried wheat were left behind. This will give some idea of the intensity of the cold. Verse . . .

When, after much hardship, we reached the spot where the main road to Badakhshán branched off, Islandar Sultán came to ask my permission to make his way to Rashid Sultán, saying, "Perhaps his brotherly affection will induce him to take pity on me, and cause him to heal the wounds which have hitherto cut him off from his relations." I replied: 'Your brother is certainly not a man of his word, as his actions testify. Good faith is the first duty of a Musulmán; but he is so entirely under the evil influence of Muhammad Ali, that you need never expect mercy at his hands.' Quatram . . . With such words did I attempt to dissuade him, but

[1] The meaning is that the river was low till the sunset and then suddenly rose over—not an uncommon circumstance in cold countries, at great altitudes.

[2] Neither is it uncommon to find that horses refuse their ration of grain when they have been several days without grass or chopped straw, or when suffering from height-sickness. Were I to indicate all the causes, usually in group, that results to the animal in which he declines it on account of thirst, he would probably succumb within a short time. I recognise as it could readily be applied by the word not by translation, as it is supposed. It occurs even at low altitudes during severe cold. It may be observed here that throughout the word "mare" is always used in this translation, the more correct term would be 'pony' for in most of the regions east of Afghanistan and Western Pakistan as the horses are but little handled, as a rule. In some places they are selected over 12–12½ hands.

he, being worn out with the sufferings of the journey and the misfortunes in Tibet, shut his eyes to the path of reason, and was so persistent in his demands, that at last I gave him leave to go, sending four men to accompany him.

My party of twenty-seven, by the loss of these five, was thus reduced to twenty-two, and with these I went forward upon this [strange] road. A few of our horses had become useless from want of shoes. On the same day that we parted from Iskandar Sultán, towards midday prayer-time, we killed a wild *kutás*. With its skin we made coverings for the feet of our disabled horses: of its flesh we carried away as much as we were able and even then there remained what would have been sufficient for a day or two. This was a favour bestowed upon us by the Giver of daily bread. We carried away as much as our beasts could bear, which amounted to about five days' provisions for the party. I suppose about a quarter of the *kutás* was left, that is to say about that quantity remained behind. The crows and ravens, by their screams, gave a general invitation to the beasts of prey of the neighbourhood, and they celebrated a feast in company.[1]

We proceeded in this manner, guessing [our way]. On the next day we killed another *kutás*, of a very large breed. [Couplet.] . .

From the information I had gathered from Jalán Sháh, I reckoned that it would be another six days, before we should come to a cultivated region; but on the third day after our separation from Iskandar Sultán, at about breakfast-time, we met with some men with their families, some of whom came out to receive us with great cordiality, and asked us whence we had come and whither we were going. They told us that the valley was called Rás Kám, and that from here to the Pamir was five days' journey. When we arrived at this place (Ras Kám), all of us took a rest, after the trials of so many days.

The people took over all our broken horses and gave us strong ones in their stead. They also supplied us, in the most hospitable manner, with such meat and drink as they had to give. When they saw me, they all began to weep and cried, in their own language, "Thanks be [to God] that there still remains a prince of the dynasty that has ruled over us for four hundred years. We are your faithful and devoted servants." They then attached themselves, with their wives and families, to me. I was powerless to hinder them. At every place we came to, I was joined by all the men, women and children of the district. On the place

[1] It may be noticed that the wild yak, *kutás*, is not found now-a-days far west as the valley of the Yarkand river. Its most westerly limits are the head-waters of the Karak'sh and the Chang Chenmo valley, in the extreme east of Ladak.

of seven days he lavished every attention and honour upon us, brought us to the Amu, and induced [illegible] to proceed to Badakhshán. (Sulaimán Shih Mirzá, the son of Mirzá Khán, the son of my maternal aunt has been mentioned in several places above. When I came [illegible] his [abode] he hastened out to receive me, showing me honour, by every means at his disposal)[1] We then offered up a thousand thanks to God Almighty, who had delivered us from such great dangers, and had brought us into safety, [verse] . . . and from a land of Infidels to one of true Believers. [Three couplets] . .

When we reached Wákhán, which is the frontier [*sar-hadd*] of Badakhshán, there came to me one of Rashid Sul án's followers, who was there on some business I gave him some Turki verses, which I had composed, to deliver over to his master. . .[2]

If I were to detail the acts of violence and unkindness of Rashid Sultán, a separate chapter would be necessary God willing an account of his life will be given in the First Part, repetition would not be pleasing.

To be brief, at this time my wife, who was Rashid Sultán's paternal aunt, was banished [*ikhráj*] in a kindly way, with Iskandar Sultán to accompany her. Another act of kindness was that she was not robbed, or deprived of anything, all that she had at hand was sent with her She reached Badakhshán, however, in a pitiable and destitute condition. About ten persons were allowed, by Rashid's favour, to accompany her, and these took with them all their cattle.[3]

That winter I passed in Badakhshán in perfect comfort and the spring I spent in the plains and hills of that country, in the summer I went to Kábul. Soon after my arrival, there came together, in Kábul, some of my connections who had been banished by Rashid Sultán . namely, the Khán's wife, Zainab Sultán Khánim, who was his cousin, with her children Ibráhim Sultán (the Khán's favourite child), Muhammad Sultán and Mahmud Yusuf.

[Afterwards I passed on into Hindustán When I reached Láhur I found Kámrán Mirzá, son of Sháh Pádisháh, there. He came out to meet me with every mark of respect, and bestowed honours on me From the depths of distress and hardship, I found myself raised to honour and dignity. [Verses.] . . The princely patronage and attention [of Kámrán Mirzá]

[1] The two sentences enclosed within parentheses are obviously out of place here They anticipate the narrative for it could not have been till after passing through Wakhán and arriving in Badakhshán that the author was received by Sulaimán Shah

[2] Three couplets in Turki omitted They contain reproaches addressed to Rashid Sultán for his ill faith.—R

[3] The translation of this passage is uncertain

noted as an antidote to the numerous sufferings and griefs, which had made the sweetness of life sit ever on the platter of my soul [Vol. 808].

At this period, news of the success which Shah Ismail marched upon Kandahar, and captured it came about that Sám Mírzá, one of Sháh Ismáil's sons, going with a body of men from his brother Sháh Tahmásp, reached the territory of Sa'ín. Thence he turned towards Kandahar, where was Mír Khwája Kilán. This Mír Khwája Kilán was the son of Maulánà Muhammad Sádik, one of the pillars of religion and state to Mirzá Aman Shaikh, son of Mirzá Sultán Abú Said. His [Maulánà Sádik's] children, after the death of Mirzá Amar Shaikh, entered, by hereditary succession, the service of Bábur Pádisháh, for whom they achieved great things. In the family their reputation stands high, for six brothers were killed in battle on separate occasions, and this one, Mír Khwája Kilán, alone survived.

He was a brave and learned man, and by his sound judgment was able to regulate most of the Emperor's affairs of State. It was owing to his exertions that, under the divine decree, the Emperor achieved the conquest of Hindústán.[1] In short, he defended the fort of Kandahár in such a way, that Sám Mirzá, after besieging it vigorously and persistently for eight months, was unable to take it. At the end of eight months, Kámrán Mirzá arrived from Hindústán and engaged [Sám Mirzá] in battle, at the very gates of the fort of Kandahár. Through the gallantry and energy of Mír Khwája Kilán, victory declared for Kámrán Mirzá after a hard fought combat, and Sám Mirzá, humbled and discomfited, fell back on Ísfizár; while Kámrán Mirzá returned to Líhúr. It was at that time that I arrived at Líhúr.

That winter passed over, and in the following spring, Sháh Tahmásp marched against Kandahár to avenge his brother. It was this Sháh Tahmásp who, whenever he made war upon Khorásán met with such determined opposition from the Uzbegs under Ubaid Ullah Khán, and such overpowering resistance from their numerous forces, that he was always compelled to retreat. [Couplet . . . . Mír Khwája Kilán was not able to put the fort in a state to withstand a siege on account of the numbers and the strength of Sháh Tahmásp's army, and also because, having, the year before sustained a siege of eight months, its ammunition and other necessaries were exhausted. Moreover, he entertained

His Mír Amín, Khwája Kilán is frequently mentioned by Bábur. He was one of the Emperor's best generals and most trusted followers. At one time he held the governorship of Bajaur, and at another was in charge of Ghazní and Kábul, holding the latter part of Bábur's reign, was always entrusted with some important command. (See *Memoirs* pp. 218, 293, 345, etc.)

[1] The date of this victory is given by Bábur as 25th February, 1521. (*Hist.*, i., 101.)

no hope of Kamran Mirzá coming to his relief. Under these conditions he abandoned Kandahár and retired to Ushu and Tálikán, whence he passed on to Lúhur.

When his news reached the ears of Kámrán Mirzá he resolved to march thence for Kandahár. Leaving the whole of Hindustán and its dependencies in my charge, and giving me entire authority over all his officials and nobles—setting me, in fact, over the whole of the affairs of his kingdom—he proceeded to Kandahár. On reaching this place the ornaments of Sháh Tahmásp gave the fort up to him peacefully, and returned to Irák. "This journey [of Kámrán Mirzá] lasted rather more than a year, during which period I did all that was possible to discharge my duties, in the administration of the State. I attended carefully to collecting taxes, suppressing revolt, protecting the frontiers and establishing Islám, so that when Kámrán Mirzá returned, in the full glow of victory, to his capital Láhur he raised my salary from fifteen to fifty *lacs*, and distinguished me among my peers, by his favours. One *lak* of Hindustán is worth twenty thousand *sháhrukhis*. A common *sháhrukhi* is worth one *mithkál* of silver."[1]

CHAPTER IX

HUMÁYUN PÁDSHÁH, SON OF BÁBAR PÁDSHÁH, AND HIS DOWNFALL.

Humáyun Pádshah was the oldest, greatest and most renowned of Bábar's sons. I have seen few persons possessed of so much natural talent and excellence as he, but in consequence of frequent intercourse with the sensual and profligate men who served him, such as Mauláná Muhammad Farghari in particular, and others like him, he had contracted some bad habits, among these was his addiction to opium. All the evil that has been set down to the Emperor, and has become the common talk of the people, is attributable to this vice. Nevertheless he was endowed with excellent qualities being brave in battle, gay in feast and very generous. Complexion. In short he was a dignified, stately and regal sovereign, who observed much state and pomp. When, for example, I entered his service at Agra, as shall be mentioned it was after his defeats and when people said that compared with

what it had been, there was nothing left of his pomp and magnificence. Yet when his army was employed in the Ganges campaign (in which the whole direction devolved upon me) there were still 17,000 menials *shagird pisha* in his retinue from which circumstance an estimate may be formed of the rest of his establishment.

To be brief, when Kámrán Mirzá went the first time to Kandahár, the Emperor invaded Gujrát and conquered it. But on account of the insubordination and discord that prevailed among the Amirs, he was obliged to abandon the country, and return empty handed. To repair this disappointment being still at the height of his power—he turned to attack Bengala, which he also conquered, and where he made a protracted stay.

Hindál Mirzá, his youngest brother, was in Agra. [Hearing that] Shir Khán was coming from Barkunda and Rohtás, against Agra [Hindál] put to death Shaikh Pul who has been mentioned as the Emperor's spiritual guide, and caused the *Khutba* to be read in his own name. He began openly to sound the drums of sovereignty. As the proverb says "Whenever sedition arises, prosperity goes up [to go]." When his news reached Bangála, the Emperor *at once set out for Agra*, leaving Bangála in charge of Jahángir Kuli, son of Ibrahim Beggik, the Meghul, supported by 5000 men. But when Hindál read the *Khutba* in his own name, none of the Emperor's Amirs who were in the surrounding cities, would acknowledge him. With his lack of good sense—and this was the cause of his misfortunes—he left Shir Khán behind, and turned to conquering the Emperor's dominions. As has been said: "Do the work of your friends, that your enemy may do his own work." In the first place he marched against Dehli, the capital of the whole of Hindustán. But the governors of Dehli, who were Amirs of the Emperor, would not give up the town, *and a fierce encounter ensued between the two parties, each* killing its enemy with fury, and fighting with courage.

While Hindál Mirzá was thus engaged, Humáyun came from Bangála to Jusa and Kúk. Shir Khán seeing his opportunity, cut off his progress.[1] The Emperor had lost all his horses in Bangála, and the strength of his army was wasted; the rainy season too, had come on. He remained for three months encamped opposite to Shir Khán. Repeated messages [from the

[1] This is really a play on the Persian words *Hast* and *Ba-Hast*.—R.

[2] The allusion here is to the defeat which Humáyun suffered at Chausa (the *Jusa* of the text) near Buxar on 27th June, 1539, while returning northward from Bengal. Shir Khan, after coming to an understanding with the Emperor, treacherously attacked his camp on the banks of the Karmanasa and after [illegible] endeavoured to cut off his retreat to Kalpi and Agra. In vain at last rose the cry of Humáyun's camp having been cut to pieces at Chausa. Chausa, the Ganges spot not far from Ghazipur. The name written *Patl*, or *Bard*, in the next clause appears in any other account of these events that I am acquainted with.

Emperor] saying that Shir Khán was at the bottom of all the confusion in Hindustán, that he was now face to face with him, and that his brothers should come quickly, as it was necessary to make an end of Shir Khán. [The letters arrived, but] the brothers were engaged in hostilities, so the enemy remained at his ease.

When news of these events reached Kámrán Mirzá, he at once led his army against Dehli. [On his approach] Hindál Mirzá fled, and the Emperor's Amirs came out to meet him. His arrival filled the breasts of the people with fresh courage, so that the veterans exerted themselves in affording assistance to the Emperor in Jusa. But some perverse advisers offered different counsel, saying, "To go to Jusa would release the Emperor, destroy the enemy and ensnare us." Kámrán Mirzá, in his ignorance and childlike folly, mistook this bad advice for wisdom, and delayed in setting forth. But men of experience said: "Since he is putting off his departure, we had better return, lest the equipment of the army be spoiled. Let every one go back to his own home and make fitting preparations for an active campaign. If Shir Khán defeat the Emperor, we shall be equipped and ready [to meet him]. If, on the other hand, the Emperor destroys Shir Khán, well and good."

But this did not quite satisfy [the discontented]. They argued "If the Emperor destroy Shir Khán, he will be enraged against us. We must contrive some means to procure the forgiveness of the offended Emperor." In short they returned to Agra. After they had been there a little more than a month, the Emperor arrived, defeated and crestfallen. In the middle of the rains [*pashkál*] the brothers came together. This occurred in Safar of the year 946.[1]

CHAPTER CXII.

THE BATTLE OF THE GANGES.[2]

When all the brothers were assembled, they conferred together upon the state of affairs. The discussion was protracted, but no profitable decision was arrived at, in fact, nothing was proposed that was worthy of the occasion, for as it is said: "When fortune's adverse, minds are perverse." Kámrán Mirzá was very anxious to return, but Humáyun, conceding all other representations, disregarded his request on this point. Seven months were wasted

[1] The month of Safar 946 runs from 18th June to 17th July, 1539.
[2] Throughout this chapter the word *Ganj* has been rendered *Ganges*.

in weary indecision, until the opportunity was lost, and Shír Khán was on the Ganges, ready for war. Verses . . . In the midst of this discussion and argument, Kámrán Mírzá became very ill. The climate of Hindustán had brought on some serious disorders.[1] When he had thus suffered for two or three months, he lost the use of his hands and feet. Verses . . . As no medicine or treatment relieved him he became resolute of departing to Láhúr. At length his maladies so increased, that he made up his mind to return thither.

This departure of Kámrán Mírzá was the turning-point in the rise of Shír Khán, and in the downfall of the Ughatái power. The Emperor strongly urged him to leave some of his officers and forces as auxiliaries but Kámrán Mírzá, on the contrary, did all he could to induce those who were at Agra to go away with him, and strenuously rejected the proposal to leave his own army behind. Mír Khwája Kilán, who was his prime minister (and a slight allusion to whose character has been made above), exerted himself to the same purpose. Kámrán Mírzá sent him on in advance, and then followed in person.

While this was passing, Shír Khán advanced to the banks of the Ganges and crossed his army over. Kutb Khán, his son, marched towards Atáwa [Etáwa and Kálpí. These territories were the *fiefs* [*iktá*] of Ihsanu Sulțán, who was one of the Uzbeg Sultáns,[2] and Yádgár Násir Mírzá son of Sultán Nasir Mírzá, the brother of the Emperor Bábar, whose story has been told above. Part of Kálpí had been given to Kámrán Mírzá and he had sent to that district Iskandar Sultán, as his representative. These three persons advanced against Kutb Khán, who was slain in the battle, and they gained a complete victory. The Emperor now marched from Agra towards the Ganges against Shír Khán.

Kámrán Mírzá, having placed the direction in general of his own affairs in my hands, strongly urged me to return to Láhúr. He represented as follows: "You left Kashgár on account of the unworthy treatment of your own people, who after you had served faithfully all your life the result is evident. When you came to me, I treated you, in consideration of our relationship, like a brother—nay, even better. I entrusted the conduct of all my affairs to you and gave you full authority to appoint and displace, and generally to administer my dominion. If in these matters I have been guilty of any shortcoming, you must point it out to me, that I may make reparation. But do not, on the other hand, at such a crisis as this, when the enemy has the upper hand in my kingdom and disease in my body, withdraw the hand of brotherly

[1] The [illegible] is somewhat doubtful, but it is the best I can make of it.
[2] One Persian MS. has here "the Uzbeg and Kipchák Sultáns," i.e. "Oriental."

compassion from no s of kindness; rather [illegible] from those two imminent dangers, and accompany me to Láhur."

Now the Emperor and myself had become friends, after the Moghul fashion, and he had given me the [illegible] of *dust* [friend] In council he never addressed me by any other name and on the *firmáns* it was written in this manner No one of my brothers or the Sultáns of the time, who had been in the Emperor's service, had ever been named in such a way as was I, Muhammad Hadai Kuráin, who being the approved friend of such a prince as the Emperor, was called not merely 'brother' but was chosen as *dust*.

Although I was already in the service of Kámrán Mirzá the Emperor] acted upon my advice in all his affairs He said "What Kámrán Mirzá asks of you, with regard to escorting him [to Láhur], in consequence of the aggravated symptoms of his malady, which prevent his full comprehension of things as they are, is not an affair of yours His going does not depend upon your accompanying him, nor are you in any way bound to go to Láhur. If he gives his illness as a reason, you are not a physician, nor have you any remedies. If he urges you on the ground of kinship, your relationship descends from the [late] Emperor, and therefore your connection with me and with Kámrán Mirzá is exactly equal Consider, for the sake of justice, the truth of what I am saying to you! On the issue of this battle between myself and Shir Khán, depends the fate of all India and all the house of Bábar Pádsháh If with such a cause about to take place you [should] betake yourself to Láhur on account of Kámrán Mirzá's sickness, two things will ensue. Firstly having escaped from the yawning abyss, you will save your own head, and by means of Kámrán Mirzá's forgetfulness, will regain safety. All the rest will die, but you will be saved Secondly, you being the cousin of Bábar Pádsháh, your relationship to his sons [illegible] equal, and it is fitting that you should show your sympathy with the whole of the Emperor's race In such a flight as you meditate, you will bear only sorrow' Escaping, in safety to Láhur, you will thence proceed to whatever place you consider secure. If you think this conformable with the conduct of a 'friend' and a 'brother,' you may act accordingly but know, for certainty, that you will encounter the opposition of the people. Instead of then saying: 'In spite of Kámrán Mirzá's illness, he did not escort him to Láhur, but with sound judgment took part in the Ganges campaign with the army:' they will say that you left me alone to undertake a combat, on the result of which hung the fate of the house to whom your loyalty is owing. [They will add] that giving as an excuse the illness of Kámrán Mirzá, you stood for yourself

[illegible] you will [illegible] with me - It

a place of security. Besides, it is a fact that if we lose the day here, Láhúr too will quickly fall.'

These arguments quite convinced me, and being unable to obtain Kámrán Mirzá's permission, I remained behind without it.[1]

Kámrán Mirzá himself, shamefully leaving only Iskandar Sultán with about one thousand men as auxiliaries, went off to Láhúr, taking with him all the men from Agra whom he could carry with him thus giving strength to the enemy and preparing defeat for his friends.

The Imperial army reached the banks of the Ganges in the best way that it could. There it encamped and lay for about a month, the Emperor being on one side of the river, and Shír Khán on the other, facing each other. The armies may have amounted to more than 200,000 men. Muhammad Sultán Mirzá, a descendant of Ulugh Mirzá and Sháh Mirzá (who were of the House of Timúr) and grandson (by a daughter) of Sultán Husain Mirzá (of Khorásán), had come to India to wait upon the Emperor Bábar, and had been received with every mark of kindness and royal favour. After Bábar's death, he had several times revolted against Humáyún; but being unsuccessful, he had sought forgiveness, and had been pardoned. Now having colluded with Shír Khán, he deserted. A new way was thus opened. Everybody began to desert, and the most surprising part of it was, that many of those who deserted did not go over to Shír Khán, and so could expect no favour from him. An excited feeling ran through the army and the cry was, "Let us go and rest in our homes." A number of Kámrán's auxiliary forces also abandoned him and fled to Láhúr.

Among the equipments which were in the train of the Emperor were 700 carriages (*gardúna*), each drawn by four pairs of bullocks, and carrying a swivel (*zarb-zan*), which discharged a ball (*kúlula*) of 500 *mithkáls* weight. I, myself, saw several times that from the top of an eminence they unfailingly (*bi-l-kull*) struck horsemen who slightly and unsuspectingly exposed themselves. And there were twenty-one carriages, each drawn by eight pairs of bullocks. Stone balls were of no use in these, but the shots were of molten brass weighing 5000 *mithkáls*, and the cost of each was 200 *mithkáls* of silver. They would strike anything that was visible at the distance of a *parasang*.

As the army had taken to desert, it was judged better to risk a battle, than to see it go to ruin without fighting. If the result were unfavourable, we could not, at least, be accused of having

[1] Thishin, according to Briggs' translation, disposes of his subject in one short sentence — Mirza Haidar Doghlat being seated with his (Kamran's) consent, abandoned his standard and fled. Heer Ayub, to whom I was afterwards of great service. And the translator adds in a *footnote*: 'This person ascended the throne of Kashgar and is the author of the most authentic history of that interesting principality.' Would that it were so! (Briggs' II., p. 80.)

abandoned an empire like Hindustán, without striking a blow. Another consideration was, that if we passed the river, desertion would no longer be possible. We therefore crossed over.

Both armies entrenched themselves. Every day skirmishes occurred between the adventurous, swaggering spirits of both sides. These proceedings were put an end to by the monsoon rains, which came on and flooded the ground, rendering it unfit for a camp. To move was indispensable. Opinions were expressed that another such a deluge would sink the whole army in the abyss of despair, and it was proposed to move to some rising ground which the inundation could not reach, and which lay in front of the enemy. I went to reconnoitre, and found a place suitable for the purpose.

I said that we would, on the morrow, try the enemy on the touch-stone of experience, for he ought not to attack while we were on the march, but if he should do so, it would be wrong to attempt a pitched battle while moving. The morrow would be the 10th of Muharram, and we must keep our forces well under control, until we should see if the enemy came out of his trenches and advanced against us. Then, at last, a regular pitched battle would be fought between us. The proper plan would be for us to place the mortars and swivels in front and the gunners, nearly 5000 in number, must be stationed with the guns. If he should come out to attack us, there would be no time or place more suitable than the present, for battle. If he should not come out of his entrenchments, we must remain drawn up all about midday, and then return to our position. Next day we must act in just the same way. Then the baggage must move to the new position, and we must follow and occupy the place. This scheme of mine met with general approbation.

On the 10th Moharram '17, we mounted to carry the plan into effect, and make our dispositions. As had been determined the carriages and mortars and small guns were placed in the centre. The command of the guns was given to Muhammad Khán Rumi, to the sons of Ustád Alí Kuli, to Ustád Ahmad Rumi and Hasan Khalifa. They placed the carriages and mortars in their proper positions, and stretched chains between them. In other divisions there were Amirs of no reputation—men who were Amirs [nobles] only in name. They had got persons out of the country, but they had not a tincture of prudence or knowledge, or energy or emulation, or dignity of mind or generosity—qualities from which nobility draws its name.

The Emperor had posted the author of this work upon his left, so that his right flank should be on the Emperor's left. In the same position he had placed a force of chosen troops. On my left all my retainers were stationed. I had 400 chosen men, inured to warfare and familiar with battle, fifty of whom were

mounted [redacted] horses accoutred with armour. Between me and the river (*jui bár*) there was a force of twenty-seven Amirs, all of whom carried the *tugh* [banner]. In this position also, were the other components of the left wing and they must be judged by the others. On the day of battle, when Shir Khán, having formed his divisions, matched out, of all these [redacted] twenty-seven banners not one was to be seen, for the great nobles had hidden them, in the apprehension that the enemy might advance upon them. The soldiership and bravery of the Amirs may be conceived from this exhibition of courage.

Shir Khán came on in five divisions of 1000 men each, and in advance of him were 3000 men. I estimated the whole as being less than 15,000, but I calculated the Chaghatái force at about 40,000, all mounted on *tipchák* horses, and clad in iron armour. They surged like the waves of the sea, but the courage of the Amirs and officers of the army was such as I have described. When Shir Khán's army came out of its entrenchments, two divisions (*jauk*) which seemed to be equal to four divisions, drew up in that place, and three divisions advanced against their opponents. On our side I was leading the centre to take up the position which I had selected; but when we reached the ground, we were unable to occupy it, for every Amir and Vazir in the Chaghatái army, whether he be rich or poor, has his camp-followers [*ghulam*]. An Amir of note, with his 100 retainers and followers, has 500 servants and *ghulams*, who on the day of battle render no assistance to their masters and have no control over themselves. So in whatever place there was a conflict, the *ghulams* were entirely ungovernable. When they lost their masters, they were seized with panic and blindly rushed about in terror. In short, it was impossible to hold our ground. They so pressed us in the rear, that they drove the centre upon the chains stretched between the chariots, and they and the soldiers dashed each other upon them. Those who were behind, so pressed upon those who were in front, that they broke through the chains. The men who were posted by the chains were driven beyond them, and the few who remained behind were broken, so that all formation was destroyed [1]

[1] The Indian historian, Jauhar, refers to the question of breaking through the chains of the gun-carriages. He implies that the old chain was removed by order of Humayun and attributes the order to bad advice given by Mirza Hindal. He writes: "Mirza Hindal represented that, in order to let the fugitives pass through, it was requisite to loose the chains of the carriages which formed a line in advance of the centre. His Majesty unfortunately complied with this advice, and the chains, being loosed, the runaways passed through the line of carriages in files. There appears however, to be no reason to doubt Mirza Hindal's version of the affair. He took an active part in the battle and was an eye-witness of what occurred. (For Jauhar, see *Elliot*, v. p. 13; and Stewart's *Memoirs of Humayun* p. 21.)

Such was the state of the centre. On the right Shir Khán advanced in little array, but before an arrow was discharged, he camp-foll wers fled like chaff before the wind, and breaking the line, they all pressed towards the centre. The *ghulams* whom the commanders had sent to the front, rushed to the lines of chariots, and the whole army was broken: the Mír was parted from his men, and the men from the Mír. While the centre was thus thrown into disorder, all the fugitives from the right bore down upon it. So before the enemy had discharged an arrow, the whole army was scattered and deserted. I had estimated the Chaghatái army as numbering 40,000 men, excluding the camp-followers *ghulam* and workmen *shágird pisha*. They fled before 10,000 men, and Shir Khán gained a victory, while the Chaghatái were defeated on this battle-field, where not a man, either friend or foe, was wounded. Not a gun was fired and the chariots [*gardun*] were useless.

When the Chaghatái took to flight the distance between their position and the Ganges might be nearly a *farsákh*. All the Amirs and braves [*bahadurán*] fled for safety to the river, without a man of them having received a wound. The enemy pursued them, and the Chaghatáí, having no time to throw off their armour and coats, plunged into the water. The breadth of the river might be about five bowshots. Many illustrious Amirs were drowned, and each one remained on wont on, at his will. When we came out of the river, His Majesty, who at midday had a retinue of 17,000 men at ordance upon his court, was mounted upon a horse which had been given to him by Tardi Beg, and had nothing on his head or feet. "Permanence is from God and dominion is from God." Out of 1000 returners eight persons came out of the river; the rest had perished in the water. The total loss may be estimated from this fact. When we reached Agra we made no entry, but, broken and dispirited, in a state heart-rending to relate, we went on to Láhor.

CHAPTER CXIII.

FLIGHT OF THE CHAGHATÁI FROM HINDUSTÁN TO LÁHOR.

On the 1st of Rabí I. 947, all the Sultáns, Amirs and people assembled together. So great was the crowd of people that there was but little space for moving about, while it was difficult to find a lodging. High and low, each had his own ends to serve, and each made suggestions, every man of noble birth had his

scheme, and all those of low parentage their ideas Among them were Muhammad Sultán Mirzá and Ulugh Mirzá, who had deserted on the banks of the Gang, on the eve of the battle Not finding any place in which they could remain, they came in a most pitiable condition to Láhur. They kept apart from the others and were still boasting hostility These two] made themselves the heads, or rather the donkeys'-heads, of a rabble of ruffians and senseless Hindus Hindál Mirzá and Yádgár Násir Mirzá likewise entered into baseless and idle plans, [saying]: We will go to Bakar and take it from Shíh Husain Arghun, and with his forces will subdue Gujrát Kámrán Mirzá was engrossed with devising some plan for dispersing all this assemblage, while he should repair, alone, to Kábul.

Humáyun Pádisháh for a time thought of reunion, but seeing difficulties in the way, he abandoned all hope of this, and was *at a loss what to do next.* [Reunion], however was his object At this time repeated meetings were held, out of mere hypocrisy. Union was discussed, but they had only disunion at heart; they called in the magnates and leading men, to be witnesses that no one opposed or deviated from the resolutions agreed to. Thus were summoned Khwája Khánd Málamud,[1] his younger brother Khwája Abdul Hakk and Mír Abul-baká who were all noted for their learning and esteemed for their piety, together with many other great men whose names it would take too long to mention *individually* The Sultáns, Amirs and many others were present. At first they assented to reunion and drew up a written engagement, upon the margin of which the magnates signed their names as witnesses They then embarked upon the discussion.

First of all the Emperor, pointing to me, said. "You must tell us what you consider the most suitable line of action to pursue at this moment" I represented: "When Sultán Husain Mirzá of Khorásán departed this life, his seventeen sons in consequence of their disunion, abandoned Khorásán to Shálá Beg Khán, so that to the present day they are objects of reproach to the people, and rejected of all mankind. To add to this disgrace they have all been extinguished, insomuch that within the space of one year, excepting Badi-uz-Zamán who went to Rum, not one remained alive The late Emperor, Bábar, conquered this far-stretching, land of Hindustán with much exertion and toil, and on leaving this world, transmitted [the empire to you. Would you suffer a country like *Hindustán to be seized by such a man as Shír Khán?* Consider what a difference there is between Hindustán with all its revenues, and Khorásán; and how inferior is Shír Khán to Sháh Beg, Khán Also remember the degree of censure you will

[1] Three lines of titles of the Khwájas are omitted.—R

inom from mankind! Now is the moment for you to consider your condition, and having removed your head from the collar of envy, to place it in the pocket of meditation, that you may acquire the esteem of the people. Formerly, when matters could have been arranged with ease, you put obstacles in the way, by your want of constancy and of purpose. At present it is impossible to achieve anything, without encountering untold difficulties.

"I will now lay before you what seems to me your wisest course It involves great hardships, but it is you who have made hard what was once easy And moreover if you do not bear patiently your present troubles, they will become yet more onerous. My advice is as follows Shir Khán will still take four months to reach Láhur. During these four months, the mountain slopes of Hindustán should be given to the Sultáns, and each one, in proportion to his share, should be made to pledge his allegiance

"Let every man attend to the particular business to which he has been appointed. Let me, for instance be appointed to the task of subduing Kashmír, and I engage that, within two months I will accomplish it As soon as you hear of my arrival in Kashmír, let every one send his family and baggage thither, while he betakes himself to the mountains, and forms a strong position on the slopes —from the hills of Saiad to those [occupied by' Sarang.[1]

As this passage has been differently translated in two published works—those of Mr Erskine and Major Price—a few words of explanation are necessary, to account for the alterations I have made in the text The *Tárikh-i-Rashídi* reads (and Mr Ross translated the sentence in this way) just as Erskine has it, *viz.*, "the skirts of the hill-country between Sirmúr and Sirang; but no mountain is called by the name Sirang It appears to have been at first a place of distinction, but now applied to a considerable part of India in general Price's translation is not from the *Tárikh-i-Rashídi* but from the *Akbar-Náma* through the author of that work evidently copied from Mirza Haidar. The passage stands thus, in Price's words "they should occupy the mountainous hilly places, by way of Sewaliks, that lie between the sources of the Kuggar Sarsuty, and Jumna rivers, from Sehrind to Sankarun ghat. The last word was apparently, an insertion by the author of the *Akbar-Náma*, added by way of explanation.

In the next chapter but one of the *Tárikh-i-Rashídi*, it will be seen that by name *Sirang* appears again, and it is there applied to a place and not to a plain. But Sirang is there described as one of the Sultans of the slopes of the hills of Hind" From this indication, it is, I think, clear that the personage alluded to, as the settler at Sultán Sirang of whom all traces, at that time, were Mirza Haidar naively tells us, had completely the Ghagkar princes and army, was that of the lower mountain hills extending from Sirhind to the Salt Range or it was in mountains to the Salt Range, that the Ghakkar country was situated Therefore, in making the passage read as it now does in the text, there is only intelligible meaning I can give to it

Sultan Sirang, a chief of the Ghakkars and loyalty of the Ghakkars in the early half of the sixteenth century, has changed fully well known in Indian history, and the tract of country which was occupied by the Ghakkar tribes, was then very much the same as now. Nizám-ud-Dín Ahmad, in the *Tabakát-i-Akbarí* says "The country of the Ghakkars lies on the banks of the river Sind, well-known as the Nílab. This territory, from the Siwalik hills to the borders of Kashmír has been, from all the, the possession of the Ghakkars" By the Siwalik hills he means, apparently, the Salt Range. Though Sadik

The mortars [*dig*] and swivels [*zarb-zan* of Shir Khán are the mainstay of his fighting power. It is impossible to bring gun-carriages into the hills, and he will *not* hazard battle without them. His army, for want of numbers, will perish for want of grain, and must perforce retreat."

Ispahán, it may be mentioned, is spoken of Timur as "a territory in the Kuhistán of *Sawád*" (p. 86)—thus the district of the Parapamisus. Abul Fazl, under the *Akbar-Náma*, more briefly locates "between the Sind and the Behat," that is, between the Indus and the Jhelum. What little is to be found about the Gakhars in the two authors above-named in the *Tarikh-i-Daudi* and in *Ta'rikh-i-Jahán Khán Lodi*, differs very considerably, while dates are very sparingly furnished in any of the extracts from these works, as published by Elliot. It appears however that the Gakar country belonged to Kashmír in the first half of the fifteenth century, but during the reign of the Kashmír Sultán, Zain-ul-Abidín (1420-00 according to *Firishta*, and 1422-72 according to others), one *Malik Ayaz, Amír of Ghazni*, invaded the territory and wrested it from the Kashmírís. Malik Kal, was succeeded by his son, Malik Kán, who obtained the title and the territory his son, Malik Pír. After he forgot (Malik Pír, and shortly before the year 1519 the Gakars seem to have been divided into two factions. One, Hati Khán, possessed the Lágor and Jasrota country, and Sarang Jalab Khán held the lower hills. When Babar was about to return from Bhira to Kabul in 1510, Hati Gakar had made war on Jasrota, had defeated and slain him, and seized his territory. Babar planned an expedition against Parnálí (or Parnwala), which had been the capital of Hati, and took it, together with the whole country. Shortly afterwards Hati Khán, who had escaped from Parnálí tendered his submission, and from that time forward his family became the staunch allies of the Chaghatáis.

At this date, which appears to have taken place about 1508, he left two sons named Sárang and Adam respectively. The former succeeded to the chiefship and at once gave his allegiance to Babar. After the disastrous reception accorded by Humayun in 1540, and his flight across the Indus, Sárang maintained himself bravely against the Afghans, under Shir Shah, but was at last, after several years of hostilities, taken prisoner and hanged alive. The date of his death is nowhere stated with certainty and the native authors disagree as to the name of the Afghan king of Hindustan who committed the act of barbarity. Niámat Ullah and Nizám-ud-Dín Ahmad ascribe it to Shir Shah, and in this case it must have occurred before his death in 1545, which took place Shir Shah was succeeded by his son Salim in May of that year, and two years later marched to attack the Gakars. It is clear that Al Badáoni, the author of the *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, although giving the death of Sárang, as 1546 his story is the correct one, the date was 1545 or 1548. At any rate the authorities appear to be so far agreed, as to make Sultan Adam Sárang's brother, his successor as chief of the Gakars, which Salim prevailed over the family. In the closing chapters of his book, which relate to Kashmír, Mirza Haidar gives few particulars, but by a comparison of the events of that period, as recounted by Firishta, Abul Fazl and others, it would appear that the end of Sárang's career must have occurred about the date estimated above.

However this may be, it is evident that *Sárang* was not a pleasant name to bear of a Gakar chief, who was an ally of Humayun and the Mughals, and who was alive in 1540, while nothing is more consistent with the manners than that Mirza Haidar should have advised his master, after the latter had left Kashmír, to take up a position "and let the wild Sárang's territory go upon it." Another allusion to Adam, Sultan of the Gakars, occurs in Firishta, where he is represented as having met Mirza Haidar at "the frontiers of Dilpat" [Dalail] in 1540, for the purpose of treating between the Mughal and Kashmír. (See Erskine, *Hist.*, i. pp. 11-15 ff., pp. 125-27 and 135 ff.; also *Elliot*, pp. 250-52, *Abul Fazl* as Price's *Muhammadan Hist.*, iii., pp. 787-8; *Tarikh-i-Daudi* in Elliot iv. p. 498; *Tarikh-i-Jahán Khán Lodi*, *ib.*, p. 111; *Tabakat-i-Akbari*, *ib.*, v. pp. 278-80; Firishta (Briggs) iv. p. 501, and *ib.* (Briggs), *J. A. S. B.*, 1855 (xxiv.) 118.)

Kámrán Mirzá, frowning at these words, said: "Although what you recommend is plausible enough, it involves difficulties too great." I replied: "When I began, I represented, in excuse for myself, that the business was a difficult one. All easy methods are now out of question. Nothing but difficulties remain. If any one can suggest an easier solution, let him speak." Kámrán Mirzá said: "We have now with us nearly 200,000 households [*khánadán mardum*]. Should the advice just offered be acted upon, and the attempt fail, it is probable that all this multitude will be destroyed. It is, therefore, better that the Emperor and the Mirzás should go unencumbered, either to the hills or to Kashmír, leaving their families to be conducted to Kábul by me. Having safely disposed of the families, I will return to join the army."

All were bewildered by this suggestion and asked themselves, "What has now become of our oath of union? What are these sentiments? Who would think of sending his family to Kábul and himself remaining without baggage? Between Láhor and Kábul there are rivers, highway robbers, and mountains. The Mirzá's scheme is quite impracticable." Although much discussion followed, Kámrán Mirzá did not carry a single point. Thus [ostensible] desires for union were shown to be hypocrisy, and the meeting broke up. But time passed and meanwhile Shír Khán had reached the banks of the river of Sultánpúr.[1] Every man chose a place of retreat for himself. The Emperor consulted with me in his exigency, and I again respectfully represented that I still held by the Kashmír plan. "At any rate," I continued, "if you allow me to go in advance, the rest can follow after, and I guarantee that I will conquer Kashmír." The Emperor then gave me leave to depart, furnishing me with what help he was able; so that with four hundred hired men and slaves, I set out for Kashmír.

CHAPTER CXIV.

ORIGIN OF THE AUTHOR'S EXPEDITION TO KASHMÍR

It has been observed above, that the Sultáns of Kashmír had fallen under the power of their worthless Amírs, every one of whom acted in whatever way he saw fit. At the time when Kámrán Mirzá went to Kandahár to fight the son of Sháh Ismail, as was mentioned, the chiefs [*maliks*] of Kashmír were engaged in mutual

[1] Ed. Bibl. Ind. 21

hostilities Kábul Chak, Abdál Makri and Zulfi Chak had been turned out of Kashmir and, having taken up their abode at the foot of the mountains of Hind, they appealed to me for help. Háji, who was mentioned in the relation of events in Tibet, acted as intermediary. Frequently, and with insistence, had I tried to convince Kámrán Mirzá on the subject of Kashmír. At the time of [Kámrán Mirzá's] march on Dehli, an army was mustered in Agra, and a certain Bábá Chuchak was placed at the head of it. Háji came from Agra to Láhur with Bábá Chuchak to join in the expedition against Kashmir. But Bábá Chuchak, being weak-minded and incapable, could not manage this business, and delayed in setting out till the news of the defeat on the Ganges arrived. The soldiers stood fast and Bábá Chuchak was relieved from [the duty of] conducting the Kashmir expedition.

At the time when the general assembly was to take place in Láhur, Háji carried many messages to and fro, between myself on the one hand and Abdál Makri on the other, in furtherance of my plan. All terminated in a most desirable way, and I was thus able to impress it strongly on the Emperor. I showed him the letter which had been sent me, and he became convinced that Kashmir would be conquered as soon as I should appear there.

[1] It may be noted here, that there had existed in Kashmir, since the days of the first Muslman Sultán Shah Mír, *about the middle of the fourteenth century*, two great families, or houses known as the *Chaks* and the *Mahrs*. Tradition rightly seems to have been the cause of most of the disorder and confusion, *from which the State* suffered for the greater part of the sixteenth century. They contended with each other partly for the office of chief minister under the dynastic princes who (power was mostly nominal, and who were apparently incapable either of administering the dominions, or suppressing the ambitions of these two influential houses. The names of the *Chak* and *Mahr* are very variously spelled by Mirza Haidar, Firishta, Abul Fazl, and each writer has but by no means can only be identified with confusion. One, Malik Achal, Kichil, or Ajhi of the *Chak* family, is said to have been in the ministerial power, under a prince called Nazuk Shah (or sometimes Nath Shah) when Mirza Haidar invaded the country.

A detailed account of the affairs of Kashmir during Mirza Haidar's regency will be found in Appendix A. It consists of an extract from Mr. C. J. Rodgers' description on "Coins of the Sultans of Kashmir," which is based chiefly on translations made by him from collected Persian Chronicles (See *J. A. S. B.* Liv, pt. I. 1885, *pp.* 62 *seq.*)

CHAPTER CXV.

THE AUTHOR CONQUERS KASHMIR. ADVENTURES OF THE CHAGHATÁI AFTER THEIR DEPARTURE FROM HINDUSTÁN.

I had arranged with the Emperor that I should, in the first place, proceed with a small number of men to Nau Shahr,[1] and that as soon as the Maliks of Kashmir should have joined me, Iskandar Tupchi should overtake me there. When I should have reached the pass, Mir Khwája Kilán, in praise of whom I have spoken above, was to enter Nau Shahr. On my descending into Kashmir Mir Khwája Kilán was to advance to the foot of the pass of Kashmir, while the Emperor would pitch his camp at Nau Shahr. Matters having been thus arranged, Kámrán Mirzá and the rest were allowed to go wherever they pleased.

All being so fixed, I set out, and in Nau Shahr was joined by all the Maliks of Kashmir. Iskandar Tupchi was one day's journey from Nau Shahr. Mir Khwája Kilán was in Sialkot. On the same day that I despatched a messenger to Iskandar Tupchi, news reached me that all our people had evacuated Lahor. I started in all haste: when I arrived at the foot of the pass [leading to] Kashmir, Káchi Chak ascended by one road, and we by another, and without further contention or discussion we [all] arrived at [Kashmir].

Now when Iskandar Tupchi and Mir Khwája Kilán heard of the evacuation of Lahor, the former sought refuge with Sárang, who was one of the Sultáns of the slopes of the hills [*kuh páya*] of Hind, while the latter, leaving Sialkot, went and joined the fugitives [from Lahor]. In spite of the Emperor's endeavours to recall Kashmir, he could induce no one to accompany him. Some Turkish intriguers, namely, Hindál Mirzá, Yádgár Násir Mirzá and others beside, carried him off to Tatta and Bakar, to attack *bazar*] Mirzá Sháh Husain the son of Sháh Beg Arghun (son of Zulnun Arghun). This Mirzá Sháh Husain is the same personage who was spoken of above. When Bábar Pádisháh wrested Kandahár from Sháh Beg, the latter retired to Dádar and Tatta and subdued the whole of the surrounding country. He was succeeded on his death by his son Mirzá Sháh Husain who busied himself for some time in strengthening his forts and settling his country, for he was, in truth, a methodical and prudent man.[2] Against him it

[1] A village in the lower hills of Rajaori.

[2] Shah Beg seems to be usually known in history as Shah Shujá Beg, while his son is often called Shah Hasan, as Shah Husain. The former's conquest of Tatta (or Sind), here alluded to, took place in 1521. He died in 1521, when his dominions passed to his son Husain or Hasan, who after two years

was that this blundering band marched. But being able to achieve nothing, Hindál Mirzá went to Kandahár, whose governor came out to receive him. He began to boast of empire, [whereupon] Kámrán Mirzá marched against him, from Kábul. After some unfortunate occurrences, and being reduced to extremities, he begged Kámrán Mirzá to spare his life, promising that he would enter his service. Not long after this Yádgár Násir Mirzá and Kásim Husain Sultán also fled from the Emperor and joined Kámrán Mirzá. The Emperor, after endless hardships and incalculable misfortunes, passed on to Irák, but up to the present time it is not known what has become of him. As for Kámrán Mirzá, he is at Kábul and in despair from the buffetings of fortune.

My trust is in the most glorious and merciful God, that He will again raise to the throne of sovereignty Humáyun Pádisháh, than whom there have been few greater Sultáns. He has endured such suffering and misery as have fallen to the lot of few Emperors. May he make the people prosperous and contented under his benevolent shadow. It is thus written in the "Summa": that when the affairs of a great ruler go to ruin, he is himself the cause. If, as is rarely the case, the ruler be spared those calamities, his escape must be certainly attributable to his good sense.

It is related, in the earlier portion of this book, that his [Humáyun's] father, Bábar Pádisháh, on several occasions mounted the throne of Samarkand, but as often suffered ruinous defeats. In those defeats his own head was kept safe, and finally God raised him to such power, that all the world felt his influence, while his name remains among the [immortal] Sultáns. May God, having delivered Humáyun Pádisháh from those perils and dangers, grant him similar well-being and wisdom.

CHAPTER CXVI

PARTING OF THE AUTHOR FROM HUMÁYUN PÁDISHÁH. HIS MARCH AGAINST, AND CONQUEST OF KASHMIR. CONTEMPORANEOUS EVENTS, AND CONCLUSION OF THE "TÁRIKH-I-RÁSHIDÍ."

After a settlement of some kind had been arrived at among the Mirzás, I obtained, by the grace of Providence, the permission of Humáyun to depart, and for the reasons above stated, started from

of hard struggles possessed himself of Ush and Multán. He lost the latter province to [illegible] in 1527, but eventually recovered it from Humayun. He was the third and last of the Afghan line, whose rule continued till 1551. (See *Erskine's Hist.*, chap. vi., secs. 1 and 2; and *Stokvis*, I., p. 278.)

Lálun in the direction of Kashmir. I have explained that on the 22nd of Rajab, I crossed the pass of Kashmir. This date I discovered in the words "*Julus-i-dár-ul-mulk-i-Kashmir*," [ascending the throne of Kashmir]. It was the season of Sagittarius. I had scarce ascended the throne of triumph, when the snow began to fall and the face of the earth became white while the eyes of the enemy turned dark. By the divine favour, that winter passed in quiet.

Now Khalil Chak had been forced, thrice previously, to disconnect himself from the government of Kashmir. His own wife and children had not seen him, for he had left them in the care of Malik Abdál and Zangi Chak, and had gone off, thinking that, as on former occasions, his resignation and resumption of power would not be settled within a year. [Verse] . . . All the [chief] men of Kashmir, believing this too, went with him, ignoring that God gives to whomsoever He will, and takes away from whomsoever He will. Two couplets. . . . Káchi Chak, vainly imagining that Shir Khán, by force of arms, could change the decree of the Most High God, appealed to him for aid.

In the beginning of spring . . . .[1] having obtained auxiliaries from Shir Khán, he again moved forward with a large force. Just at this juncture, and when this news was confirmed, Malik Abdál [Makrí] who was the mainstay of the whole scheme, was attacked by paralysis, and migrated to the Eternal abode, so that the brunt of the affair fell on Zangi Chak. In a word, after various difficulties had been surmounted, which it would be tedious to relate in detail, we left our families in the fort of Andarkul[2] and went out to meet and oppose [the enemy], with a vacillating hand. [Two couplets . . . During three months we attacked their strongholds and met them in the field; till at length, Káchi Chak having formed a junction with the auxiliaries of Shir Khán, marched boldly out of the hill district [*Báládast*] which he had fortified, and took up a position on a spot that was a halting stage. At this place the army of Kashmir, who from their outward appearance looked as if they must disperse in flight, held their ground. [On our side] [only] the Moghul army kept its position. No one expected a battle that day; most had gone off in different directions to attend to their own affairs; so that only about 250 men were present, together with a few Kashmiris who had joined the Moghuls, making in all about 300. Those advanced and attacked a force comprising 5000 cavalry, two elephants, and a body of infantry more numerous than the cavalry. Falling upon their rear, [our army]

[1] The omission here consists of a few lines descriptive of spring.—R.

[2] Firishta makes this name (according to both Rodgers and Briggs) *Indral* or a form which would be roughly Kashmiri, and also likely to be correct from *Andarkot*. I cannot identify the place, but infer from the context in Firishta (see App. A, p. 480) that it must have been near the modern Bárámula.

began by plundering their baggage and stores. The battle was so desperate, that should I enter into the particulars, the reader would imagine I was exaggerating. Therefore, avoiding details, I will content myself with a summary account. To resume, at noonday prayers on Monday, the 8 Rabi II. 948,[1] we routed an army of 5000 cavalry, and several thousand foot, with a body of only 300 men. Verses. The preacher *Khatib* of Kashmir, Maulá i Yusuf, found the date in *Fath-i-Mubarak* [The reported victory], for I had already once entered Kashmir and gained a victory there, as has been related.

[More follows a prayer, ending with an apology to the reader for the faults and shortcomings of the "Epitome."

[1] 2nd August 1541 A.D.

APPENDIX A.

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Notes from a paper entitled: *The Square Silver Coins of the Sultáns of Kashmir*, by Mr. C. J. Rodgers, M.R.A.S., &c., in the *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Bengal*, Vol. LIV. Pt. I., No. 2, 1885, pp. 92 to 139 (see pp. 116–21).

In Notes 2, p. 433; 1, p. 441; 4, p. 482, and in Sec. I. of the *Introduction*, reference has been made to Mr. C. J. Rodgers' translations from Firishta's History contained in the able and interesting paper noted above. As Mirza Haidar closes his narrative somewhat abruptly, at the time of his conquest of Kashmir, I believe that a summary of the affairs of the country during his regency, will be found useful to the reader, and therefore transcribe here, that portion of Mr. Rodgers published paper which deals with the period in question. It comprises the last six years of Mirza Haidar's life, and is also, no doubt, the best account that exists of a little known phase of Indian history.

Názuk Shah 2nd Time. - After his death, Názuk sat on the throne of the kingdom. (His father's name was Ibráhím Sháh. There is confusion [illegible]. It would, however, appear that for five or six months when Mirzá Haidar Dúk, having obtained a firm footing in Kashmir, had it [illegible] in his own and Khutba was read and coin was struck in the name of *Núr-ud-Dín Muhammad Humáyun Bádsháh*. (These coins of Humáyun struck in Kashmir are exceedingly rare. They are exactly of the same type as those of the preceding kings. The coins show small differences in the inscriptions in the arrangements of the letters. One coin has *ha* in the field to the right which I consider to be the first letter of Humáyun's name. The dates of the coins fall within the period during which Mirzá Haidar ruled Kashmir nominally in his master's name. But all these six years on Humáyun was a fugitive in Sháh and Persia and Afghánistán and could derive any benefit from the fact that prayers were read in Kashmir with his name in them, and coins struck with his name on them.)

In the year [illegible] when Humáyun, lying before Sher Sháh Súr, received letters, Mihr Ali Mírán, Zain Chák and other notables wrote to Humáyun's taking Kashmir and sent the letter by the hands of Mirzá Haidar [illegible] accompanied his messengers to Mirzá in the direction of Kashmir

[illegible] d gave it out as his intention to foll w shortly himself When the Mirzá arrived at Bhi he [illegible] by Abdál Mákan and Zangi Chakk The Mirzá had with him only three or four thousand horsemen, but when he arrived at Rájóri, Malik Gáji Chakk who was the ruler of Kashmir, arrived at Khal il Kartal (it is called Karnal by Erskine) and entrenched himself with from three to four thousand horsemen and 70,000 infantry. Mirzá Ha lan therefore changed his route and went by Pakhi (the Panj ot Erskine) which Gáji Chakk in his pride had forgotten to defend. The Mirzá crossed the mountains and descending into the plain of Kashmir took possession at once of Sumagar Abdál Mákan and Zangi Chakk finding themselves strong, united themselves with the affairs of the kingdom, and they gave several peregrinations to the Mirzá But just at this time Abdál Mákan died after recommending his sons to the care of the Mirzá

After the arrival of Mirzá Haidar in Kashmir, Malik Gáji Chakk went to Sher Sháh Afghán for assistance He collected five thousand horsemen, over whom were Husain Shaivani and Adil Khán, and two elephants Mirzá Haidar met him between Dandhyár and Kiwal, and the appearance of victory blowing in favour of the Mirzá, the Malik and his Afghán allies fled from the field and took possession of Bahmángalla

In the year 950 A H Mirzá Haidar settled himself in the fort of Dandkot Zangi Chakk being suspected by him fled to Gáji Chakk and in 955 A H. the two set out, in the direction of Srinagar, determined to root out Mirzá Haidar. Bahrám Chakk, son of Zangi Chakk arrived first at Srinagar, but he was easily put to flight by two of the Mirzá's generals and his disorganised troops falling back on the main army Zangi Chakk and Gáji Chakk also fled and returned to Bahmángalla After this the Mirzá employed his army in invading Tibet He took Lassur and many other places

In 952 A H Gáji Chakk and his son Muhammad Chakk died of fever and ague This year the Mirzá spent in ease

In 953 A H Zangi Chakk fighting with Mirzá Haidar was killed. His head with the head of his son Ghazi Khán were presented to Haidar

In 954 A H ambassadors came to the Mirzá from Kashgar and he went with many nobles as far as Lár to meet them. In Lár the eldest Khwája Ujak son of the said Chakk was slain [illegible] of seven years' fighting in Kunáj but now he established peace. Mirzá Mirak, swelling with pride and haughtiness, began to make a treaty But when Ujak came to be assaulted by Mirak and he fled to the jungle pursued by Mirak who took his head off and sent it to Mirzá Haidar He Zinat was far from pleased at seeing it, and, standing up in anger said, that after an oath and covenant and bread the slaughter of a man was not necessary. Haidar replied that he was not privy to the circumstances of the death.

After this Mirzá Haidar turned his attention to Kishtwár. Bandagán Kokah, Muhammad Máka and Yár Zaná led the van. The Mirzá took up his abode at Jhapu near Kishtwár The van, doing three days' journey in one descended a Dahlot, where the river winds, and they were not able to find it, for the enemy too opposed them. The next day the army of Haidar made a diversion to the right in hopes of reaching Kishtwár, but when they reached the town of Dhár, gusts of cold and Indian with dust came down upon them, the day became dark and the people of the town made an attack on them, Bandagán Kurchi [illegible] th five other men was slain The rest of the army with

with the last [illegible] at last joined themselves with Haidar. The Mirzá was not successful, he was obliged to retrace his steps ingloriously.

In 955 he turned his attention to Tibet. Taking Rájdáu he gave it to Muhammad Nazu and Nasih Ali. Pakli[1] he gave to Mulla Abdullah and Little Tibet[2] he gave to Mullah Qásim. Conquering Great Tibet,[3] he appointed Mulla Hasan its governor.

In 950 he took the fort of Dud. At this time Adam Ghakar came before the Mirzá and asked him to pardon Daulat Ghakk. He agreed to do so and Adam called Daulat into the tent. The Mirzá, on his coming in, showed him no honour. For this reason Daulat became very angry, and taking away the elephant he had brought as a present, he went away. The courtiers wished to pursue him but the Mirzá forbade them. After some time Haidar returned to Kashmir. Daulat Ghakk and Ghází Khán and Jai Ghakk went to Haidar Khán who had fled from Islám Sháh to Rájáori. When Islám Sháh who was pursuing the Niyázis arrived at the town of Madawár from Naoshahra, Nalbat Khán Niyázi sent Sayyid Khán to him. Sayyid Khán making proposition of peace gave up the mother and son of Nalbat Khán Niyázi to Islám Sháh who turning back went to the town of Bán near Siálkot and agreed to the conditions. The two Kashmiris above mentioned then took Nalbat Khán to Bárámula and wished to take him to Kashmír, and carry away Haidar. As Nalbat did not see his way to doing this he sent a Bráhman to Haidar with conditions of peace. When he had received a promise from Haidar he went to live at Ha (Nil in MS. No. 6671 opening 190 in British Museum) in Jammu and the Kashmiris went to Islám Sháh. Ghází Khán Ghakk, however, went to Mirzá Haidar. (It is evident that at this time the Kashmiris were tired of Haidar. They wished Islám Sháh to be king. We do not read that Islám ever went so far as Kashmír. The nobles, however, must have struck coins in his name, using the formula *struck in Kashmir* on the reverse. I have seen two coins of Islám Sháh of this time. It was a common practice to strike coins anticipating events which did *not* come to pass. The date on this coin is 957 A.H. It may have been struck by Haidar as a compliment to Islám Sháh.)

In the year 957 A.H. Mirzá Jáni being at peace with his neighbours sent presents of saffron to Islám Sháh by the hands of Khwájah Shams Mughli. In the following year Islám Sháh sent the ambassadors back with presents of silk cloth and goods accompanied by Yásin (Básin in above MS.) as envoy. Mirzá Haidar sent back Yásin laden with shawls and saffron to Islám Sháh.

Mirzá Qutlugh Khwájah was appointed governor of Bhimbal (or Bhimbar) and along with him were sent from amongst the Kashmiris Ali Zai and Názuk Sháh, Husain Mákan and Khwájah Háji. The whole of these with Mirzá Qutlugh came back to Indarkot and went thence to Bárámula and became rebellious. The reason of this rebellion was that the Mughals (the forces of Mirzá Haidar) were not acceptable to them. When the Mughals informed the Mirzá of this he told them they were no less ready than the Kashmiris to rebel. Husain Mákan sent his brother Ali Mákan to Mirzá Haidar to make excuse for the Kashmiris and to call again the army. Haidar was not aware

[1] Pakli west in province of Kishtwár. See Pakli Doáb.—[D.]
[2] Baltistan.—[D.]
[3] Tibet.—[D.]

of the condition of things, and told them that the Kashmiris were powerless and that there was no use in calling the army

On the 27th of Ramzán a great fire burst out in Indrakot. Mirzá Qamí and his following sent word that their houses were destroyed, and asked for aid saying that if convenient they would rebuild their houses and next year go to Bhimbal. Mirzá Haidar was displeased at these conduct. Nevertheless whether he would or not the army went towards Bhimbal. At night time, however, Idrís and the rest of the Kashmiris left the Mughals and came to the pass of Bimbal and took with them Hasan Mírkal, Ali Mírkal and others in order that they might not be slain by the Mughals. When it was morning the men of Bhimbal fought with the Mughals who were stationed in the mountains. Sayyid Mirzá fled and went into the fort of Bhimbal. About 80 Mughals, men of note were slain in this affair. Muhammad Nazír and Mirza Qamá Bahádur were captured. The rest of the army came to Bahrámgala. When Mirzá Haidar heard of this he was sorely vexed and ordered all the silver vessels to be broken and the coin now current in Kashmir struck from them. Jahángir Mákrat at this time got into favour and the estates of Husain Mákrat were bestowed upon him. *Tradespeople had horses and outfits given to them and were made soldiers.* After this news came that Mulla Abdullah, hearing of the exploits of the Kashmiris was coming to Kashmir. When he got news to Bhimbal the Kashmiris crowded on him and slew him. Khwájah Qásim was slain in battle. Muhammad Nazír was imprisoned in Rájdarí. The Kashmiris leaving Bhimbal came to Hamiraj. Mirzá Haidar was therefore forced to fight them and he came to Indrakot. He had with him only a thousand men. With him were Mughal nobles who had 700 men more. The whole took up a position in Shahábu-d-Dín. Daulat Chakk and Ghází Khán Chakk went to Lambarapur to help Yúsuf coming from that place assembled in Khánpur. Mirzá Haidar took up his position in the plain of Khálidpur near Srinagar. Fatí Chakk, whose father had been slain by the Mughals, Khwájah Bahrám brought, with 3,000 men to Indrakot to avenge his father's death. They burned all the palaces of Mirzá Haidar in the Bálá garden. When Mirzá Haidar heard of this he said "I have not brought this from Kásghar that I might by the grace of God, quarrel with." *In Akbarnáma* *burnt the palaces of Zain-ul-Abidín in Suyápur, but this is not plain.* Mirzá Haidar and the army burnt the palaces of Idrís and Nasír Chakk in Srinagar. Mirzá Haidar himself took up a position in Khánpur in which place was a willow tree under which 22 horsemen could stand. *If one branch* of this tree were shaken the whole tree was moved. At last the Kashmiris came from Khánpur and took up a position at Adinpur not more than a distance of two kos remained between the two armies. Mirzá Haidar determined to make a night attack on the enemy. He first called in his younger brother Mirzá Abdur Rahmán his lieutenant and instigated him, then getting his men into order he prepared for the night attack. It so happened that the night was very cloudy and when he got to the tent of Khwájah Hájí who was the soul of the rebellion and the agent of the Mirzá, the darkness had everything. Shah Nazar a cuirassier of Mirzá Haidar said "When I shot an arrow the voice of the Mirzá fell on my ear, saying, 'you are at fault.' I then knew that the arrow had accidentally struck the Mirzá. It is also said that a butcher slew him with a large sword. But except in

arrow-wound [illegible] other thing was visible. Finally they came on some of the traditions. When morning dawned it became known to the Kashmiris that a Mughal was lying slain in their camp. When Khwája Hájí came to view the corpse, he said, "What! Haidar!" [illegible] head from the earth but nothing but the last breath remained. He rolled his eyes and gave up the ghost. After this the Mughals fled to Indrakot and the Kashmiris buried the corpse of Haidar and then pursued the Mughals. They took refuge in Indrakot and on [illegible] days I folded themselves. On the fourth day Muhammad Rúmí loaded his [illegible] with copper coins and fired them on the enemy. Every one who was struck with them died. At last, however, Khánzádá the widow of Mírzá Haidar, and her sister Khájá spoke to the Mughals and said, 'Inasmuch as Mírzá Haidar has departed from our midst, it would be better to make peace with the Kashmiris.' The Mughals agreed to this and sent Amir Khán, builder, to the Kashmiris to ask for peace. The Kashmiris were pleased at this and wrote a letter with oath and covenant that they would not persecute the Mughals any more. The government of Haidar Túk lasted for ten years.

Nazuk Shah's Time.—When the doors of the fort were opened, the Kashmiris went into the treasury of Mírzá Haidar and plundered it, taking away the beautiful and delicate garments it contained. The family of the Mírzá was taken to Shádiagar and placed in the hands of Mamjá. The Kashmiri chiefs then divided Kashmir between themselves. Dulat Chakk got the pargannah of Doosa, Ghází Khán the pargannah of Wáhí, Yusuf Chakk and Bahádur Chakk obtained Kamráj. Khwájá Hájí the wakil of the Mírzá took a litter of shawls and the widow of the nobles of Kashmir, but secretly duly at took the government of the province into their hands. Názuk Shah was a weak and shadow of a king who held in name. In truth Idí Zú Ú was king.

APPENDIX B.

THE KARAWANAS.

Some inquiries regarding the Karáwánás, which were very kindly made for me in Kashgar by Mr Munshi Bakhsh, C.B., Attaché at the Medical Consulate General, have resulted, it would seem, in throwing some doubt on the [illegible] of the Karáwánás. Mr. Munshi Bakhsh writes from Aksu on 21st April 1891: 'Only the other day, while passing through the Márket street of Bunji, I heard of a village called Sumandara in Kárgáh. This excited my curiosity and, on inquiry, I found that the village derived its name from its Kundá inhabitants, about thirty families of whom (the total population of the village) now settled there. In the Gilgit country again, which extends from Dhaira-i-Chargin on the east, to the Gilgit-i-Kharu (or Kárú) on the west, [illegible] both banks of the Chargin river, are occupied by the Gokhá Turkomans. I found about fifty families of Kundás, and was told that there were some families in Kuranda.

"These people speak Turki now, and [illegible] considered part of the Gokhá Turkomans. They, however, say they are Chingiz-Khání Moghuls, and a

no doubt the descendants of the same Kán ás, or Kanvan ás, who took such a prominent part in the Mogul victories in Persia.

"The word Kánís, I was told by a learned Gokdar Mullah, means *Ver-andáz*, or *Shikári* (*i.e.*, Archer or Hunter) and was applied to this tribe of Moghuls on account of their professional skill in shooting, which apparently secured them an important place in the army. It is thought the word Kán ás means *Shiram-parast* literally 'belly worshippers,' which implies wine. This term is in use at present, and I was told by a Kízil-Bashmand, that it is sometimes used by way of reproach. . . . The Kán ís people in Mína and Gurgán say it is the name of their tribe, and they can give no other explanation."

Although the modern name has become entirely obliterated, there appears to be little room to doubt that these Kánárás, or "archers," represent, at any rate, the "artillerists" of Wassáf (see pp. 70, 77, *infra du hom*).

APPENDIX C

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF EVENTS.

ENGLAND	CONTINENTAL EUROPE
1327. Edward II. deposed and murdered	1328 Valois dynasty founded in France
1338. Edward III invaded France	1378 Turks first cross the Hellespont
1340 Battle of Cregy	1378. The Papacy restored in Rome.
1350 Battle of Poictiers.	1385. Independence of Portugal
1371. Stuart dynasty established in Scotland.	1396. Crusade in Hungary against the Turks
1377. Accession of Richard II	1401 Sultan Báyazíd defeated by Timur.
1390. Deposition of Richard II	1428. Joan of Arc delivers Orleans
03 Battle of Shrewsbury.	111 . Supposed date of invention of printing.
1413. Accession of Henry V.	1453 Constantinople taken by the Turks.
1415. Battle of Agincourt.	1462. Ivan III becomes Prince of Muscovy.
1422 Henry VI proclaimed king of France.	1467. Bombs and mortars invented in Italy.
1461 Edward IV. becomes king	1478 Khans of Crimea submit to Turks
1485. Battle of Bosworth Field. Tudor dynasty founded	1482. Ivan III crowned first Tsar of Muscovy.
1509. Death of Henry VII.	1483 Cape of Good Hope discovered (Portugal).
512 Henry VIII invades France.	
1520 Field of the Cloth of Gold	
1531. Papal authority abolished	
1547. Accession of Edward VI.	
1553. Accession of Mary.	
558. Accession of Elizabeth	

1492. Discovery of America. (Spain)
1501. Naples subdued by France
1516. Charles V. ascends the throne of Spain.
1517. Egypt conquered by Turks
1523. Gustavus Vasa becomes king of Sweden
1529. Vienna besieged by the Turks
1533 Ivan IV (the Terrible) succeeds as Tsar.
1545. Council of Trent assembles.
1552. Treaty of Passau.
1581. Death of Ivan the Terrible

INDIA.

* 1325. Death of Mahom. Tughluk, founder of Tughluk dynasty of Delhi.
1398. Timur invades India.
1450. Lodi dynasty of Afghans.
1498. Arrival of Vasco da Gama at Malabar.
1509. Albuquerque becomes viceroy of Portuguese India (d. 1519).
1526. Babar founds Moghul (Chaghtai) Empire.
1530. Humayun succeeds.
1538. Turkish attack on Portuguese at Diu.
1540. Humayun defeated by Shir Khan at Kanauj.
1540. Rule of Afghan Sur dynasty begins.
1555. Return of Humayun to India.
1556. Accession of Akbar.

CHINA

1333. Accession of Ching-tsung (or Tohan Timur), last Emperor of Mongol dynasty.
1368. Ming dynasty established. Emperor Hung Wu. Capital at Nanking.
1403. Yung Loh, 2nd Ming Emperor, changes capital to Peking.
1536. Macao granted to the Portuguese
1580. (abt.) Jesuit missions first established.
1341. Ming dynasty ends.

PERSIA.

1380 Invaded by Timur.
1390. „ „
1468. Conquered by Turkomans
1501. Sufavi dynasty founded by Shah Ismail.
1510. Ismail conquers Georgia
1525. Accession of Shah Tamasp.
1576. Ismail II. succeeds

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